The Gods of the Egyptians

E. A. Wallis Budge

BERSERKER

BOOKS

THE
GODS OF THE EGYPTIANS

OR

STUDIES IN
EGYPTIAN MYTHOLOGY

BY

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IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

WITH 98 COLOURED PLATES
AND 131 ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

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I

DEDICATE THIS BOOK

ON

THE GODS AND MYTHOLOGY OF EGYPT

BY PERMISSION

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL OF CROMER

PRIVY COUNCILLOR, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

THE REGENERATOR OF EGYPT

WITH

SINCERE GRATITUDE AND RESPECT

PREFACE

AMONG the various branches of Egyptology which have been closely studied during the last twenty-five years, there are none which are more interesting to inquire into, or more difficult to understand fully, than the religion and mythology of the inhabitants of the Valley of the Nile. When we consider the number of works on these subjects which have been written and published, both by expert Egyptologists and by competent exponents of the science of religion during that period, such a statement may appear at first sight to be paradoxical, and many may think when reading it that some excuse must certainly be made for the philosopher who asked an eminent professor of Egyptology the somewhat caustic question, "Is it true that the more the subjects of Egyptian religion and mythology are studied the less is known about them?" The question is, however, thoroughly justified, and every honest worker will admit that there are at the present time scores of passages, even in such a comparatively well-known religious compilation as the *Book of the Dead*, which are inexplicable, and scores of allusions of a fundamentally important mythological character of which the meanings are still unknown. The reasons for this state of things are many, and the chief of them may be briefly recalled here.

The custom of relying absolutely upon the information about the ancient Egyptian religion and mythology, which is reported by Greek historians, was abandoned by Egyptologists long ago, for as soon as the native Egyptian religious texts could be read, it became evident that no Greek or Latin writer had any exact first-hand knowledge of these subjects, and that none of them succeeded wholly in reproducing accurately in their works the facts concerning them which they derived from Egyptian books or from Egyptian priests. This is hardly to be wondered at, for the cultured Greek writers must have, and did, as we know, look with mingled pity, and contempt, and ridicule, upon the animal cults of the Egyptians, and they had no sympathy with the materialistic beliefs and with the still more materialistic funeral customs and ceremonies, which have been, from time immemorial, so dear to certain Hamitic peoples, and so greatly prized by them. The only beliefs of the Egyptian religion which the educated Greek or Roman truly understood were those which characterized the various forms of Aryan religion, namely, the polytheistic and the solar; for the forms of the cults of the dead, and for all the religious ceremonies and observances, which presupposed a belief in the resurrection of the dead and in everlasting life, and which had been in existence among the indigenous inhabitants of north-east Africa from predynastic times, he had no regard whatsoever. The evidence on the subject now available indicates that he was *racially* incapable of appreciating the importance of such beliefs to those who held them, and that although, as in the case of the Ptolemies, he was ready to tolerate, and even, for state purposes, to adopt them, it was impossible for him to absorb them into his life. It is important to remember this fact when dealing with the evidence of Greek and Roman writers on the Egyptian religion and mythology, for it shows the futility of trying to prove an absolute identity in the indigenous religions of the Aryans and Egyptians.

Now, although a true decipherment of the ancient Egyptian hieratic and hieroglyphic texts has enabled us to draw our information on the religion and mythology of Egypt from native sources, we have still to contend against the ignorance of Egyptian scribes and the mistakes of careless copyists, and it must never be forgotten that the theologians at the court of the Pharaohs under the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties were just as ignorant of many facts connected with their religion and mythology as we ourselves are. In proof of this it is sufficient to refer to the different explanations of certain passages which are given along with the text in the xvii th Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, and to the childish punning etymologies of the names of gods and of many mythological explanations which are set down in the texts inscribed on the walls of some chambers in the tomb of Seti I. at Thebes, and on the walls of the temple of Horus of Beḥuṭet at Edfû. It is satisfactory to be able to say that many of the absurd etymologies and trivial explanations which are products of the scribes of old can now be corrected. Recent researches have shown that the royal scribes under the New Empire (B.C. 1700-700) were unable to read correctly the hieratic characters which formed the names of some of the kings of the early Archaic Period, and this being so, little surprise need be felt at the difficulties in religious texts which are due to their ignorance or blunders. Apart from such considerations, however, the subjects of Egyptian religion and mythology themselves are full of inherent difficulties, which have, unfortunately, not been lessened by the manner in which some Egyptologists have treated them.

The number of the gods, even under the IVth Dynasty, about B.C. 3600, was very great, and as time went on it multiplied greatly. The Pyramid Texts, which were written under the IVth, Vth and VIth Dynasties, supply the names of about two hundred gods and mythological beings, but in the *Book of the Dead* according to the Theban Recension (B.C. 1700-1200) over five hundred gods are mentioned. If to these be added the names of all the mythological beings which occur in the various Books of the Underworld, we shall find that the number of the gods who were recognized by the theologians of the XIXth Dynasty at Thebes was about twelve hundred. If all the religious texts of this period from all the religious centres of Egypt were available for study, we should certainly find that the names of hundreds of additional local gods, goddesses, and mythological beings could be collected from them. With such a number of gods to consider, it was impossible for confusion not to arise in the mind of the Egyptian when dealing with them, and the texts prove that he found the gods as difficult to group and classify as the modern investigator. The attributes of hundreds of them were vague and shadowy, and the greater number of them were merely provincial gods, to whom circumstances had given some transient importance, which resulted in their names being recorded in writing. In fact, the theologian of ancient Egypt found it impossible to form a system of gods which should be consistent in all its parts, and should assign to earth gods, water gods, air gods, village gods, city gods, nome gods, national gods, and foreign gods, the exact position and attributes which were their due in it. From one point of view the modern investigator is more fortunate than the Egyptian theologian, for he has more materials upon which to work, and, as a rule, he is better equipped for his inquiry. The Egyptian knew nothing about the study of comparative religion, and he was sadly hampered by his own methods.

Modern scientific study of the Egyptian religion and mythology may be said to have begun with the publication in full of the texts, both hieratic and hieroglyphic, of the Heliopolitan, Theban, and Saïte Recensions of the *Book of the Dead* (PER-EM-HRU), and of the cognate funeral texts, such as "The Book of what is in the

Underworld," "The Book of Breathings," "The Book of Transformations," the "Lamentations," and the "Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys," &c. The first to attempt to build up on a large scale a system of Egyptian theology and mythology from ancient native works was the late DR. HEINRICH BRUGSCH, who collected and published in his *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ægypter*, Leipzig, 1885-1888, a mass of facts of the greatest importance, and a summary of the conclusions which he deduced from them. In the same year in which the first section of Dr. Brugsch's work appeared, M. MASPERO published in the *Revue des Religions* (tom. xii., p. 123 f.) a masterly article, entitled *La Religion Égyptienne d'après les pyramides de la Ve et de la VIe dynastie*, in which he gave to the world some of the results of his study of the "Pyramid Texts," which contain the oldest known Recension, i.e., the Heliopolitan, of the *Book of the Dead*. In 1887, SIGNOR LANZONE published the last part of his *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, which is one of the most valuable contributions to the study of Egyptian mythology ever made, and which contains the names of a large number of gods, demons, spirits, etc., arranged alphabetically, and a series of drawings of many of them printed in outline in red ink. In 1888 and 1889, M. Maspero, in two admirable articles in the *Revue des Religions* (*La Mythologie Égyptienne*, tom. xviii., p. 253 f., and tom. xix., p. 1 f.), discussed and criticized both the works of BRUGSCH and LANZONE, and shed a great deal of new light upon the facts collected in both.

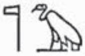
To M. Maspero belongs the credit of being the first to consider the Egyptian religion and mythology from the anthropological point of view, and all the evidence on these subjects which has since become available goes to prove the general correctness of the opinion which he stated some fifteen or sixteen years ago. BRUGSCH, it must be admitted, regarded the origin of Egyptian religion from too lofty a metaphysical and philosophical standpoint, and appealed for proofs of his contentions to Egyptian texts belonging to too late a period to be entirely free from the influence of Greek culture and thought; in fact, he read into certain Egyptian texts, ideas, doctrines, and beliefs which the primitive and indigenous Egyptians could never have possessed. On the other hand, it seems to me that M. MASPERO has somewhat underrated the character of the spiritual conceptions of the dynastic Egyptians, and that he has done so because, when he wrote his great article, *La Mythologie Égyptienne,* Egyptologists had not thoroughly realized the distinction which exists between the primitive or predynastic element in the Egyptian religion and the Asiatic element. This element was of a solar character undoubtedly, and was introduced into Egypt by the "Followers of Horus," or the "Blacksmiths," who invaded the country, and conquered the natives, and settling down there, built up the great dynastic civilization which we call Egyptian. This seems to be the correct explanation of the diversity of view of two such eminent experts, and the opposite character of their conclusions appears to be due chiefly to the difference of the standpoints from which they viewed the subject.

A prolonged study of the religious and mythological texts of ancient Egypt has convinced me of the futility of attempting to reconcile the conflicting beliefs and to harmonize the contradictory statements which are found in them, so long as we regard the Egyptian religion as "one in its extension and principle." It must first of all be resolved into its constituent elements, and when this has been done, it will probably be possible to classify, and arrange, and assign to their proper sources the various material and spiritual conceptions and beliefs which the Egyptians heaped up in their minds and flung together in their religious writings.

It must, moreover, be studied by the light which the science of comparative religion has given us, and due regard must be paid to the important evidence on the subject that may be deduced from the remains and monuments of the Predynastic and Archaic Periods which have been unearthed during the last few years.

The primitive dwellers in Egypt undoubtedly belonged to a large and important section of the inhabitants of North-East Africa, and possessed physical and mental characteristics which were peculiar to themselves. In the earliest times they were savages, and lived and died like savages in other parts of the world; religious belief of any kind, in the modern sense of the term, they had none, and they probably regarded the animate and inanimate objects which they saw about them as akin to themselves. At a much later period they peopled the earth, air, sky, and water with beings of various kinds, and they paid a sort of homage or worship to certain stones, trees, and living creatures, in which they assumed that they lived. Some beings were held to be friendly and others unfriendly; and it was thought that gifts or offerings would secure the continuance of the friendship of the former and avert the hostility of the latter. Friendly beings gradually became gods, and unfriendly ones were classed as devils, and in the ceremonies which the Egyptian savage performed in their honour, and in the incantations which he recited, the magic of Egypt, the forerunner of her religion, had its origin. The chief object of the savage Egyptian was self-preservation, and self-interest was the mainspring of his actions, all of which were undertaken with a view to material benefits. When he first becomes known to us in the late Neolithic Period we find that he possessed a belief in an existence beyond the grave, and that it was of a material character is proved by the fact that he placed offerings of food in the graves of the dead. To prevent their return to this world, and their consequent claim for food and other material things, the heads of the dead were often severed from their bodies, and their feet cut off; thus the living made themselves secure in the possession of their homes, and wives, and goods. Nothing is known of the Egyptian religion and its ceremonies at this period, but whatever they were, it is pretty certain that the object of them all was to secure for themselves after death a renewal of life which should be full of carnal delights and pleasures, and there is no doubt that the ideas of a resurrection from the dead and immortality on these lines were firmly implanted in the native mind long before the Dynasty Period began.

The cult of Osiris, the dead man deified, and the earliest forms of his worship, were, no doubt, wholly of African origin; these are certainly the oldest elements in the religion of the Dynastic Period, and the most persistent, for Osiris maintained his position as the god and judge of the dead from the Predynastic to the Ptolemaïc Period. The Followers of Horus, who brought a solar religion with them into Egypt from the East, never succeeded in dislodging Osiris from his exalted position, and his cult survived undiminished notwithstanding the powerful influence which the priests of Rā, and the worshippers of Ȧmen, and the votaries of Ȧten respectively exercised throughout the country. The heaven of Osiris was believed to exist in a place where the fields were fertile and well stocked with cattle, and where meat and drink were abundant; the abodes of the blessed were thought to be constructed after the model of the comfortable Egyptian homesteads in which they had lived during life, and the ordinary Egyptian hoped to live in one of these with his wives and parents. On the other hand, the followers of Rā, the sun-god, believed in a heaven of a more spiritual character, and their great hope was to occupy a seat in the boat of the god, and, arrayed in light, to travel whithersoever he went. They wished to become bright and shining spirits, and to live upon the celestial meat and drink upon which he lived; as he was so they hoped to be in every respect. The materialistic heaven of Osiris appealed to the masses in Egypt, and the heaven where Rā lived to the priests of Rā and other solar gods, and to royal and aristocratic families, and to the members of the foreign section of the community who were of Eastern origin.

The various waves of religious thought and feeling, which swept over Egypt during the five thousand years of her history which are known to us, did not seriously disturb the cult of Osiris, for it held out to the people hopes of resurrection and immortality of a character which no other form of religion could give. Secure in these hopes the people regarded the various changes and developments of religious ideas in their country with equanimity, and modifications in the public worship of the gods, provided that the religious feasts and processions were not interrupted, moved them but little. Kings and priests from time to time made attempts to absorb the cult of Osiris into religious systems of a solar character, but they failed, and Osiris, the man-god, always triumphed, and at the last, when his cult disappeared before the religion of the Man CHRIST, the Egyptians who embraced Christianity found that the moral system of the old cult and that of the new religion were so similar, and the promises of resurrection and immortality in each so much alike, that they transferred their allegiance from Osiris to JESUS of Nazareth without difficulty.) Moreover, Isis and the child Horus were straightway identified with MARY THE VIRGIN and her SON, and in the apocryphal literature of the first few centuries which followed the evangelization of Egypt, several of the legends about Isis and her sorrowful wanderings were made to centre round the Mother of CHRIST. Certain of the attributes of the sister goddesses of Isis were also ascribed to her, and, like the goddess Neith of Saïs, she was declared to possess perpetual virginity. Certain of the Egyptian Christian Fathers gave to the Virgin the title "Theotokos," or "Mother of God," forgetting, apparently, that it was an exact translation of *neter mut*, , a very old and common title of Isis. Interesting, however, as such an investigation would be, no attempt has been made in this work to trace out the influence of ancient Egyptian religious beliefs and mythology on Christianity, for such an undertaking would fill a comparatively large volume.

From what has been said in the preceding pages the plan followed in the preparation of the present volumes will be evident. In the opening chapter an attempt has been made to describe the religious beliefs of the primitive Egyptians, and to explain how their later ideas about the "gods" and God grew up, and how they influenced the religious writings and paintings of the Dynastic Period. The region which is commonly called Heaven, or the "Underworld," and its denizens are next considered at some length, and this section is followed by chapters on the ancient myths of Rā, the legend of Rā and Isis, and the legend of the destruction of mankind. The hieroglyphic texts of the myths and legends are given with interlinear transliteration and translation, so that the student may verify my statements for himself. Of the minor gods and demons, of which nothing but the names are known, lists only are printed. The great gods of Egypt have been grouped as far as possible, and they are discussed in connection with the various religious centres to which they belong, e.g., Ptaḥ, Sekhet, and I-em-ḥetep with Memphis, Ȧmen, Mut, and Khensu with Thebes, and the "Great Company" of the gods with Heliopolis. Speaking generally, the first volume of this work treats of the oldest and greatest gods and triads of gods of Egypt, and the second, of the gods of Heliopolis, among whom are included Osiris and the deities of his funeral cycle. The hymns to the gods have been freely quoted, because they illustrate so clearly the views which the Egyptians held concerning them, and the manner in which they sought to praise them. In a chapter entitled "Miscellaneous Gods" will be found several lists of gods of the hours, days, months, winds, Dekans, etc., which I have collected from Dr. Brugsch's *Thesaurus* of astronomical and other texts; for the main facts given in these volumes the authorities, both ancient and modern, will be found at the foot of the pages wherein they are first mentioned.

Most of the portraits of the gods which appear in the coloured plates have been reproduced from papyri, coffins, etc., but for the outlines of a few I am indebted to Signor Lanzone's *Dizionario Mitologia Egizia*, the value of which has been already mentioned. It has been thought advisable to print the portraits of the gods which are not taken from papyri upon a papyrus-coloured ground, and to enclose each within a coloured border, for the effect is better, and the plan is consistent with that followed by the ancient Egyptian artists at all periods.

My thanks are due to Reginald Lake, Esq., of Messrs. Gilbert & Rivington, and to Mr. G. E. Hay and Mr. F. Rainer, of his staff, for the care and attention which they have taken in printing this work.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

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THE
GODS OF THE EGYPTIANS

CHAPTER I

THE GODS OF EGYPT

THE Greek historian Herodotus affirms[1] that the Egyptians were "beyond measure scrupulous in all matters apper- "taining to religion," and he made this statement after personal observation of the care which they displayed in the performance of religious ceremonies, the aim and object of which was to do honour to the gods, and of the obedience which they showed to the behests of the priests who transmitted to them commands which they declared to be, and which were accepted as, authentic revelations of the will of the gods. From the manner in which this writer speaks it is clear that he had no doubt about what he was saying, and that he was recording a conviction which had become settled in his mind. He was fully conscious that the Egyptians worshipped a large number of animals, and birds, and reptiles, with a seriousness and earnestness which must have filled the cultured Greek with astonishment, yet he was not moved to give expression to words of scorn as was Juvenal,[2] for Herodotus perceived that beneath the acts of apparently foolish and infatuated worship there existed a sincerity which betokened a firm and implicit belief which merited the respect of thinking men. It would be wrong to imagine that the Egyptians were the only people of antiquity who were scrupulous beyond measure in religious matters, for we know that the Babylonians, both Sumerian and Semitic, were devoted worshippers of their gods, and that they possessed a very old and complicated system of religion; but there is good reason for thinking that the Egyptians were more scrupulous than their neighbours in religious matters, and that they always bore the character of being an extremely religious nation. The evidence of the monuments of the Egyptians proves that from the earliest to the latest period of their history the observance of religious festivals and the performance of religious duties in connexion with the worship of the gods absorbed a very large part of the time and energies of the nation, and if we take into consideration the funeral ceremonies and services commemorative of the dead which were performed by them at the tombs, a casual visitor to Egypt who did not know how to look below the surface might be pardoned for declaring that the

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[1] ii. 64.

[2] "Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
"Aegyptus portenta colat? crocodilon adorat
"Pars haec, illa pavet saturam serpentibus ibin.
"Effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopitheci,
"Dimidio magicae resonant ubi Memnone chordae
"Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.
"Illic aeluros, hic piscem fluminis, illic

"Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.
"Porrum et caepe nefas violare et frangere morsu :
"O sanctas gentes, quibus haec nascuntur in hortis
"Numina ! Lanatis animalibus abstinet omnis
"Mensa, nefas illic fetum ingulare capellae :
"Carnibus humanis vesci licet."—*Satire*, xv. 1—13.

That the crocodile, ibis, dog-headed ape, and fish of various kinds were venerated in Egypt is true enough; they were not, however, venerated in dynastic times as *animals*, but as the *abodes of gods*. In certain localities peculiar sanctity was attributed to the leek and onion, as Juvenal suggests, but neither vegetable was an object of worship in the country generally; and there is no monumental evidence to show that the eating of human flesh was practised, for it is now known that even the predynastic Egyptians did not eat the flesh of the dead and gnaw their bones, as was once rashly asserted. Juvenal's statements are only partly true, and some of them are on a par with that of a learned Indian who visited England, and wrote a book on this country after his return to Bombay. Speaking of the religion of the English he declared that they were all idolators, and to prove this assertion he gave a list of churches in which he had seen a figure of a LAMB in the sculpture work over and about the altar, and in prominent places elsewhere in the churches. The Indian, like Juvenal, and Cicero also, seems not to have understood that many nations have regarded animals as symbols of gods and divine powers, and still do so.

Egyptians were a nation of men who were wholly given up to the worship of beasts and the cult of the dead.

The Egyptians, however, acted in a perfectly logical manner, for they believed that they were a divine nation, and that they were ruled by kings who were themselves gods incarnate; their earliest kings, they asserted, were actually gods, who did not disdain to live upon earth, and to go about and up and down through it, and to mingle with men. Other ancient nations were content to believe that they had been brought into being by the power of their gods operating upon matter, but the Egyptians believed that they were the issue of the great God who created the universe, and that they were of directly divine origin. When the gods ceased to reign in their proper persons upon earth, they were succeeded by a series of demi-gods, who were in turn succeeded by the Manes, and these were duly followed by kings in whom was enshrined a divine nature with characteristic attributes. When the physical or natural body of a king died, the divine portion of his being, i.e., the spiritual body, returned to its original abode with the gods, and it was duly worshipped by men upon earth as a god and with the gods. This happy result was partly brought about by the performance of certain ceremonies, which were at first wholly magical, but later partly magical and partly religious, and by the recital of appropriate words uttered in the duly prescribed tone and manner, and by the keeping of festivals at the tombs at stated seasons when the appointed offerings were made, and the prayers for the welfare of the dead were said. From the earliest times the worship of the gods went hand in hand with the deification of dead kings and other royal personages, and the worship of departed monarchs from some aspects may be regarded as meritorious as the worship of the gods. From one point of view Egypt was as much a land of gods as of men, and the inhabitants of the country wherein the gods lived and moved naturally devoted a considerable portion of their time upon earth to the worship of divine beings and of their ancestors who had departed to the land of the gods. In the matter of religion, and all that appertains thereto, the Egyptians were a "peculiar people," and in all ages they have exhibited a tenacity of belief and a conservatism which distinguish them from all the other great nations of antiquity.

But the Egyptians were not only renowned for their devotion to religious observances, they were famous as much for the variety as for the number of their gods. Animals, birds, fishes, and reptiles were worshipped by them in all ages, but in addition to these they adored the great powers of nature as well as a large number of beings with which they peopled the heavens, the air, the earth, the sky, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the water. In the earliest times the predynastic Egyptians, in common with every half-savage people, believed that all the various operations of nature were the result of the actions of beings which were for the most part unfriendly to man. The inundation which rose too high and flooded the primitive village, and drowned their cattle, and destroyed their stock of grain, was regarded as the result of the working of an unfriendly and unseen power; and when the river rose just high enough to irrigate the land which had been prepared, they either thought that a friendly power, which was stronger than that which caused the destroying flood, had kept the hostile power in check, or that the spirit of the river was on that occasion pleased with them. They believed in the existence of spirits of the air, and in spirits of mountain, and stream, and tree, and all these had to be propitiated with gifts, or cajoled and wheedled into bestowing their favour and protection upon their suppliants.

It is very unfortunate that the animals, and the spirits of natural objects, as well as the powers of nature, were all grouped together by the Egyptians and were described by the word NETERU, which, with considerable inexactness, we are obliged to translate by "gods." There is no doubt that at a very early period in their predynastic history the Egyptians distinguished between great gods and little gods, just as they did between friendly gods and hostile gods, but either their poverty of expression, or the inflexibility of their language, prevented them from making a distinction apparent in writing, and thus it happens that in dynastic times, when a lofty conception of monotheism prevailed among the priesthood, the scribe found himself obliged to call both God and the lowest of the beings that were supposed to possess some attribute of divinity by one and the same name, i.e., NETER. Other nations of antiquity found a way out of the difficulty of grouping all classes of divine beings by one name by inventing series of orders of angels, to each of which they gave names and assigned various duties in connexion with the service of the Deity. Thus in the Ḳur'ân (*Sura* xxxv.) it is said that God maketh the angels His messengers and that they are furnished with two, or three, or four pairs of wings, according to their rank and importance; the archangel Gabriel is said to have been seen by Muḥammad the Prophet with six hundred pairs of wings! The duties of the angels, according to the Muḥammadans, were of various kinds. Thus nineteen angels are appointed to take charge of hell fire (*Sura* lxxiv.); eight are set apart to support God's throne on the Day of Judgment (*Sura* lxix.); several tear the souls of the wicked from their bodies with violence, and several take the souls of the righteous from their bodies with gentleness and kindness (*Sura* lxxix.); two angels are ordered to accompany every man on earth, the one to write down his good actions and the other his evil deeds, and these will appear with him at the Day of Judgment, the one to lead him before the Judge, and the other to bear witness either for or against him (*Sura* l.). Muḥammadan theologians declare that the angels are created of a simple substance of light, and that they are endowed with life, and speech, and reason; they are incapable of sin, they have no carnal desire, they do not propagate their species, and they are not moved by the passions of wrath and anger; their obedience is absolute. Their meat is the celebrating of the glory of God, their drink is the proclaiming of His holiness, their conversation is the commemorating of God, and their pleasure is His worship. Curiously enough, some are said to have the form of animals. Four of the angels are Archangels, viz. Michael, Gabriel, Azrael, and Israfel, and they possess special powers, and special duties are assigned to them. These four are superior to all the human race, with the exception of the Prophets and Apostles, but the angelic nature is held to be inferior to human nature because all the angels were commanded to worship

Adam (*Sura* ii.). The above and many other characteristics might be cited in proof that the angels of the Muḥammadans possess much in common with the inferior gods of the Egyptians, and though many of the conceptions of the Arabs on this point were undoubtedly borrowed from the Hebrews and their writings, a great many must have descended to them from their own early ancestors.

Closely connected with these Muḥammadan theories, though much older, is the system of angels which was invented by the Syrians. In this we find the angels divided into nine classes and three orders, upper, middle, and lower. The upper order is composed of Cherubim, Seraphim, and Thrones; the middle order of Lords, Powers, and Rulers; and the lower order of Principalities, Archangels, and Angels. The middle order receives revelations from those above them, and the lower order are the ministers who wait upon created things. The highest and foremost among the angels is Gabriel, who is the mediator between God and His creation. The Archangels in this system are described as a "swift operative motion," which has dominion over every living thing except man; and the Angels are a motion which has spiritual knowledge of everything that is on earth and in heaven.[1] The Syrians, like the Muḥammadans, borrowed largely from the writings of the Hebrews, in whose theological system angels played a very prominent part. In the Syrian system also the angels possess much in common with the inferior gods of the Egyptians.

The inferior gods of the Egyptians were supposed to suffer from many of the defects of mortal beings, and they were even thought to grow old and to die, and the same ideas about the angels were held by Muḥammadans and Hebrews. According to the former, the angels will perish when heaven, their abode, is made to pass away at the Day of Judgment. According to the latter, one of the two great classes of angels, i.e., those which were created on the fifth day of creation, is mortal; on the other hand, the angels which were created on the second day of creation endure for ever, and these may be fitly compared with the unfailing and unvarying powers of nature which were personified and worshipped by the Egyptians; of the angels which perish, some spring from fire, some from water, and some from wind. The angels are grouped into ten classes, i.e., the Erêlîm, the Îshîm, the Bĕnê-Elôhîm, the Malachîm, the Ḥashmalîm, the Tarshîshîm, the Shishanîm, the Cherûbîm, the Ophannîm, and the Serâphîm;[1] among these were divided all the duties connected with the ordering of the heavens and the earth, and they, according to their position and importance, became the interpreters of the Will of the Deity. A comparison of the passages in Rabbinic literature which describe these and similar matters connected with the angels, spirits, etc., of ancient Hebrew mythology with Egyptian texts shows that both the Egyptians and Jews possessed many ideas in common, and all the evidence goes to prove that the latter borrowed from the former in the earliest period.

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[1] See my edition of the *Book of the Bee*, by Solomon of Al-Baṣra. Oxford, 1886, pp. 9–11.

In comparatively late historical times the Egyptians introduced into their company of gods a few deities from Western Asia, but these had no effect in modifying the general character either of their religion or of their worship. The subject of comparative Egyptian and Semitic mythology is one which has yet to be worked thoroughly, not because it would supply us with the original forms of Egyptian myths and legends, but because it would show what modifications such things underwent when adopted by Semitic peoples, or at least by peoples who had Semitic blood in their veins. Some would compare Egyptian and Semitic mythologies on the ground that the Egyptians and Semites were kinsfolk, but it must be quite clearly understood that this is pure assumption, and is only based on the statements of those who declare that the Egyptian and Semitic languages are akin. Others again have sought to explain the mythology of the Egyptians by appeals to Aryan mythology, and to illustrate the meanings of important Egyptian words in religious texts by means of Aryan etymologies, but the results are wholly unsatisfactory, and they only serve to show the futility of comparing the mythologies of two peoples of different race occupying quite different grades in the ladder of civilization. It cannot be too strongly insisted on that all the oldest gods of Egypt are of Egyptian origin, and that the fundamental religious beliefs of the Egyptians also are of Egyptian origin, and that both the gods and the beliefs date from predynastic times, and have nothing whatever to do with the Semites or Aryans of history.

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[1] See the chapter "Was die Juden von den guten Engeln lehren" in Eisenmenger, *Entdeckten Judenthums*, vol. ii. p. 370 ff.

Of the origin of the Egyptian of the Palaeolithic and early Neolithic Periods, we, of course, know nothing, but it is tolerably certain that the Egyptian of the latter part of the Neolithic Period was indigenous to North-East Africa, and that a very large number of the great gods worshipped by the dynastic Egyptian were worshipped also by his predecessor in predynastic times. The conquerors of the Egyptians of the Neolithic Period who, with good reason, have been assumed to come from the East and to have been more or less akin to the Proto-Semites, no doubt brought about certain modifications in the worship of those whom they had vanquished, but they could not have succeeded in abolishing the various gods in animal and other forms which were worshipped throughout the length and breadth of the country, for these continued to be venerated until the time of the Ptolemies.

We have at present no means of knowing how far the religious beliefs of the conquerors influenced the conquered peoples of Egypt, but viewed in the light of well-ascertained facts it seems tolerably certain that no great change took place in the views which the indigenous peoples held concerning their gods as the result of the invasion of foreigners, and that if any foreign gods were introduced into the company of indigenous, predynastic gods, they were either quickly assimilated to or wholly absorbed by them. Speaking generally, the gods of the Egyptians remained unchanged throughout all the various periods of the history of Egypt, and the minds of the people seem always to have had a tendency towards the maintenance of old forms of worship, and to the preservation of the ancient texts in which such forms were prescribed and old beliefs were enshrined. The Egyptians never forgot the ancient gods of the country, and it is typical of the spirit of conservatism which they displayed in most things that even in the Roman

Period pious folk among them were buried with the same prayers and with the same ceremonies that had been employed at the burial of Egyptians nearly five thousand years before. The Egyptian of the Roman Period, like the Egyptian of the Early Empire, was content to think that his body would be received in the tomb by the jackal-headed Anubis; that the organs of his corruptible body would be presided over and guarded by animal-headed gods; that the reading of the pointer of the Great Scales, wherein his heart was weighed, would be made known by an ape to the ibis-headed scribe of the gods, whom we know by the name of Thoth; and that the beatified dead would be introduced to the god Osiris by a hawk-headed god called Horus, son of Isis, who in many respects was the counterpart of the god Ḥeru-ur, the oldest of all the gods of Egypt, whose type and symbol was the hawk. From first to last the indigenous Egyptian paid little heed to the events which happened outside his own country, and neither conquest nor invasion by foreign nations had any effect upon his personal belief. He continued to cultivate his land diligently, he worshipped the gods of his ancestors blindly, like them he spared no pains in making preparations for the preservation of his mummified body, and the heaven which he hoped to attain was fashioned according to old ideas of a fertile homestead, well stocked with cattle, where he would enjoy the company of his parents, and be able to worship the local gods whom he had adored upon earth. The priestly and upper classes certainly held views on these subjects which differed from those of the husbandman, but it is a significant fact that it was not the religion and mythology of the dynastic Egyptian, but that of the indigenous, predynastic Egyptian, with his animal gods and fantastic and half-savage beliefs, which strongly coloured the religion of the country in all periods of her history, and gave to her the characteristics which were regarded with astonishment and wonder by all the peoples who came in contact with the Egyptians.

The predynastic Egyptians in the earliest stages of their existence, like most savage and semi-savage peoples, believed that the sea, the earth, the air, and the sky were filled to overflowing with spirits, some of whom were engaged in carrying on the works of nature, and others in aiding or obstructing man in the course of his existence upon earth. Whatsoever happened in nature was attributed by them to the operations of a large number of spiritual beings, the life of whom was identical with the life of the great natural elements, and the existence of whom terminated with the destruction of the objects which they were supposed to animate. Such spirits, although invisible to mental eyes, were very real creatures in their minds, and to them they attributed all the passions which belong to man, and all his faculties and powers also. Everything in nature was inhabited by a spirit, and it was thought possible to endow a representation, or model, or figure of any object with a spirit or soul, provided a name was given to it; this spirit or soul lived in the drawing or figure until the object which it animated was broken or destroyed. The objects, both natural and artificial, which we consider to be inanimate were regarded by the predynastic Egyptians as animate, and in many respects they were thought to resemble man himself. The spirits who infested every part of the visible world were countless in forms, and they differed from each other in respect of power; the spirit that caused the Inundation of the Nile was greater than the one that lived in a canal, the spirit that made the sun to shine was more powerful than the one that governed the moon, and the spirit of a great tree was mightier than the one that animated an ear of corn or a blade of grass. The difference between the supposed powers of such spirits must have been distinguished at a very early period, and the half-savage inhabitants of Egypt must at the same time have made a sharp distinction between those whose operations were beneficial to them, and those whose actions brought upon them injury, loss, or death. It is easy to see how they might imagine that certain great natural objects were under the dominion of spirits who were capable of feeling wrath, or displeasure, and of making it manifest to man. Thus the spirit of the Nile would be regarded as beneficent and friendly when the waters of the river rose sufficiently during the period of the Inundation to ensure an abundant crop throughout the land; but when their rise was excessive, and they drowned the cattle and washed away the houses of the people, whether made of wattles or mud, or when they rose insufficiently and caused want and famine, the spirit of the Nile would be considered unfriendly and evil to man. An ample and sufficient Inundation was regarded as a sign that the spirit of the Nile was not displeased with man, but a destructive flood was a sure token of displeasure. The same feeling exists to this day in Egypt among the peasant-farmers, for several natives told me in 1899, the year of the lowest rise of the Nile of the XIXth century,[1] that "Allah was angry with them, and would not let the water come"; and one man added that in all his life he had never before known Allah to be so angry with them.

The spirits which were always hostile or unfriendly towards man, and were regarded by the Egyptians as evil spirits, were identified with certain animals and reptiles, and traditions of some of these seem to have been preserved until the latest period of dynastic history. Āpep, the serpent-devil of mist, darkness, storm, and night, of whom more will be said later on, and his fiends, the "children of rebellion," were not the result of the imagination of the Egyptians in historic times, but their existence dates from the period when Egypt was overrun by mighty beasts, huge serpents, and noxious reptiles of all kinds. The great serpent of Egyptian mythology, which was indeed a formidable opponent of the Sun-god, had its prototype in some monster serpent on earth, of which tradition had preserved a record; and that this is no mere theory is proved by the fact that the remains of a serpent, which must have been of enormous size, have recently been found in the Fayyûm. The vertebræ are said to indicate that the creature to which they belonged was longer than the largest python known.[2] The allies of the great serpent-devil Āpep were as hostile to man as was their master to the Sun-god, and they were regarded with terror by the minds of those who had evolved them. On the other hand, there were numbers of spirits whose actions were friendly and beneficial to man, and some of these were supposed to do battle on his behalf against the evil spirits.

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[1] In October, 1899, the level of the water of Lake Victoria was 2 ft. below the normal, and in December the level at Aswân was 5 ft. 8 ins. below the average of previous years.

[2] "If the proportions of this snake were the same as in the existing *Python* "*seboe* it probably reached a length of thirty feet." C. W. Andrews, D.Sc., in *Geological Mag.*, vol. viii., 1901, p. 438.

Thus at a very early period the predynastic Egyptian must have conceived the existence of a great company of spirits whose goodwill, or at all events whose inaction, could only be obtained by bribes, i.e., offerings, and cajolery and flattery; and of a second large company whose beneficent deeds to man he was wont to acknowledge and whose powerful help he was anxious to draw towards himself; and of a third company who were supposed to be occupied solely with making the sun, moon, and stars to shine, and the rivers and streams to flow, and the clouds to form and the rain to fall, and who, in fact, were always engaged in carrying out diligently the workings and evolutions of all natural things, both small and great. The spirits to whom in predynastic times the Egyptians ascribed a nature malicious or unfriendly towards man, and who were regarded much as modern nations have regarded goblins, hobgoblins, gnomes, trolls, elves, etc., developed in dynastic times into a corporate society, with aims, and intentions, and acts wholly evil, and with a government which was devised by the greatest and most evil of their number. To these, in process of time, were joined the spirits of evil men and women, and the prototype of hell was formed by assuming the existence of a place where evil spirits and their still more evil chiefs lived together. By the same process of imagination beneficent and friendly spirits were grouped together in one abode under the direction of rulers who were well disposed towards man, and this idea became the nucleus of the later conception of the heaven to which the souls of good men and women were supposed by the Egyptian to depart, after he had developed sufficiently to conceive the doctrine of immortality. The chiefs of the company of evil spirits subsequently became the powerful devils of historic times, and the rulers of the company of beneficent and good spirits became the gods; the spirits of the third company, i.e., the spirits of the powers of Nature, became the great cosmic gods of the dynastic Egyptians. The cult of this last class of spirits, or gods, differed in many ways from that of the spirits or gods who were supposed to be concerned entirely with the welfare of man, and in dynastic times there are abundant proofs of this in religious texts and compositions. In the hymns to the Sun-god, under whatsoever name he is worshipped, we find that the greatest wonder is expressed at his majesty and glory, and that he is apostrophised in terms which show forth the awe and fear of his devout adorer. His triumphant passage across the sky is described, the unfailing regularity of his rising and setting is mentioned, reference is made to the vast distance over which he passes in a moment of time, glory is duly ascribed to him for the great works which he performs in nature, and full recognition is given to him as the creator of men and animals, of birds and fish, of trees and plants, of reptiles, and of all created things; the praise of the god is full and sufficient, yet it is always that of a finite being who appears to be overwhelmed at the thought of the power and might of an apparently infinite being. The petitions lack the personal appeal which we find in the Egyptian's prayers to the man-god Osiris, and show that he regarded the two gods from entirely different points of view. It is impossible to say how early this distinction between the functions of the two gods was made, but it is certain that it is coeval with the beginnings of dynastic history, and that it was observed until very late times.

The element of magic, which is the oldest and most persistent characteristic of the worship of the gods and of the Egyptian religion, generally belongs to the period before this distinction was arrived at, and it is clear that it dates from the time when man thought that the good and evil spirits were beings who were not greatly different from himself, and who could be propitiated with gifts, and controlled by means of words of power and by the performance of ceremonies, and moved to action by hymns and addresses. This belief was present in the minds of the Egyptians in all ages of their history, and it exists in a modified form among the Muḥammadan Egyptians and Sûdânî men to this day. It is true that they proclaim vehemently that there is no god but God, and that Muḥammad is His Prophet, and that God's power is infinite and absolute, but they take care to guard the persons of themselves and their children from the Evil Eye and from the assaults of malicious and evil spirits, by means of amulets of all kinds as zealously now as their ancestors did in the days before the existence of God Who is One was conceived. The caravan men protect their camels from the Evil Eye of the spirits of the desert by fastening bright-coloured beads between the eyes of their beasts, and by means of long fringes which hang from their *mahlûfas*, or saddles, and in spite of their firm belief in the infinite power of God, they select an auspicious day on which to set out on a journey, and they never attempt to pass certain isolated caves, or ravines, or mountains, in the night time. All the members of the great family of the Jinn are to them as real to-day as their equivalents were to the ancient Egyptians, and, from the descriptions of desert spirits which are given by those who have been fortunate enough to see them, it is clear that traditions of the form and appearance of ancient Egyptian fiends and evil spirits have been unconsciously preserved until the present day. The modern Egyptians call them by Arabic names, but the descriptions of them agree well with those which might be made of certain genii that appear in ancient Egyptian mythological works treating of the Underworld and its inhabitants.

The peoples of the Eastern Sûdân, who are also Muḥammadans, have inherited many ideas and beliefs from the ancient Egyptians, and this is not to be wondered at when we remember that the civilization of Nubia from the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty to the end of the XXVIth, i.e., from about B.C. 1550 to about B.C. 550, was nothing but a slavish copy of that of Egypt. A stay of some months in the village at the foot of Jebel Barkal, which marks the site of a part of the old Nubian city of Napata, convinced me of this fact, and visits to other places in the Eastern Sûdân proved that these ideas and beliefs were widespread. The hills and deserts are, according to native belief, peopled with spirits, which are chiefly of a disposition unfriendly to man, and they are supposed to have the power of entering both human beings and animals almost at pleasure. Palm-trees die or become unfruitful, and cattle fall sick through the operations of evil spirits, and any misfortune which comes upon the community or upon the individual is referred to the same cause. The pyramids, which they call *tarabîl*, on the hill, are viewed with almost childish fear by the natives who, curiously enough, speak of the royal personages buried therein as *illâhât*, or "gods," and none of them, if it can possibly be avoided, will go up after sundown into "the mountain," as they call the sandstone ridge on which they are built. Tombs and cemeteries are carefully avoided at night as a matter of course, but to approach the pyramids at night is regarded as a wilful act which is sure to bring down upon the visitor the wrath of the spirits of the kings, who have by some means acquired a divine character in the eyes of the natives. When I was opening one of the pyramids at Jebel Barkal in 1897, Muḥammad wad Ibrahîm, the shêkh of the village, tried to keep the workmen at work as long as daylight lasted, but after this had been done for two or three evenings, several of the wives of the men appeared and carried off their husbands, fearing they should either be bewitched, or suffer some penalty for intrusion in that place at the time when, in popular opinion, the spirits of the dead came forth to enjoy the cool of the evening. The same idea prevailed further south among the people who lived on the river near the pyramids of Baḳrawîyeh, which mark the site of the royal necropolis of the ancient city of Berua, or Marua, i.e., Meroë. The local shêkh was appointed to go with me and to help in taking measurements of some of the pyramids at this place, but when we were about half a mile from them he dismounted, and said he could go no further because he was afraid of the spirits of the gods, *illâhât*, who were buried there. After much persuasion he consented to accompany me, but nothing would induce him to let the donkeys go to the pyramids; having hobbled them and tied them to a large stone he came on, but seated himself on the ground at the northern end of the main group of pyramids, and nothing would persuade him to move about among the ruins. The natives of Jebel Barkal viewed the work of excavation with great disfavour from the very first, and their hostile opinion was confirmed by the appearance at the pyramids of great numbers of wasps, which, they declared, were larger than any which they had seen before; they were convinced that they were evil spirits who had taken the form of wasps, and that evil was coming upon their village. It was useless to explain to them that the wasps only came there to drink from the water-skins, which were kept full and hung there on pegs driven into the masonry for the use of the workmen; and when a harmless snake, about eight feet long, which had also crawled there to drink, was killed one morning by the men, their fears of impending evil were confirmed, for they were certain that the spirit of a king had been killed, and they expected that vengeance would be taken upon them by the divine spirits of his companions.

About halfway up Jebel Barkal there lived four large hawks which always seemed to be following any person who ascended the mountain, but yet never came very near; these were always regarded by the natives as the embodied spirits of the gods whose figures still remain sculptured and painted on the walls of the rock-hewn sanctuary at the foot of the hill, and I never heard of any attempt being made to shoot or snare them by the people of the villages of Barkal, Shibba, or Marâwi. The inhabitants could not know that the hawk was probably the first living creature which was worshipped in the Nile Valley, and therefore the respect which they paid to the hawks must have been due to a tradition which had been handed down to them through countless generations from a past age. Their connecting the hawks with the figures of the gods sculptured in the sanctuary of Åmen-Râ is worthy of note, for it seems to show that on such matters they thought along the same lines as their ancestors.

Concerning amulets, the Sûdânî man is as superstitious as were his ancestors thousands of years ago, and he still believes that stones of certain colours possess magical properties, especially when inscribed with certain symbols, of the meaning of which, however, he has no knowledge, but which are due, he says, to the presence of spirits in them. Women and children, especially female children, protect many parts of their bodies with strings of beads made of magical stones, and sometimes with plaques of metal or stone, which are cut into various shapes and ornamented with signs of magical power; the positions of such plaques on the body are frequently identical with those whereon the dynastic Egyptians laid amulets on the dead, and, if we could learn from the Sûdânî folk the reasons which prompt them to make use of such things, we should probably find that the beliefs which underlie the customs are also identical. The above facts concerning the Sûdânî belief in spirits might be greatly multiplied, and they are not so remotely connected with the beliefs of the dynastic, and even predynastic, Egyptians, as may appear to be the case at first sight, and the writer believes that a large amount of information of a similar kind awaits the investigator, who will devote the necessary time to living in some of the out-of-the-way villages of the black (not negro) peoples who dwell on the eastern bank of the Nile and of the Blue Nile.

In many isolated places in Southern Nubia and the Eastern Sûdân are trees which men regard with reverence, but this may be the result of contact with the natives of Central Africa, where people pray to trees on certain occasions,[1] believing that the spirits which are supposed to dwell in them can bestow gifts upon those whom they regard with favour, and ensure safety both to themselves and their animals when travelling. Still further to the south certain animals, e.g., the cynocephalus ape, which plays such a prominent part in dynastic Egyptian mythology, are supposed to be inhabited by divine spirits and to possess extraordinary powers of intelligence in consequence, and the various kinds of scarabaei, or beetles, are thought to be animated by spirits, which the natives connect with the sun. The dead bodies of these insects were, in former days, often eaten by women who wished to become mothers of large families, and to this day parts of them are cooked, and treated with oil, and made into medicines[2] for the cure of sore eyes, etc. The dynastic Egyptians believed that the scarab was connected with the Sun-god Rā, and in religious texts of all periods it is said that the beetle occupied a place in the boat of this god.

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[1] "Under the wide-spreading branches of an enormous heglik-tree, and on a "spot beautifully clean and sprinkled with fine sand, the Bedeyat beseech an "unknown god to direct them in their undertakings and to protect them from "danger." Slatin Pâsha, *Fire and Sword in the Sudan*, London, 1896, p. 114.

[2] Ibrahîm Rûshdî, Clerk of Telegraphs at Benha, in Lower Egypt, told me in January, 1895, that in many districts the beetles were boiled, and the grease extracted from them; as they are being boiled the shells come off. The bodies are next roasted in olive oil, and then steeped in myrrh, and after this they are macerated in that liquid, and strained through muslin; the liquid which runs through is believed to cure the itching which is caused by a certain internal ailment. Some men drink a few drops of it in each cup of coffee, and women drink it to make them fat. The old women have a prescription for sore eyes, which is as follows:—Stick a splinter of wood through a series of beetles for twelve hours when a child is about to be born; when the child is born, pull the splinter out of the last beetle, and dip it in *kohl*, and rub the eyes of the child with it. If this be done in the proper way the child will never suffer from sore eyes.

We have already seen that the dynastic Egyptians, and their predecessors, conceived the existence of spirits hostile towards man, of spirits beneficent towards man, and of spirits which were wholly occupied with carrying out the various operations of Nature, and we must now consider the manner and forms in which they became visible to man. The commonest form in which a spirit was believed to make itself visible to man was that of some beast, or bird, or fish, or reptile, and at a very early period adoration, in one form or another, of the so-called inferior animals was well-nigh universal in Egypt. At the time when this worship began animals, as well as inanimate objects, were not considered by the inhabitants of the Nile Valley to be greatly removed from themselves in intelligence. Primitive man saw nothing ridiculous in attributing speech to inanimate objects and animals, which were supposed to think, and reason, and act like human beings; and the religious literature of many of the most ancient nations contains numerous proofs of this fact. Among the baked clay tablets found in the ruins of the Royal Library of Nineveh, which contained copies of hundreds of documents preserved in the temples of the most ancient cities of Babylonia, were fragments of a dialogue between a horse and an ox, which is now known as the "Fable of the Horse and the Ox,"[1] and it is tolerably certain that this dialogue did not originate in the reign of Ashur-bani-pal (B.C. 668–626), although the tablet on which it was written is not older than his time. Again, in the Creation Legend the dragon-monster Tiamat, the representative of the powers of evil and darkness, is made to conspire against the gods, and to create a serpent brood[2] in order to do effective battle with them; and other instances might be quoted to show that the Babylonians and Assyrians attributed to the animals reason, passions, and language.

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[1] See *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, London, 1900, p. 48; the fragments are exhibited in the British Museum, Nineveh Gallery, Table-case C.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 36. For the cuneiform tablets in the British Museum see Nineveh Galler , Table-case A. See also L. W. King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, vol. i., p. 1 ff.

From the Bible we learn that the Hebrews held the same views as their kinsmen on this matter, and we are told that the serpent beguiled and seduced Eve by his speech, and made her break the command of the Lord (Genesis iii. 1 ff.), and that the she-ass of Balaam remonstrated with her master and asked him why he had smitten her three times (Numbers xxii. 28). We may note in passing that this animal is said to have been able to see the Angel of the Lord standing in the way, whilst her master could not, and we are forcibly reminded of the belief which was current among Jews and Muḥammadans to the effect that dogs howled before a death because they were able to see the Angel of Death going about on his mission, to say nothing of our own superstition to the same effect, which, however, we seem to have derived not from the East, but from cognate northern European nations. We see also from the Book of Judges (ix. 8 ff.) that speech and reason were sometimes attributed to objects which we regard as inanimate, for we read that the trees "went forth on a time to anoint a king "over them; and they said unto the olive tree, Reign thou over us." When the olive tree refused, they went to the fig tree with the same request, and when the fig tree refused, they went to the vine, which refused to leave its wine "which cheereth God and man"; on this they applied to the bramble, which placed before them the choice of coming and putting their trust in its shadow, or of being burnt by the fire which should come forth from out of itself. In connexion with this idea may, perhaps, be mentioned the incident recorded in Numbers xxi. 17, wherein we are told that the princes and nobles digged a well "with their staves" by the direction of the lawgiver, and that the Children of Israel sang this song, "Spring up, O well; sing ye unto it." Many other examples might be quoted from Hebrew literature to show that animals and inanimate objects were on certain occasions regarded as beings which possessed thinking and reasoning powers similar to those of men.

Among the Egyptians animals thought, and reasoned, and spoke as a matter of course, and their literature is full of indications that they believed them to be moved by motives and passions similar to those of human beings. As a typical example may be quoted the instance of the cow, in the *Tale of the Two Brothers*, who tells her herd that his elder brother is standing behind the door of the byre with his dagger in his hand waiting to slay him; the young man having seen the feet of his brother under the door took to flight, and so saved his life. Here we have another proof that animals were sometimes credited with superhuman intelligence and discernment, since but for the warning of the cow, who had perceived what her master had failed to notice, the herd would have been slain as soon as he entered the byre. Here, too, must be noted the very important part which is played in the Judgment Scene in the *Book of the Dead* by animals. In the *Story of the Shipwreck* also we are told concerning a huge serpent thirty cubits long, with a beard two cubits long, which made a long speech to the unfortunate man who was wrecked on the island wherein it lived.

In the papyri of the XVIIIth Dynasty we have representations of the weighing of the heart of the deceased in the Great Balance, which takes place in the presence of the Great Company of the gods, who act as judges, and who pass the sentence of doom, that must be ratified by Osiris, according to the report of the god Thoth, who acts as scribe and secretary to the gods. The Egyptian hoped that his heart would exactly counterbalance the feather, symbolic of Maāt or the Law, and neither wished nor expected it to outweigh it, for he detested performing works of supererogation. The act of weighing was carefully watched by Anubis the god of the dead, whose duty was to cast to the Eater of the Dead the hearts which failed to balance the feather exactly; and by the guardian angel of the deceased, on behalf of the deceased; and by a dog-headed ape, who was seated on the top of the pillar, and who supported himself upon the bracket on which was balanced the beam of the Great Scales. This ape was the associate and companion of the god Thoth, and he was supposed to be skilled in the art of computation, and in the science of numbers, and in the measurement of time; his duty at the weighing of the heart was to scrutinize the pointer of the scales, and, having made sure that the beam of the scales was exactly level, i.e., that the heart and the feather exactly counterbalanced each other, to report the fact to Thoth, so that he in turn might make his report to the gods on the case under consideration. The ape seated on the pillar of the Scales belongs to a species which is now only found in the Sûdân, but which in late predynastic or in early dynastic times might have been found all over Egypt. The dog-headed ape is very clever, and even in modern times is regarded with much respect by the natives, who believe that its intelligence is of the highest order, and that its cunning is far superior to that of man; the high esteem in which it was held by the ancient Egyptians is proved by the fact that the god Thoth was held to be incarnate in him, and by the important functions which he performed in their mythology.

It will also be remembered that in the vignette which represents the sunrise in the *Book of the Dead* a company of six or seven dog-headed apes is depicted in the act of adoring the god of day, as he rises on the eastern horizon of heaven; they stand on their hind legs and their forepaws are raised in adoration, and they are supposed to be singing hymns to the Sun-god. In a text which describes this scene these apes are said to be the spirits of the dawn who sing hymns of praise to the Sun-god whilst he is rising, and who transform themselves into apes as soon as he has risen. It is a well known fact in natural history that the apes and the monkeys in the forests of Africa and other countries chatter noisily at dawn, and it is clear that it was the matutinal cries of these animals which suggested their connection with the spirits of the dawn. It is not stated in the text whether the spirits of the dawn were created afresh each day or not, or whether the monkeys transformed themselves into spirits daily, and so were able to greet the rising sun each morning. We may, however, connect the idea concerning them with that which is met with in an ancient Hebrew description[1] of the angels of Hebrew mythology, for one group of "angels of service" from the river of fire were supposed to be created daily in order to sing one hymn to God Almighty and then to come to an end.

Passing now to the consideration of the worship of animals by the Egyptians of the predynastic and dynastic periods, we have to endeavour to find the reasons which induced the early inhabitants of the Nile Valley to pay adoration to birds, beasts, fishes, and other creatures of the animal kingdom. A careful examination of the facts now available shows that in Egypt primitive man must have worshipped animals in the first instance because they possessed strength, and power, and cunning greater than his own, or because they were endowed with some quality which enabled them to do him bodily harm or to cause his death. The fundamental motive in man for worshipping animals was probably FEAR. When man first took up his abode in Egypt the physical conditions of the country must have resembled those of some parts of Central Africa at the present time, and the whole country was probably covered with forests and the ground obscured by dense undergrowth. In the forests great numbers of elephants and other large beasts must have lived, and the undergrowth formed a home for huge serpents of various species and for hosts of deadly reptiles of different kinds, and the river was filled with great crocodiles similar in length and bulk to those which have been seen in recent years in the Blue Nile and in the rivers further to the south. We have no means of knowing at what period the elephant was exterminated in Egypt, but it was probably long before dynastic times, because he finds no place in Egyptian mythology. The ivory objects which have been found in predynastic graves prove that this substance was prized by the primitive Egyptians, and that it was, comparatively, largely used by them for making personal ornaments and other small objects, but whether they imported elephants' tusks from the Sûdân, or obtained them from animals which they hunted and killed in some part of Egypt cannot be said. On the top of one of the standards[1] which are painted on predynastic vases we find the figure of an elephant, a fact which seems to show that this animal was the symbol of the family of the man for whom was made the vase on which it is found, or of his country, or of the tutelary deity, i.e., the god of his town or tribe. On the other hand, it is quite clear from several passages in the texts with which the walls of the chambers and corridors of the pyramid tombs of Unȧs and Tetȧ, and other kings of the Early

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[1] Compare Eisenmenger, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 371. כל יומא ויומא נבראין
מלאכי השרת מנהר דינור ואמרי שירה ובטלין

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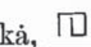
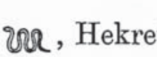
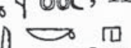
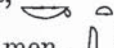
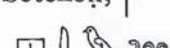
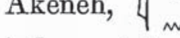
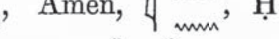
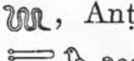
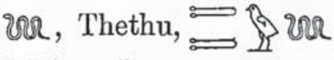
[1] See J. de Morgan, *Ethnographie Préhistorique*, p. 93.

Empire at Ṣaḳḳâra are inscribed that Egypt was infested with venomous snakes and noxious reptiles of various kinds when the original forms of those passages were written, and that they were sufficiently formidable and numerous to cause the living grave anxiety about the safety of the bodies of their dead. Thus in the text of Unȧs,[1] a king of the Vth Dynasty, we find a series of short magical formulae, many of which are directed against serpents and fierce animals, and all are couched in terms which prove that they must have been composed long before they were inscribed on the walls inside this king's pyramid, and M. Maspero is undoubtedly correct in thinking that they must have presented serious difficulties to the king's *literati*. In these formulae are mentioned the serpents Ufā, , Nāi, , Hekȧ, , Hekret, , Setcheḥ, , Ȧkeneh, , Ȧmen, , Ḥȧu, , Ȧnṭāf, , Tcheser-ṭep, , Thethu, , Hemth, , Senenȧhemthet, , and allusion is made to a most "terrible serpent," . At the time when these formulae were composed each of these serpents was probably the type of a class of venomous snakes, and their names no doubt described their physical characteristics and their methods of attack. The abject fear of the Egyptians for the serpent seems to have been constant in all generations, and the texts of the latest as well as those of the earliest period contain numerous prayers intended to deliver the deceased from the "serpents which are in the Underworld, which live upon "the bodies of men and women, and consume their blood."[2] Long after Egypt was cleared of snakes and when the country was in the condition in which we now know it, the tradition remained that a

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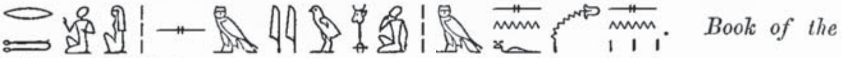
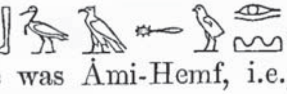
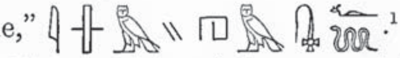
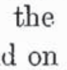
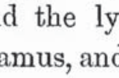
[1] Ed. Maspero, l. 533 ff.

[2]  . *Book of the Dead*, Chapter IB., l. 4.

mighty serpent, some thirty cubits, i.e., about fifty feet long, lived on the top of Bakhau, , the Mountain of the Sunrise, and his name was Ȧmi-Hemf, i.e., "Dweller in his flame," [1]

The worship of the serpent in Egypt is of great antiquity, and shrines to certain members of the species ~~must have~~ existed at a very early date. In predynastic times the uraeus was held in great veneration, and the great centre of its worship was in the Delta, at a place which the Egyptians in dynastic times called "Per-Uatchet," and the Greeks "Buto." At the period when the uraeus was being worshipped in Lower Egypt, the vulture was the chief object of adoration in Upper Egypt, its principal sanctuary being situated in the city which the Egyptians called "Nekhebet," and the Greeks "Eileithyiaspolis." The uraeus goddess was called "Uatchet," or "Uatchit," and the vulture goddess "Nekhebet," or "Nekhebit," and the cities which were the centres of their worship became so important, probably in consequence of this worship, that in the early dynastic period we find it customary for kings when they wished to proclaim their sovereignty over all Egypt to give themselves the title , which may be freely rendered by "Lord of the shrines of the Vulture and Uraeus." The equivalents of these signs are found on the now famous plaque inscribed with the name and titles of Āḥa, a king who is often, but without sufficient reason, assumed to be identical with Menȧ or Menes, and thus it is clear that the cities of Nekhebet and Per-Uatchet were important religious and administrative centres in predynastic times.

Other wild animals which were worshipped by the Egyptians about the same period were the lion, and the lynx, which they called *maftet*, , and the hippopotamus, and the quadruped which became the symbol of the god Set; among amphibious creatures the crocodile and the turtle were the most important. Among domestic animals the bull and the cow were the principal objects of worship, and proof is forthcoming that they were regarded as deities in predynastic times. The great strength of the bull, and his almost irresistible attack in fighting and headlong rush, excited the fear and admiration of primitive man, and his fecundating powers made him at a very early period the type of the generative principle in nature. For thousands of years the kings of Egypt delighted to call themselves "mighty bull," and the importance which they attached to this title is evinced by the fact that many of them inscribed it upon their *serekh*, or cognizance, which displayed their name as the descendant of Horus; in fact, it formed their Horus name. The figure of a bull is found sculptured upon some of the green slate objects which date from the predynastic period, and which have been erroneously called palettes, and a flint model of the head and horns of the cow, which in later times became the animal symbolic of the goddess Hathor, was found in a predynastic grave; all these objects are in the British Museum (Nos. 20,790, 20,792, and 32,124). The warrior kings of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties were pleased when the court scribes related in commemorative inscriptions how

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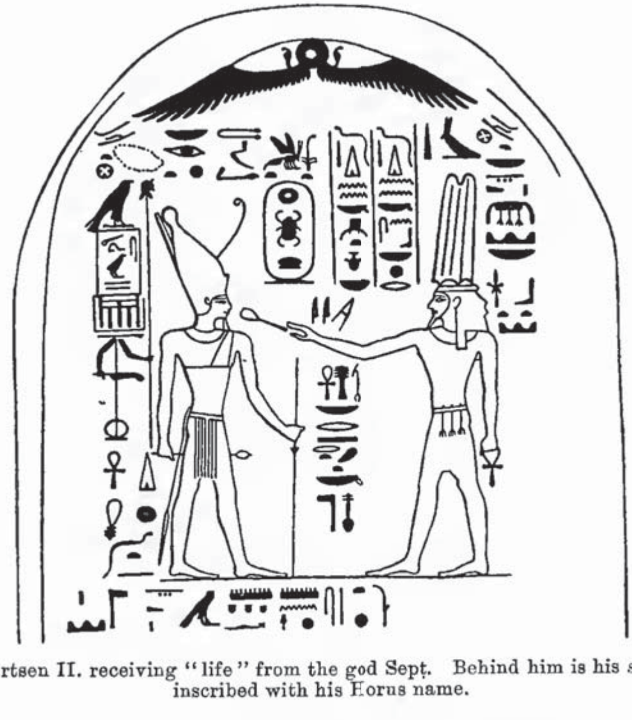
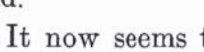
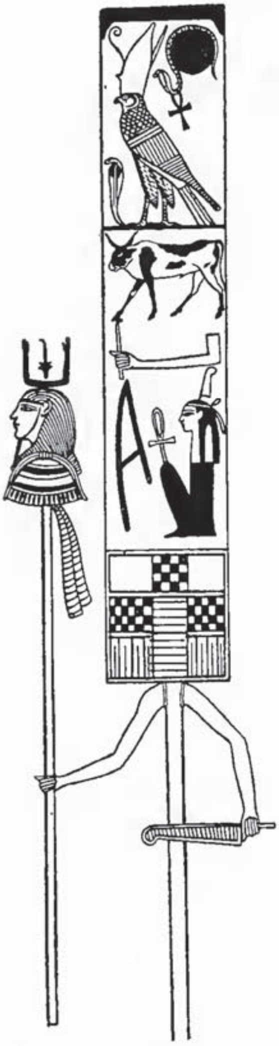
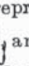
[1] *Book of the Dead*, Chapter cviii., l. 5.



Usertsen II. receiving "life" from the god Sepṭ. Behind him is his *serekh* inscribed with his Horus name.

their lords raged and roared like lions as they mounted their chariots and set out to crush the foolish enemy who had the temerity to defy them, but they preferred to be likened to the "mighty bull," who trampled opposition beneath his hoofs, and gored and destroyed with his horns that which his hoofs had failed to annihilate. Out of the reverence which was paid to the bull in predynastic times grew the worship of two special bulls, Ḥāp and Mer-ur, which names the Greeks modified into Apis and Mnevis, the sacred animals of the ancient cities of Memphis and Heliopolis respectively. The worship of Apis is at least as old as the beginning of the dynastic period, and we know that the cult of this bull continued in Memphis until the close of the rule of the Ptolemies. In some way the beliefs concerning Apis were connected with those which the Egyptians held concerning Osiris, the god and judge of the dead, who is called in the *Book of the Dead*[1] the "Bull of Ȧmentet," i.e., the "Bull of the Underworld," ; and in the Ptolemaïc period the two gods were merged into one and formed the god Sarapis, to whom were ascribed the attributes of the Egyptian and Greek gods of the Underworld.



Serekh of Rameses II., on which is inscribed the Horus name of this king, i.e., KA-NEKHT-MERI-MAĀT. The canopy of the *serekh* is in the form of the sky , and from the standard on which it rests spring two human arms and hands. The right grasps a standard surmounted by the head of the king, which here represents the "royal ka" , and the left the symbol of Maāt.

It now seems to be generally admitted by ethnologists that there are three main causes which have induced men to worship animals, i.e., they have worshipped them as animals, or as the dwelling-places of gods, or as representatives of tribal ancestors.

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[1] Chapter i., l. 4.

There is no reason whatsoever for doubting that in neolithic times the primitive Egyptians worshipped animals as animals and as nothing more; the belief that animals were the abodes of spirits or deities grew up in their minds later, and it was this which induced them to mummify the dead bodies of birds, and beasts, and fishes, etc., in which they thought deities to have been incarnate. We have no means of knowing exactly when this belief arose, but it is certainly as old as the time when the Apis Bull began to be worshipped, and when the Egyptians began to keep the ram and other animals, and birds, and reptiles, and fishes in sanctuaries, and to worship them as deities incarnate. In connection with it we must notice that, in the case of the Apis Bull and the Ram of Mendes, the god Apis did not take up his abode in every bull, and that the soul of Osiris, which was supposed to dwell in the Ram of Mendes, did not make his habitation in every ram. The Apis Bull, like the Ram of Mendes, had to be sought for diligently, and no bull or ram was made the object of veneration in the sanctuaries of Memphis or Mendes unless he possessed the characteristic marks by which the priests recognized him. The ordinary bulls and rams of the species to which the Apis Bull and the Ram of Mendes belonged were not regarded in the same light as the animals which by the marks upon them proclaimed themselves to be the creatures to which worship should be offered, and they were, of course, sacrificed in the performance of funeral ceremonies and killed and eaten as food by the people, even though somewhat of the deity may have been incarnate in them. When the Apis Bull or the Ram of Mendes died the deity who had been incarnate in it transferred himself to another animal, and therefore did not leave the earth.

The question as to whether the Egyptians worshipped animals as representations of tribal ancestors, or "totems," is one which has given rise to much discussion, and this is not to be wondered at, for the subject is one of difficulty. We know that many of the standards which represent the nomes of Egypt are distinguished by figures of birds and animals, e.g., the hawk, the bull, the hare, etc., but it is not clear whether these are intended to represent "totems" or not. It is pretty certain that the nome-standard of dynastic times was derived from the standards which the predynastic

Egyptians set up in their boats, or caused to be carried in ceremonial processions, or during the performance of public functions, and there is no reason for doubting that, substantially, the same ideas and beliefs underlie the use of both classes of standards. The animal or bird standing on the top of a nome-perch or standard is not intended for a fetish or a representation of a tribal ancestor, but for a creature which was regarded as the deity under whose protection the people of a certain tract of territory were placed, and we may assume that within the limits of that territory it was unlawful to injure or kill such animal or bird. Thus in the Nome of the Black Bull a black bull of a certain kind would be regarded as a sacred animal, and it is certain that in predynastic times worship would be offered to it as a god; similarly in the Nome of the Hare the hare would be worshipped; and in the Nome of the Hawk the hawk would be worshipped. Outside these nomes, however, the bull and the hare and the hawk might be, and probably were, killed and eaten for food, and from this point of view the sacred creatures of the Egyptians may be thought to have something in common with the totems, or deified representatives of tribal ancestors, and with the fetishes of the tribes of nations which are on the lowest levels of civilization. In connexion with this matter it is customary to quote the statements of Greek and Roman writers, many of whom scoff at the religion of the Egyptians because it included the worship of animals, and charge the nation with fatuity because the animals, etc., which were worshipped and preserved with all cáre in some places were killed and eaten in others. The evidence of such writers cannot be regarded as wholly trustworthy, first, because they did not take the trouble to understand the views which the Egyptians held about sacred animals, and secondly, because they were not in a position to obtain trustworthy information. In the passage from one of Juvenal's *Satires* already quoted, he declares that the Egyptians ate human flesh, and it is possible that he believed what he wrote; still the fact remains that there is not a particle of evidence in the Egyptian inscriptions to show that they ever did so, and we have every reason for believing that they were not cannibals.

His other statements about the religion of the Egyptians are, probably, as untrustworthy. There is not enough ancient Egyptian religious literature extant to enable us to trace the history of religion in all periods of dynastic history, still less are we able to follow it back in the predynastic period, because of that time we have no literature at all; such monuments and texts as we have, however, serve to show that the Egyptians first worshipped animals as animals, and nothing more, and later as the habitations of divine spirits or gods, but there is no reason for thinking that the animal worship of the Egyptians was descended from a system of totems or fetishes, as Mr. J. F. M'Lennan believed.[1] It has been assumed by some ethnologists that many primitive peoples have been accustomed to name individuals after animals, and that such animal names have in certain cases become tribe names. These may have become family surnames, and at length the myths may have grown up about them in which it is declared that the families concerned were actually descended "from the animals in question as ancestors, "whence might arise many other legends of strange adventures "and heroic deeds of ancestors, to be attributed to the quasi-human "animals whose names they bore; at the same time, popular "mystification between the great ancestor and the creature whose "name he held and handed down to his race, might lead to veneration "for the creature itself, and thence to full animal-worship."[2] This theory may explain certain facts connected with the animal-worship of numbers of savage or half-savage tribes in some parts of the world, but it cannot, in the writer's opinion, be regarded as affording an explanation of the animal-worship of the Egyptians. In dynastic times kings were, it is true, worshipped as gods, and divine honours were paid to their statues, but the reason for this was that the king was believed to be of the seed of the god Horus, the oldest of all the gods of Egypt. There is reason for believing that to certain men who were famous for their knowledge or for some great works which they had accomplished divine honours were paid, but neither these nor the kings were held to be gods who were worshipped throughout the land as were the well-known or natural gods of the country. In short, the worship which was paid to kings after their death, or to ordinary men, who were sometimes deified, was quite different from that paid to the gods of the country, whether they were in animal or human form or whether they represented the spirits which concerned themselves with the welfare of men or those which occupied themselves with the direction of the operations of Nature.

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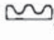
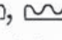
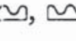
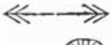
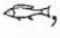
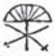
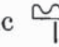
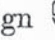
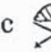
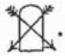
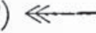
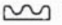
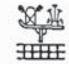
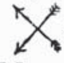
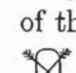
[1] See the *Fortnightly Review*, 1869–1870.

[2] See Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii., p. 236.

We see, moreover, from the nome-standards that several objects besides animals were worshipped and regarded as gods, or that they, at all events, became the symbols of the deities which were worshipped in them. In predynastic times we know that some standards were surmounted by representations of two, three, four, or five hills,[1] , , , , another by two arrows (?) , another by a fish, , another by two arrows and a shield, , etc. With the predynastic  is probably to be compared the dynastic sign , and with the predynastic  the dynastic sign . It is not easy at present to find a dynastic equivalent for the two arrows (?) , or to find the reason why the three hills  were connected with a god, but we shall probably be correct if we connect the two arrows (?) with some aboriginal god of war, and the three hills with the abode of some, at present, unknown god. The shield and the crossed arrows can, we think, be explained with more certainty. We know from the Nome-Lists that the fifth nome of Lower Egypt, , which was called Sâpi by the Egyptians and Saïtes by the Greeks, had for its capital the city Saut or Saïs, and that the great deity of this city was the goddess Nit or Neith. The dynastic pictures of this goddess represent her in the form of a goddess who holds in her hands two arrows and a bow; she sometimes wears upon her head the crown of the north , or , which is the sign for her name, or two crossed arrows ; in fact, such pictures prove beyond a doubt that Nit, the goddess of Saïs, was the goddess of the chase *par excellence*. That this goddess was worshipped in the earliest dynastic period is certain, for we find that her name forms part of the name of Nit-ḥetep, who seems to have been the daughter of king Sma, and who was probably the wife of Āḥa, and also part of that of the early dynastic king Mer-Nit. That the dynastic sign  is the equivalent of the predynastic sign there is no reason to doubt, and, as the former is known to represent the crossed arrows and shield of the hunting goddess of Saïs, we are justified in believing that its predynastic equivalent was intended to be a picture of the same objects, and to be symbolic of the same goddess.

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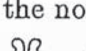
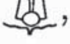
[1] See my "History of Egypt" (*Egypt in the Predynastic and Archaïc Periods*), vol. i., p. 78.

We have already mentioned the predynastic standard surmounted by the figure of an elephant, which was, undoubtedly, intended to represent a god, and thus it is clear that both in predynastic and dynastic times the Egyptians symbolized gods both by means of animals and by objects connected with their worship or with their supposed occupations. In dynastic Nome-Lists we have for the name of Mȧtenu a knife , for the nome of Ten a pair of horns surmounted by a plumed disk , for the nome of Uas, or Us, a sceptre , for the nome of Sesheshet a sistrum , etc. The first, third, and fourth of this group of examples are clearly objects which were connected with the worship of the gods whom they symbolize, and the second is probably intended to be the headdress of the god of the nome which it symbolizes. At this period of the world's history it is impossible to fathom the reasons which led men to select such objects as the symbols of their gods, and we can only accept the view that they were the product of some indigenous, dominant people who succeeded in establishing their religious customs so strongly in Egypt that they survived all political commotions, and changes, and foreign invasions, and flourished in the country until the third century of our era at least.

The cult of Nit, or Neith, must have been very general in Egypt, although in dynastic times the chief seat thereof was at Saïs in the Delta, and we know that devotees of the goddess lived as far south as Naḳâda, a few miles to the north of Thebes, for several objects inscribed with the name of queen Nit-ḥetep have been found in a grave at that place. Of the early worship of the goddess nothing is known, but it is most probable that she was adored as a great hunting spirit as were adored spirits of like character by primitive peoples in other parts of the world. The crossed arrows and shield indicate that she was a hunting spirit in the earliest times, but a picture of the dynastic period represents her with two crocodiles[1] sucking one at each breast, and thus she appears in later times to have had ascribed to her power over the river.

It has already been said that the primitive Egyptians, though believing that their gods possessed powers superior to their own, regarded them as beings who were liable to grow old and die, and who were moved to love and to hate, and to take pleasure in meat and drink like man; they were even supposed to intermarry with human beings and to have the power of begetting offspring like the "sons of God," as recorded in the Book of Genesis (vi. 2, 4). These ideas were common in all periods of Egyptian history, and it is clear that the Egyptians never wholly freed themselves from them; there is, in fact, abundant proof that even in the times when monotheism had developed in a remarkable degree they clung to them with a tenacity which is surprising. The religious texts contain numerous references to them, and beliefs which were conceived by the Egyptians in their lowest states of civilization are mingled with those which reveal the existence of high spiritual conceptions. The great storehouse of religious thought is the *Book of the Dead*, and in one of the earliest Recensions of that remarkable work we may examine its various layers with good result. In these are preserved many passages which throw light upon the views which were held concerning the gods, and the powers which they possessed, and the place where they dwelt in company with the beatified dead.

One of the most instructive of these passages for our purpose forms one of the texts which are inscribed on the walls and corridors of the chambers in the pyramid tombs of Unȧs, a king of the Vth Dynasty, and of Tetȧ, a king of the VIth Dynasty.

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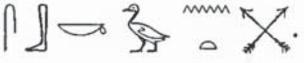
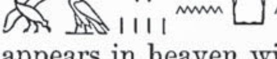
[1] In the text of Unȧs (l. 627) the crocodile-god Sebek is called the son of Neith



The paragraphs in general of the great Heliopolitan Recension deal, as we should expect, with the offerings which were to be made at stated intervals in the little chapels attached to the pyramids, and many were devoted to the object of removing enemies of every kind from the paths of the king in the Underworld; others contain hymns, and short prayers for his welfare, and magical formulae, and incantations. A few describe the great power which the beatified king enjoys in the world beyond the grave, and, of course, declare that the king is as great a lord in heaven as he was upon earth. The passage in question from the pyramid of Unȧs is of such interest and importance that it[1] is given in the Appendix to this Chapter, with interlinear translation and transliteration, and with the variant readings from the pyramid of Tetȧ, but the following general rendering of its contents may be useful. "The sky poureth down rain, the stars tremble, the bow-"bearers run about with hasty steps, the bones of Aker tremble, "and those who are ministrants unto them betake themselves to "flight when they see Unȧs rising [in the heavens] like a god who "liveth upon his fathers and feedeth upon his mothers. Unȧs is "the lord of wisdom whose name his mother knoweth not. The "noble estate of Unȧs is in heaven, and his strength in the horizon "is like unto that of the god Tem his father, indeed, he is stronger "than his father who gave him birth. The doubles (*kau*) of Unȧs "are behind him, and those whom he hath conquered are beneath "his feet. His gods are upon him, his uraei are upon his brow, "his serpent-guide is before him, and his soul looketh upon the "spirit of flame; the powers of Unȧs protect him." From this paragraph we see that Unȧs is declared to be the son of Tem, and has made himself stronger than his father, and that when the king, who lives upon his fathers and mothers, enters the sky as a god, all creation is smitten with terror. The sky dissolves in rain, the stars shake in their places, and even the bones of the great double lion-headed earth-god Aker, , quake, and all the lesser powers of heaven flee in fear. He is considered to have been a mighty conqueror upon earth, for those whom he has vanquished are beneath his feet; there is no reason why this statement should not be taken literally, and not as referring to the mere pictures of enemies which were sometimes painted on the cartonnage coverings of mummies under the feet, and upon the sandals of mummies, and upon the outside of the feet of coffins. An ordinary man possessed one *ka* or "double," but a king or a god was believed to possess many *kau* or "doubles." Thus in one text[1] the god Rā is said to possess seven souls (*bau*) and fourteen doubles (*kau*), and prayers were addressed to each soul and double of Rā as well as to the god himself; elsewhere[2] we are told that the fourteen *kau* of Rā, , were given to him by Thoth. Unȧs appears in heaven with his "gods" upon him, the serpents are on his brow, he is led by a serpent-guide, and is endowed with his powers. It is difficult to say what the "gods" here referred to really are, for it is unlikely that the allusion is to the small figures of gods which, in later times, were laid upon the bodies of the dead, and it seems that we are to understand that he, Unȧs, was accompanied by a number of divine beings who had laid their protecting strength upon him. The uraei on his brow and his serpent-guide were the emblems of similar beings whose help he had bespoken—in other words, they represented spirits of serpents which were made friendly towards man.

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[1] The hieroglyphic texts are given by Maspero, *Les Inscriptions des Pyramides de Saqqarah*, Paris, 1894, p. 67, l. 496, and p. 134, l. 319.

The passage in the text of Unȧs continues, "Unȧs is the Bull "of heaven which overcometh by his will, and which feedeth upon "that which cometh into being from every god, and he eateth "of the provender of those who fill themselves with words of "power and come from the Lake of Flame. Unȧs is provided "with power sufficient to resist his spirits (*khu*), and he riseth [in "heaven] like a mighty god who is the lord of the seat of the "hand (i.e., power) [of the gods]. He taketh his seat and his "back is towards Seb. Unȧs weigheth his speech with the god "whose name is hidden on the day of slaughtering the oldest "[gods]. Unȧs is the master of the offering and he tieth the "knot, and provideth meals for himself; he eateth men and he

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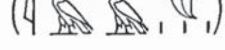
[1] Dümichen, *Tempelinschriften*, vol. i., pl. 29.

[2] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii., Bl. 194.

"liveth upon gods, he is the lord of offerings, and he keepeth "count of the lists of the same." The dead king is next likened to a young and vigorous bull which feeds upon what is produced by every god and upon those that come from the Fiery Lake to eat words of power. Here we have a survival of the old worship of the bull, which began in the earliest times in Egypt, and lasted until the Roman period. His food is that which is produced by every god, and when we remember that the Egyptians believed that every object, animate and inanimate, was the habitation of a spirit or god, it is easy to see that the allusion in these words is to the green herbage which the bull ordinarily eats, for from this point of view, every blade of grass was the abode of a god. In connexion with this may be quoted the words of Sankhônyâthân, the Sanchoniatho of the Greeks, as given by Eusebius, who says, "But these first men consecrated the productions of the "earth, and judged them gods, and worshipped those things, upon "which they themselves lived, and all their posterity, and all "before them; to these they made libations and sacrifices."[1]

Now the food of this bull Unàs is also said to be those who came from the Lake of Fire, or the city of She-Sàsà, and who are these? From Chapter cviii. of the *Book of the Dead* we learn that She-Sàsà was situated in Sekhet-Sàsà,[2] i.e., a district in heaven, and it is clear from the text of the Chapter that it was one of the abodes wherein the beatified dead obtained food. The deceased is made to say, "I have not lain down in death; I have stood over "thee,[3] and I have risen like a god. I have cackled like a goose, "and I have alighted like the hawk by the divine clouds and by "the great dew . . . . I have come from She-Sàsà, which is in "Sekhet-Sàsà, i.e., the Lake of Fire, which is in the Field of "Fire." Towards the end of the Chapter (line 10) mention is made of herbage or crops (), and it seems as if these

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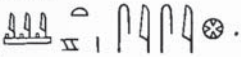
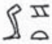
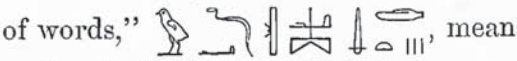
[1] Eusebius, *Praep. Evan.*, lib. i., c. 10 (in Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, London, 1832, p. 5).

[2] . See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, Text, p. 203.

[3] He speaks to the Thigh, , in heaven.

grew in the Field of Fire, or in the neighbourhood of it, and it is clear that it must be these which are referred to as the provender of those who come from the Lake of Fire. We are next told that Unàs hath power sufficient to oppose or resist his spirits (*khu*), but it is not certain whether these are beings in the Underworld which are hostile to him, or spirits which belong to himself; in any case the meaning of the passage is not clear. Having risen in heaven Unàs takes his seat with his back towards Seb, the great earth-god who was represented by the mythological goose which was supposed to have laid the great cosmic egg. In the latter part of the section of the text of Unàs quoted above we have some remarkable ideas enunciated. It is asserted first of all that he "weigheth his speech with the god whose name is hidden," which indicates that Unàs was supposed to be of equal rank and power with the god of judgment. From the Theban Recensions of the *Book of the Dead*[1] we know that the expression "weighing of words," , means also the "weighing of actions," and that it is applied to the examination of the deceased which is held on the day wherein his heart is weighed in the Great Scales. The examination was conducted by Thoth on behalf of Osiris, but the words in the text of Unàs show that the dead king considers himself able to judge his own actions, and to award himself happiness. The god of the hidden name is probably Osiris. Finally it is said that Unàs eats men and feeds upon the gods. We have already referred to the passage in Juvenal's *Fifteenth Satire* in which he declares that the Egyptians ate human flesh, and it has been already said that the dynastic inscriptions afford no proof whatsoever that the Egyptians were cannibals.

The statement here that Unàs ate men is definite enough, and it is not easy to give any other than a literal meaning to the words; we can only assume then that this portion of the text has reference to some acts of cannibalism of which a tradition had come down from predynastic to dynastic times. We gather from other passages in the texts of Unàs and Tetà what manner of treatment was meted out to the vanquished in battle by the victors, and it seems to find a parallel in the atrocious acts which were, and in some places still are, perpetrated by conquering tribes of Central Africa after a battle. In predynastic times all the property of those who were defeated in war was seized upon by the successful warriors, and all the women fell into their hands, and at times nameless abominations were committed upon the unfortunate male captives. The dead king in the texts of Unȧs and Tetȧ is, naturally, described as the lord of heaven and of all the beings and things which are therein; as such he is master of all the women, and it is said plainly of him that he is the "fecundator, and that "he carries off the women from their husbands to whatsoever place "he pleaseth whensoever he pleaseth."[1] Thus one of his attributes was that of the bull, which, because of his fecundity and strength, became the object of worship by the early Egyptians, and he exercised the rights of a victorious tribal chief. Upon the conquered men who were allowed to live terrible indignities were perpetrated, and in the text of Tetȧ the dead king is exhorted to rise up, "for Horus hath caused Thoth to bring unto thee thine "enemy, and he (i.e., Horus) hath put thee behind him in order "that he may not do thee an injury, and that thou mayest make "thy place upon him, so that when [thou] goest forth thou mayest "take thy place upon him, and he may not have union with "thee."[2] It is possible then that in predynastic times in addition to the wanton destruction which the Egyptians brought about after a victorious fight with their enemies, and the slaughter, and rapine, and nameless abominations which followed, they sometimes imitated the example of wild and savage beasts and ate the foes they had

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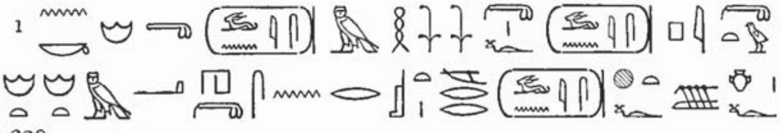
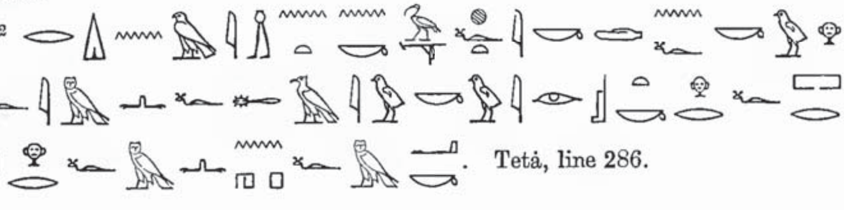
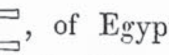
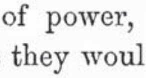
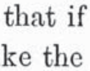
[1] See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, Text, p. 18, l. 12; p. 19, l. 5; etc.

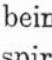
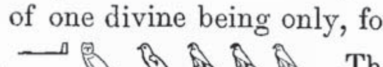
[1]  Unȧs, line 629.

[2]  Tetȧ, line 286.

conquered. The accounts of the battles of dynastic times show that the Egyptians looted and destroyed the cities and towns of the vanquished, and that they cut down orchards and gardens, and carried off all the flocks and herds which they could find; and there is abundant proof that they mutilated the bodies of their dead foes after a fight, but that they either ate them or behaved towards them in a manner contrary to nature there is absolutely no evidence to show.

We have now to consider the remaining paragraphs of the extract from the text of Unȧs. The gods upon whose bodies Unȧs fed were snared by Am-keḥuu, and they were examined as to their fitness and condition by Tcheser-ṭep-f, a divine being who was in later times one of the Forty-Two Judges in the Hall of Maāti, and is mentioned in the "Negative Confession" of the *Book of the Dead*. The gods were next bound by Ḥer-thertu, and the god Khensu cut their throats and took out their intestines; a being called Shesemu acted as butcher and cut them up and cooked the pieces thereof in his fiery cauldrons. Thereupon Unȧs ate them, and in eating them he also ate their words of power and their spirits. The largest and finest of the gods he ate at daybreak, and the smaller sized ones for meals at sunset, and the smallest for his meals in the night; the old and worn-out gods he rejected entirely and used them up as fuel in his furnace. The cauldrons in which the bodies of the gods were cooked were heated by the "Great One in heaven," who shot flame under those which contained the thighs of the oldest of the gods; and the "Perer, who is in heaven," of Unȧs cast also into cauldrons the thighs of their women. Unȧs is then said to make a journey about every part of the double sky, or double heaven, , i.e., the night sky and the day sky, and also to travel about, presumably from one end to the other, through the two *ȧṭebu*, , of Egypt, i.e., the land which lies between the mountains and the Nile on each side of the river. As a result of eating of the bodies of the gods Unȧs becomes the Great Sekhem, the Sekhem of the Sekhemu; he also becomes the Āshem of Āshem, the Great Āshem of the Āshemu. The power which protects Unȧs and which he possesses is greater than that of all the *sāḥu* in the heavens, and he becomes the eldest of all the firstborn gods and he goes before thousands and makes offerings to hundreds [of them]; indeed, the power which has been given to him as the Great Sekhem makes him to become as the star Saḥu, i.e., Orion, with the gods. "Unȧs can repeat his rising in the sky, for he is "the Seben crown as lord of the heavens. He taketh count of the "knots (or, sinews) and of livers, and he hath taken possession of "the hearts of the gods. He hath eaten the Red Crown, he hath "eaten the White Crown, and he feedeth upon fat entrails; the "offerings made to him are those in whose hearts live words of "power. What the Red Crown emitteth that he hath eaten, and "he flourisheth; the words of power are in his belly, and his *sāḥu* "is not turned away from him. He hath eaten the knowledge of "every god, and his existence and the duration of his life are "eternal and everlasting in any *sāḥu* which he is pleased to "make. Whatsoever he hateth he shall never do within the limits, "or, inside the borders of heaven. Behold their soul, i.e., the "soul of the gods, is in Unȧs, and their spirits are with him; "his food is more abundant than that of the gods, in whose bones "is the flame of Unȧs. Behold their soul is with Unȧs, and their "Shadows are with their Forms, or Attributes. Unȧs is in, or "with, the doubly hidden Khā gods (?) [as] a Sekhem, and having "performed [all] the ordinances of the (ceremony of) ploughing "the seat of the heart of Unȧs shall be among the living upon this "earth for ever and ever."

The last portion of the extract is of peculiar interest because it affords some insight into the beliefs which the Egyptians held about the constituent parts of the economy of the gods. We have already seen that a *ba*, or soul, has been assigned to Unȧs, and *kau*, or "doubles," and *khu*, or spirits, and a *sāḥu*, and a *sekhem;* the last two words are difficult to translate, but they are rendered with approximate correctness by "spiritual body," and "power." The soul was intimately connected with the heart, and was supposed to be gratified by offerings, which it was able to consume; the "double" was an integral part of a man, and was connected with his shadow, and came into being when he was born, and lived in the tomb with the body after death; the spirit was the seat of the spiritual part of man, and gods and divine personages were credited with the possession of several spirits; the *sāḥu*, or spiritual body, was the ethereal, intangible, transparent and translucent body, which was supposed, in dynastic times at all events, to grow from the dead body, the form of which it preserved; the *sekhem* was the "power" which seems to have animated the *sāḥu* and to have made it irresistible. From the extract given above from the text of Unȧs we learn that the gods were composed of all these various parts, and that in fact their economy resembled that of man; in other words, the Egyptians made their gods in their own image, only they attributed to them superhuman powers. The gods, however, preserved their existence by means of a magical protection which they enjoyed, *meket*, , and also by *ḥekau*, , which is commonly translated "words of power"; the aim of every Egyptian was to obtain possession of both the magical protection and the words of power, for they thought that if they once were masters of these they would be able to live like the gods. In the earliest times in Egypt men thought that the only way to obtain the strength and immortality of the gods was to eat the gods themselves, and so we read that Unȧs, having eaten parts of the boiled bodies of the gods, "hath eaten "their words of power (*ḥeka*), and swallowed their spirits (*khu*)." As a result of this he becomes the "Great Power," the "Power of Powers," i.e., the greatest Power in heaven. He becomes also the Āshem of Ashem, the great Āshem of the Āshemu, that is to say, the very essence of Āshem, and the greatest powers of the Āshemu beings are enshrined within him because he has within him the spirits and the words of power of the gods.

But what is the meaning of Āshem? In the text of Tetȧ the word has for its determinative a hawk perched upon a standard, , which shows that it has some meaning connected with deity or divinity, but it cannot be the name of one divine being only, for we find it in the plural form Āshemu, . The determinative, however, does not help us very much, for it proves little more than that some attribute of the Hawk-god Ḥeru was ascribed to the Āshemu; the hawk was undoubtedly the first creature worshipped by the predynastic Egyptians, and 𓅆 became in consequence the common determinative of all words implying the idea of deity or divinity, and of the proper names of the gods in a very large number of passages in the hieroglyphic texts inscribed on the walls of the chambers and corridors in the pyramids at Ṣaḳḳâra. The common name for "god," as we have already seen, is "neter," 𓊹, or 𓊹𓀭, with the plural "neteru," 𓊹𓊹𓊹, or 𓊹𓏪, or 𓊹𓊹𓊹𓀭𓏪, or 𓅆𓅆𓅆, but we find that the male gods are sometimes called "hawks," 𓃀𓎡𓈎𓅃𓅃𓅃, even when the female gods are called "netert," 𓊹𓏏𓂋𓏏𓆗𓆗𓆗.[1] In the *Book of the Dead*[2] the word Āshemu is written 𓂝𓈙𓅓𓅃𓏪𓀭𓏪, which may be translated by "divine Āshemu," and as the first determinative is a squatting hawk, we may assume that the word āshemu means "hawks."[3] If this assumption be correct, "Āshem of Āshem, Great Āshem of the Āshemu," means "Hawk of Hawk, the Great Hawk of the Hawks," and since the hawk was not only a god to the predynastic Egyptians, but their oldest and greatest god, being in fact the spirit of that which is above, i.e., heaven, the passage "Āshem of Āshem, Great Āshem of the Āshemu," may very well be rendered "god of god, great god of the gods." Thus with the words of power and the spirits of the gods in him Unȧs becomes the habitation of the power of God, and the firstborn of the gods. He is now able to go round about heaven at pleasure, and as the Great Sekhem, or Power, his visible emblem is Saḥ or Orion, and he is able to repeat his rising [daily] in heaven like this constellation. It is not improbable that the identification of Orion with kings who had eaten the gods filtered down in tradition to the Semitic people who lived in the Delta in dynastic times, and so became the base of the legends about Orion which are found among the Arabs and Hebrews.

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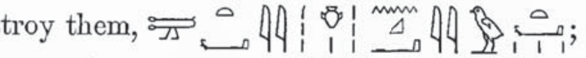
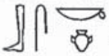
[1] See the text of Unȧs, line 209; in the text of Tetȧ, line 197, the gods are described as "male and female," 𓏌𓈖𓊹𓊹𓊹𓅓𓎟𓎟𓎟𓅓𓎟𓏏𓎟𓏏𓎟𓏏.

[2] See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, Text, p. 128, l. 14.

[3] A variant form of the word is *ākhem* 𓂝𓐍𓅃, and Brugsch (Wörterbuch, *Suppl.*, p. 279) renders it by "the symbol, or visible form of a god."

Modern travellers have put on record the fact that certain savage and semi-savage peoples were, even in recent times, in the habit of eating pieces of flesh of mighty wild animals or of strong men, and of drinking their blood with the view of absorbing their nature, and life, and strength into their own bodies.[1] This idea also existed among the Egyptians, both predynastic and dynastic, and we find an allusion to it in the extract from Unȧs under consideration, for he is said to take possession of the hearts of the gods, and to reckon up the *thesu* and *beqesu*, and to feed upon fat *smau*. The importance which the Egyptians attached to the possession of the physical heart, or of having power over it, is proved by many texts, and especially by several Chapters of the *Book of the Dead*, wherein we find many prayers which were specially written for the protection of the heart. Thus in Chapter xxvi. the deceased prays, "may my heart be to me in "the house of hearts, may my *ḥāti*[2] be to me in the house of "*ḥātu*"; Chapters xxvii., xxviii., and xxix. were written to prevent the heart being carried away by those who steal hearts and destroy them, ; Chapter xxix.A was composed to prevent its death in the Underworld; and Chapters xxx.A and xxx.B were intended to prevent a man's heart from being driven away from him there, especially at the time of the Judgment, when it was weighed in the Great Scales. For the words *thesu*, *beqesu*, and *smau* it is not easy to find equivalents. From the connexion in which it occurs *thesu* must mean either the vertebra or some internal organ of the body which resembles a tied or knotted cord, whilst of *beqesu* the determinative proves that it also is an internal organ. In Chapter xxx.A the deceased says, "Homage to thee, O my "heart (*ȧb*)! Homage to thee, O my *ḥāti* (pericardium?)! "Homage to thee, O my *besek*," which is probably a variant form of *beqes*, but curiously enough the determinative of *besek*, , is a heart. In spite of this, however, it seems as if the

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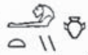
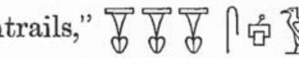
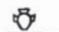
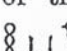
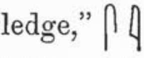
[1] See Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, p. 295.

[2] , the pericardium (?). In the ancient texts the *ḥāt*, or *ḥāti* of a god was the seat of the words of power by means of which he maintained his life.

word actually means "liver." Mr. Frazer has quoted in his work[1] instances which prove that savage tribes look upon the liver as the seat of the soul or life of man, and that portions of it are eaten by them with the view of acquiring the qualities of the former possessor of the liver. The words of the text of Unȧs do not say definitely that the king ate the *thesu* and livers of the gods who had been killed for him, but it is evident from the context that they were supposed to form part of his food. On the other hand, it is said definitely that he did eat their *smau saau*, or "fat entrails," , and their hearts, , or those portions of them which were the seats of the *ḥekau*, , or words of magical power, which were the source of their life.

Now besides the spirits, and the words of power, and the internal organs of the gods, Unȧs, it is said, hath eaten the "knowledge,"  *sȧa*, of every god, and the period of his life and his existence are merged into eternity and everlastingness, which he may pass in any way that pleaseth his spiritual body (*sāḥ*), and during this existence he has no need whatsoever to do anything which is distasteful to him. Moreover, the soul[s] and spirits of the gods are in and with Unȧs, and their souls, and their shadows, and their divine forms are with him. Thus we see that Unȧs has absorbed within his spiritual body all the life and power of the gods, and his portion is everlasting life, and he can do anything and everything he pleases. Here we should naturally expect the section to come to an end, but the last sentence goes on to say that Unȧs is with the double Khā god, who is invisible, or unknown, and that being a Power (*sekhem*) who hath performed [the ceremony] of ploughing, "the seat of the heart[2] of Unȧs shall "be among those who live upon this earth for ever and for ever." In this sentence we have an illustration of the difficulty of understanding and explaining the Egyptian religion and the doctrine of the gods. In the early portion of the passage from the text of

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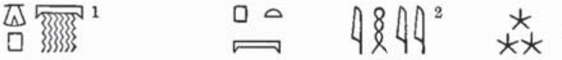
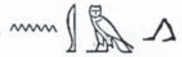
[1] *The Golden Bough*, vol. ii., p. 357 (2nd edition).

[2] The word here used is *ȧb* .

Unȧs already translated and analyzed we are told how the dead king became the god of god, immortal and invisible, with supreme power in heaven, etc., but at the end of it we read that the seat of the heart of Unȧs shall be among those who live upon this earth for ever and ever, i.e., Unȧs shall enjoy after death a continuation of the life which he began in this world; in fact, shall have a double existence, the one heavenly and the other earthly.

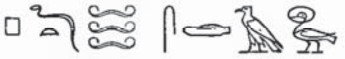
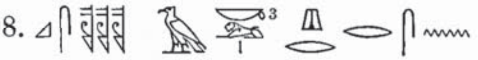
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

UNȦS, THE SLAYER AND EATER OF THE GODS

496.  497. 

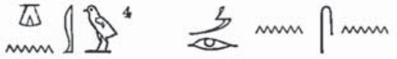
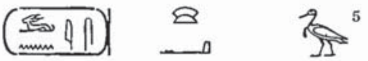
ḳep̂ pet ȧḥi sebu nem

Poureth down water heaven, tremble the stars, go about

 498. 

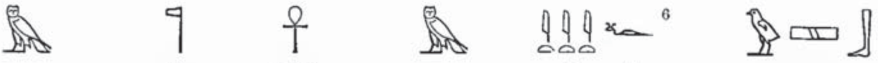
petchet seṭa qes Aker ḳer - er - sen

the bow-bearers, quake the bones of Aker, those beneath them

 499. 

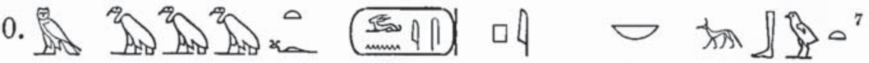
kenemu ma en sen Unȧs khā ba

take to flight [when] they see Unȧs rising [as] a soul



em neter ānkh em ȧt - f usheb

like a god [who] liveth upon his fathers [and] feedeth

500. 

em mut - f Unȧs pȧ neb sabut

upon his mothers. Unȧs this [is] the lord of wisdom,

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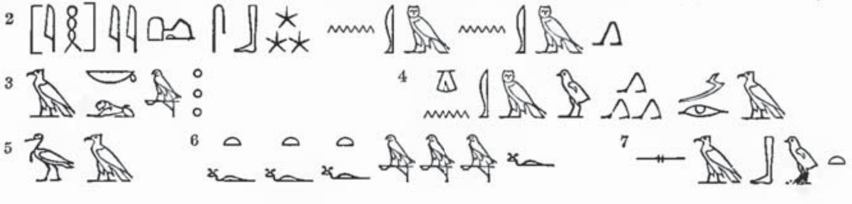
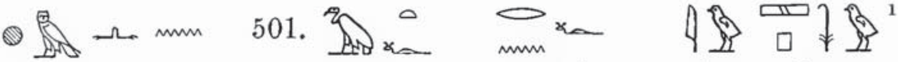
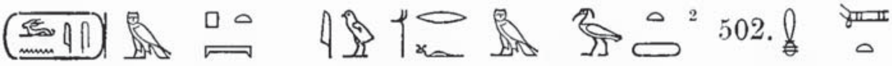
[1] The text here given is from the Pyramid of Unȧs (Maspero, *Recueil*, tom. iv., p. 59); the variants are from the Pyramid of Tetȧ (*Recueil*, tom. v., p. 48, l. 319).

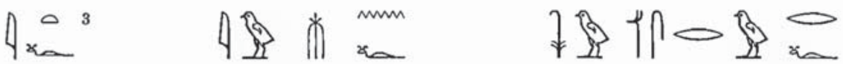




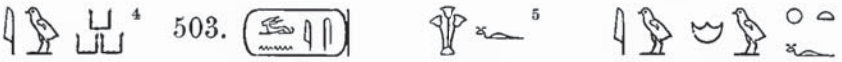
khem en 501. *mut-f ren-f ȧu shepsu*[1]
knoweth not his mother his name. Is the noble rank



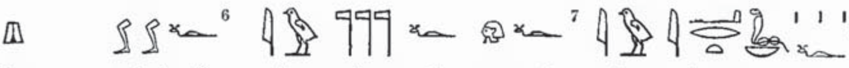
Unȧs em pet ȧu user-f em khut[2] 502. *mȧ Tem*
of Unȧs in heaven, is his strength in the horizon like Tem,



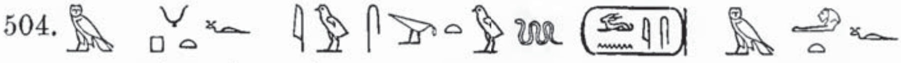
ȧt-f[3] *ȧu mes-nef su useru eref*
his father; he (i.e., Tem) begot him [and] he became stronger than he.



ȧu kau[4] 503. *Unȧs ḥa-f*[5] *ȧu ḥemu set-f* (?)
Are the doubles of Unȧs behind him, the conquered [are]



kher reṭui-f[6] *ȧu neteru-f ṭep-f*[7] *ȧu ȧārt - f*[8]
beneath his two feet. His gods are on him. His uraei are



504. *em ȧpt-f ȧu semtu Unȧs em ḥāt-f*
on his brow. The serpent guide of Unȧs is before him.

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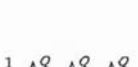
[1] 

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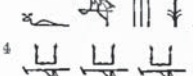
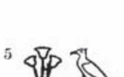
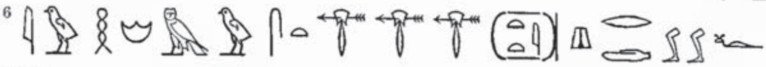
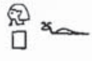
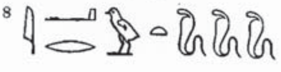
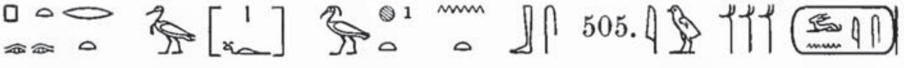
[4] 

[5] 

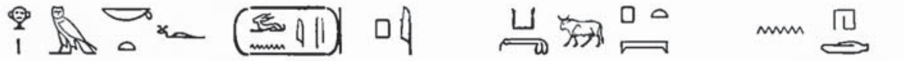
[6] 

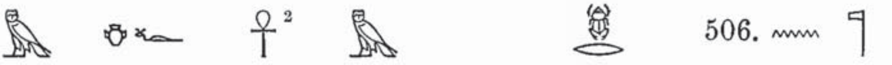
[7] 

[8] 

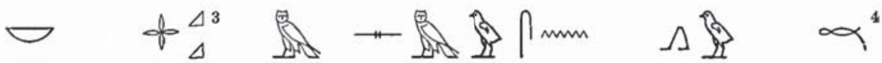


petret ba khut ent bes ȧu useru Unȧs
Seeth soul [his] the spirit of flame. The powers of Unȧs

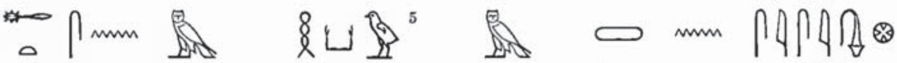

ḥer meket-f Unȧs pȧ ka pet en heṭ
protect him. Unȧs this [is] the bull of heaven that thrusteth



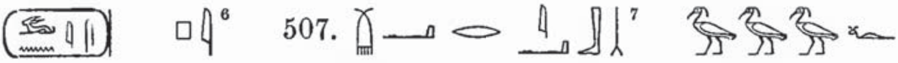
em ȧb-f ānkh em kheper en neter
with his will, living upon what cometh into being of god



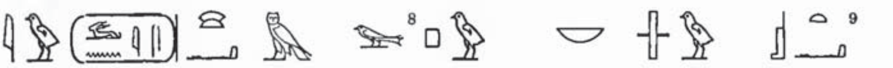
neb ām em semu - sen iu meḥ
every, and eating of their food who come to fill



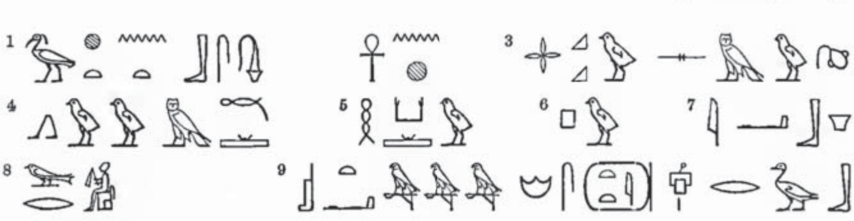
khat-sen em ḥekau em She en Sȧsȧ
their belly with words of power from the lake of Flame.

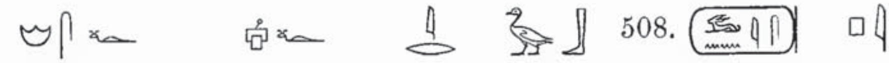


Unȧs pȧ āper-ā er ȧāb khu - f
Unȧs this [is] provided with power against his spirits.



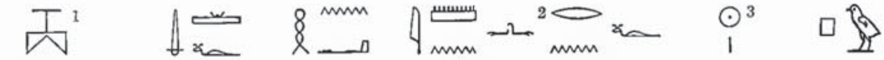
ȧu Unȧs khā em ur pu neb ȧmu ȧst-ā
Unȧs riseth like a mighty one, the lord in the seat of the hand [of the gods].





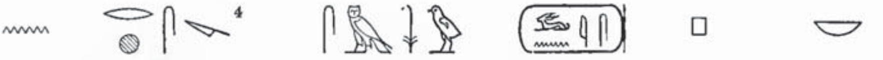
ḥems-f sa-f ȧr Seb 508. *Unȧs pȧ*

He is seated [with] his back to Seb. Unȧs this



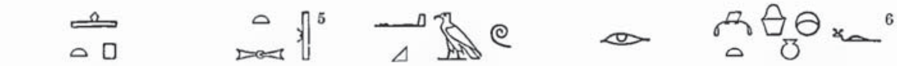
utchā met-f ḥenā Ȧmen ren-f hru pu

weigheth his word with Hidden of Name on day this



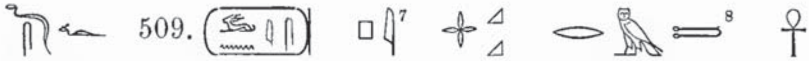
en rekhes semsu Unȧs p[u] neb

of slaughtering the eldest [gods] Unȧs this [is] the lord



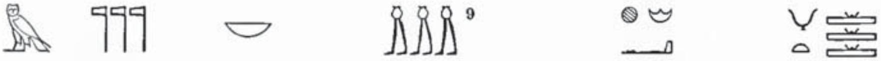
ḥetep tes āqa ȧri āut-f

of the offering, tying the knot, making his meals



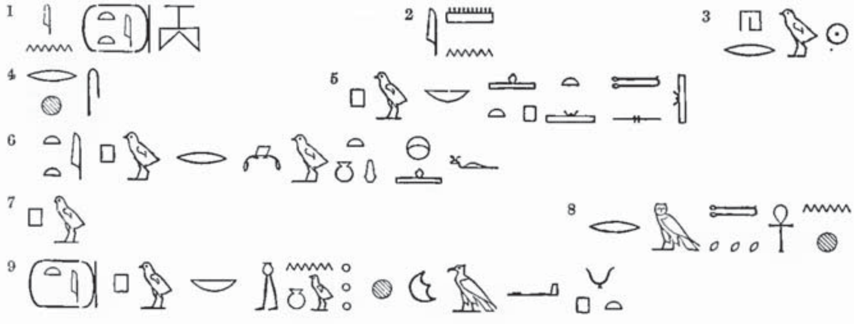
tchesef 509. *Unȧs pȧ ām remth ānkh*

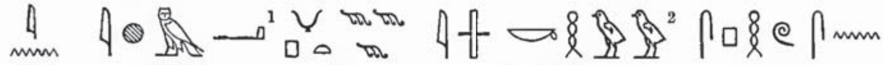
for himself. Unȧs this eateth men [and] liveth



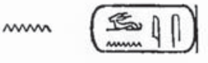
em neteru neb ˙ȧnnu khḥā ȧpt

on the gods, the lord of the offerings, who examineth the lists of offerings.





ȧn	*ȧkhem*	*ȧpt*	*Ȧm-keḥuu*	*sepeḥ - sen*
Behold, he who maketh to bow foreheads,			Ȧm-keḥuu	hath snared them



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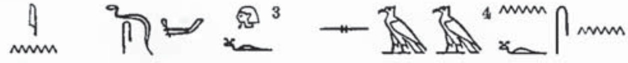
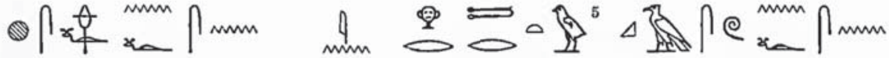
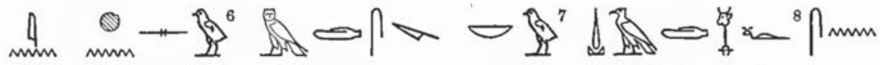


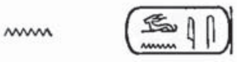
en	*Unȧs*	*ȧn*	*Tcheser-ṭep-f*	*saa-nef-sen*
for	Unȧs.	Behold,	Tcheser-ṭep-f	hath known them



khesef - nef sen	*ȧn*	*Ḥer - thertu*	*qas - nef sen*
[and] he hath driven them [to him].	Behold,	Ḥer-thertu	hath bound them.



ȧn	*Khensu*	*meṭes*	*nebu*	*tchaṭ - f sen*
Behold,	Khensu	the slaughterer	of lords	hath cut the throats of them



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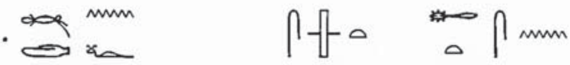
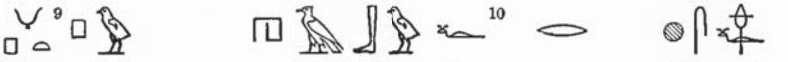


en	*Unȧs*	*sheṭ-nef*	*ȧmt*	*khat - sen*
for	Unȧs,	[and] he hath torn out	what is in	their belly,



ȧpt pu	*habu - f*	*er*	*khesef*
[for] he is the messenger	[whom] he sent	to	drive [them].

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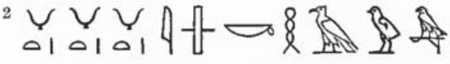
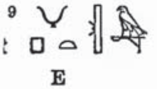
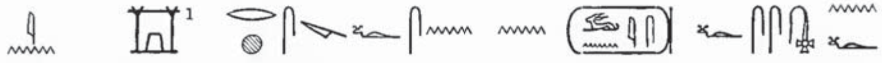
[1] [2] 

[3] . This creature is mentioned in the Negative Confession; see my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, Text, p. 259, l. 41.

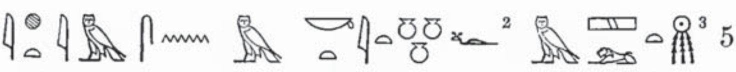
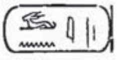
[4] [5]

[6] [7] [8] wanting.

[9]  [10]

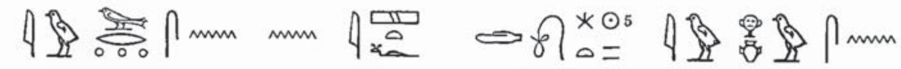


àn Shesemu rekhes - f sen en Unàs feses - nef
Behold, Shesemu hath cut them up for Unàs, he hath boiled

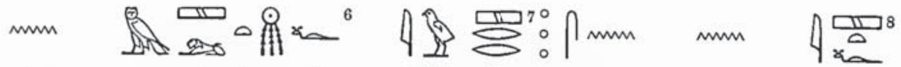

512.


àkhet àm - sen em ketàt - f meshert Unàs
pieces of them in his cauldrons blazing. Unàs

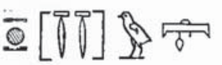
pà ām ḥeka - sen àām khu - sen
this hath eaten their words of power, [he] hath eaten their spirits.



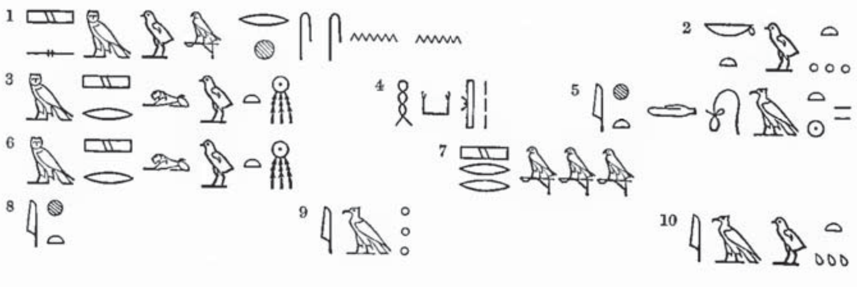
àu uru - sen en àshet-f ṭuat àu ḥer-àbu - sen
Their great ones are for his meal of the morning, their middle ones are



en meshert - f àu shereru - sen en àsht-f
for his sunset meal, their little ones are for his meal


513.

àu àa - sen àatu - sen
of the night, their old ones (male) their old ones (female) are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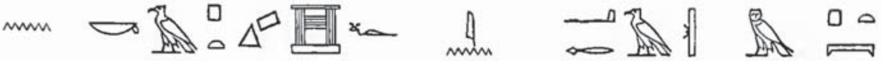
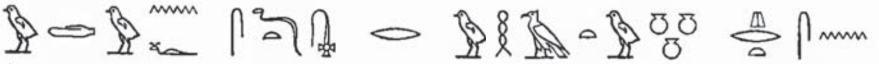


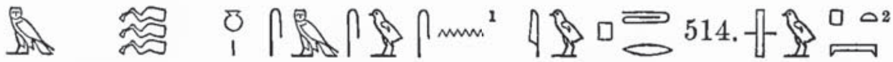
en kapt - f ȧn āāa em pet

for his furnace. Behold, the great one in heaven



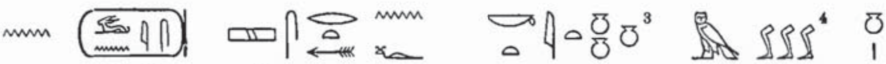
uṭu-nef setchet er uḥatu khert-sen

hath shot flame against the cauldrons beneath them



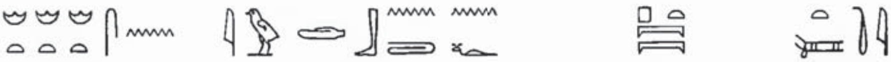
em khepeshu nu semsu - sen ȧu Perer - ȧmu - pet

with the thighs of the eldest ones. Perer-ȧmu-pet



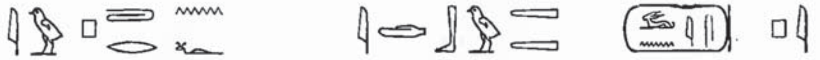
en Unȧs shesert - nef ketȧt em reṭu nu

of Unȧs hath thrown [into] the cauldrons the legs of



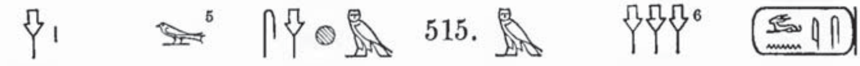
ḥemt - sen ȧu ṭeben - nef pet tem-thȧ

their women. He hath gone round about the double heaven, all of it,



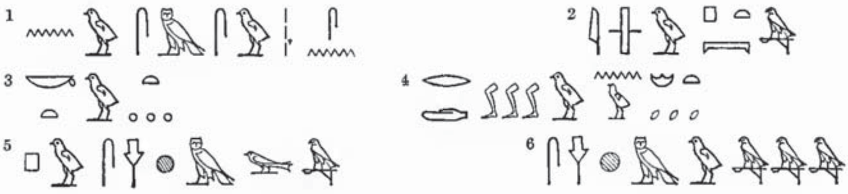
ȧu perer - nef ȧṭebu Unȧs pȧ

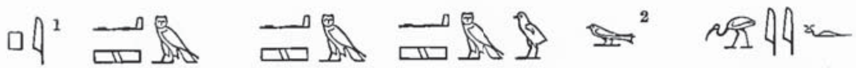
he hath gone round about the two halves of Egypt. Unȧs this [is]



sekhem ur sekhem em sekhemu Unȧs

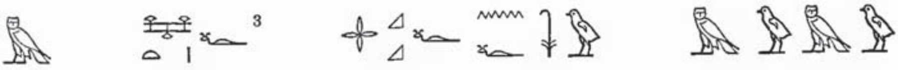
the sekhem great, the sekhem of the sekhemu. Unȧs





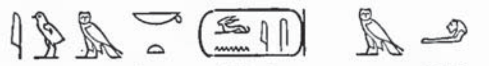
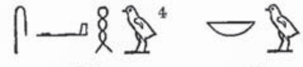
pȧ āshem āshem āshemu ur qemi - f

this [is] the āshem, the āshem of the āshemu great. [What] he findeth



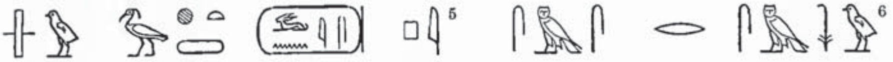
em uat - f ām - f nef su em umu

on his way he eateth it greedily.

 516. 

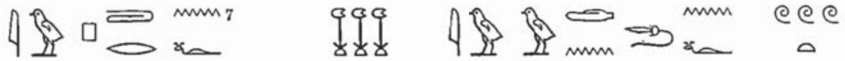
ȧu meket Unȧs em ḥāt sāḥu nebu

The protection of Unȧs [is] before [that of] the sāḥu all



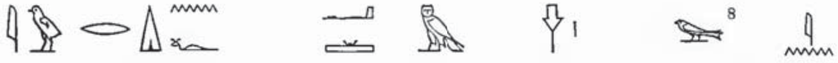
ȧmu khut Unȧs pȧ semes er semsu

in the horizon. Unȧs this is the eldest of the old ones.



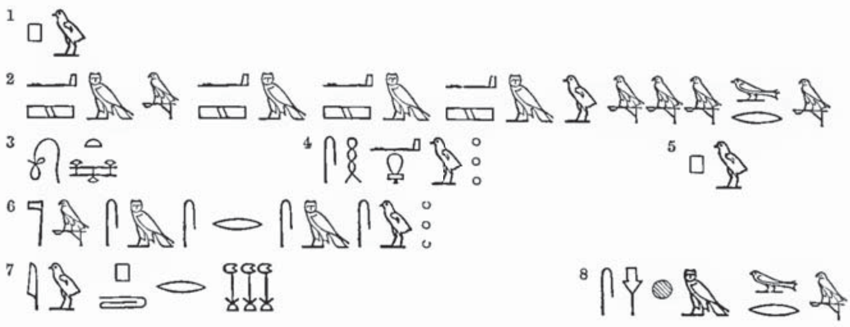
ȧu perer - nef khau ȧu uṭen - nef shāut

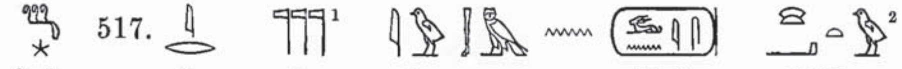
He hath gone round thousands, he hath offered hundreds.



ȧu erṭā - nef ā em sekhem ur ȧn

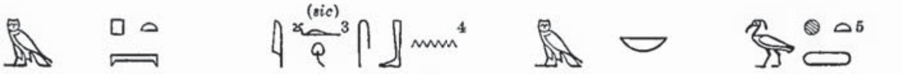
Hath been given to him the hand as the sekhem great, behold





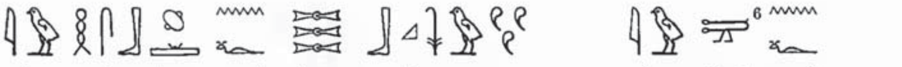
Sahu 517. *ȧr neteru ȧu nem en Unȧs khātu*

Orion, with the gods. Hath repeated Unȧs [his] rising



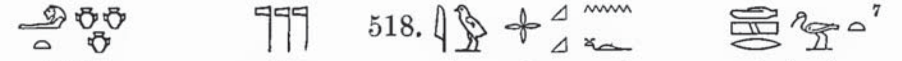
em pet . . . . seben em neb khut

in heaven. He is the *seben* crown as lord of the horizon.



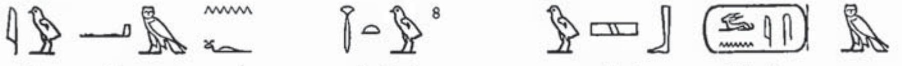
ȧu ḥeseb - nef ṭesu beqesu ȧu thet - nef

He hath counted up knots [and] livers. He hath taken possession of



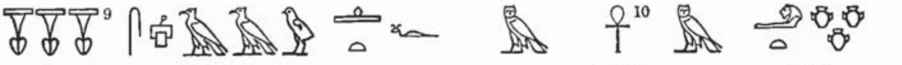
ḥātu neteru 518. *ȧu ām - nef ṭeshert*

the hearts of the gods. He hath eaten the Red Crown,



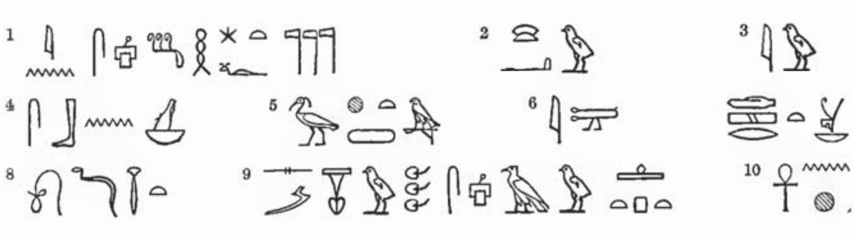
ȧu ām - nef uatchetu usheb Unȧs em

he hath eaten the White Crown. Feedeth Unȧs upon



smau saau ḥetep-f em ānkh em ḥātu

entrails fat, his offering [is that] whereon live in [their] hearts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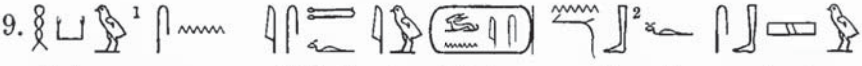
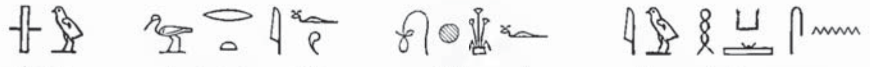
519. 

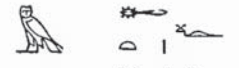
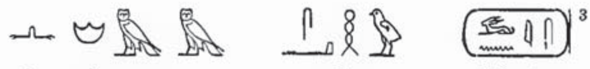
ḥekau - sen ȧsth-f ȧu Unȧs nesb - f sebeshu

their words of power. Behold, Unȧs eateth what is cast out



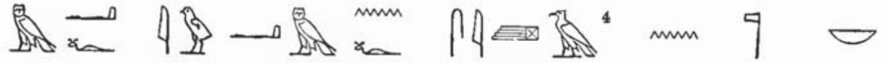
ȧmu ṭeshert ȧf uakhḥa - f ȧu ḥeka - sen

[from] the Red Crown, he flourisheth, their words of power

 520. 

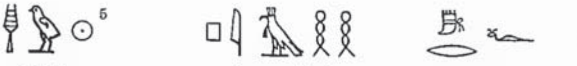
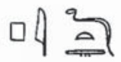
em khat-f ȧn ḥem em sāḥu Unȧs

are in his belly, not is turned back the sāḥu of Unȧs



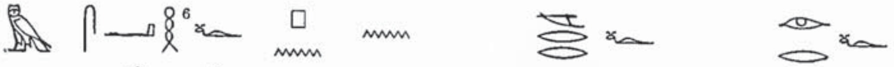
mā-f ȧu ām - nej sȧa en neter neb

from him. He hath eaten the intelligence of god every,

 521. 

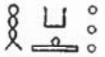
āḥāu pȧ neḥeḥ tcher-f pȧ tchetta

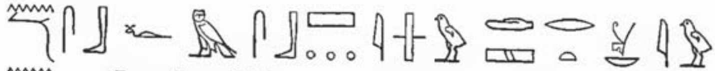
[his] period of life [is] eternity, his existence is everlastingness

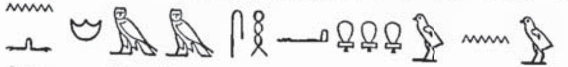


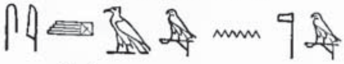
em sāḥ - f pen en merer - f ȧr - f

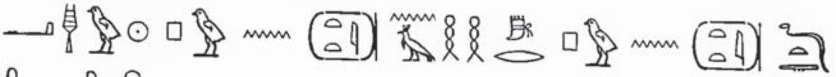
in his sāḥ, this what he is pleased [to do] he doeth,

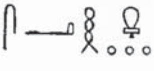
[1] 

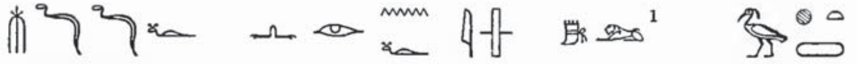
[2] 

[3] 

[4] 

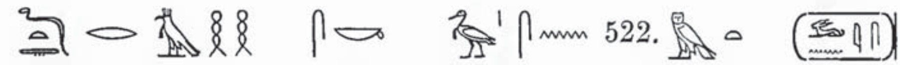
[5] 

[6] 



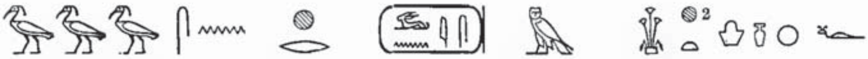
mestchetch-f *ȧn* *ȧr-nef* *ȧm* *tcher* *khut*

[what] he hateth not doeth he in the limits of the horizon



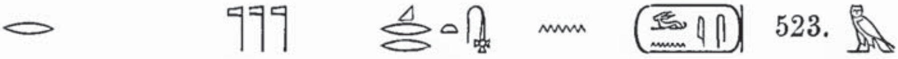
tchetta er *neḥeḥ* *sek* *ba - sen* 522. *ȧmt* *Unȧs*

for ever and ever. Behold, their soul [is] in Unȧs,



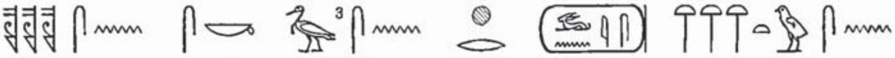
khu - sen *kher* *Unȧs* *em* *ḥa* *khet - f*

spirits their [are] with Unȧs, more abundant [is] his food



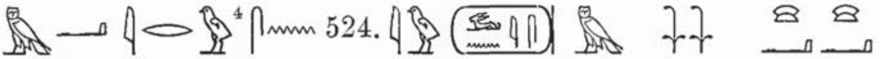
er *neteru* *qerert* *en* *Unȧs* 523. *em*

than [that of] the gods. The flame of Unȧs [is] in



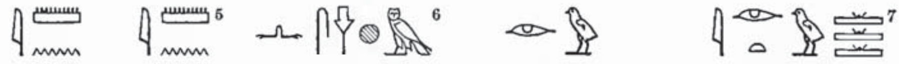
qesu - sen *sek* *ba-sen* *kher* *Unȧs* *khaibitu-sen*

their bones, behold, their soul is with Unȧs, their shadows



mā *ȧru - sen* 524. *ȧu* *Unȧs* *em* *enen* *khā* *khā*

are with their forms. Unȧs is with these, rising, rising,



ȧmen *ȧmen* *sekhem* *ȧru* *ȧritu* ....

hidden, hidden, a sekhem having performed the ordinances

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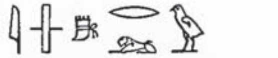
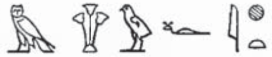
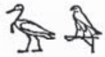
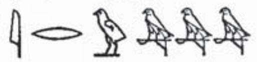
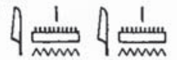
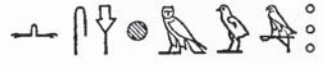
[1] 

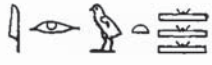
[2] 

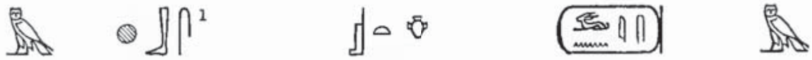
[3] 

[4] 

[5] 

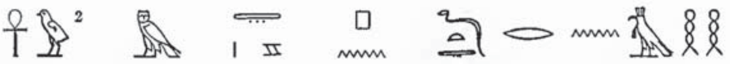
[6] 

[7] 

525. 

em khebes ȧst-ȧb Unȧs em

of ploughing, the seat of the heart of Unȧs [is] among



ānkhu em ta pen tchetta er neḥeḥ

the living on earth this for ever and for ever.

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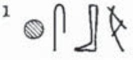
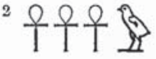
[1] 

[2] 

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTION OF GOD AND THE "GODS"

THE texts in the pyramids of Unȧs and Tetȧ and their immediate successors prove that the religious literature of the Egyptians contains a multitude of beliefs and opinions which belong to all periods of their history, and represent different stages in the development of their civilization. Their ideas about the various parts which constitute their material, and mental, and spiritual existences cannot have been conceived all at once, but it is very hard to say in respect of some of them which came first. We need not trouble about the order of the development of their ideas about the constituent parts of the gods, for in the earliest times, at least, the Egyptians only ascribed to them the attributes which they had already ascribed to themselves; once having believed that they possessed doubles, shadows, souls, spirits, hearts, (i.e., the seats of the mental life), names, powers, and spiritual bodies, they assigned the like to the gods. But if the gods possessed doubles, and shadows, and hearts, none of which, in the case of man, can exist without bodies, they too must possess bodies, and thus the Egyptians conceived the existence of gods who could eat, and drink, and love, and hate, and fight, and make war, and grow old, and die, and perish as far as their bodies were concerned. And although the texts show that in very early times they began to conceive monotheistic ideas, and to develop beliefs of a highly spiritual character, the Egyptians never succeeded in abandoning the crude opinion about the gods which their indigenous ancestors had formed long before the dynastic period of their history. It is, of course, impossible to assume that educated classes of Egypt held such opinions, notwithstanding the fact that religious texts which were written for their benefit contain as great a mixture of views and beliefs of all periods as those which were written for humbler folk.

The *Book of the Dead* in all dynasties proves that the rich and the poor, and the educated and the uneducated alike prayed for funeral offerings in the very Chapters in which they proclaimed their sure belief in an existence in which material things were superfluities. In the texts of the Early Empire the deceased is declared to be a god, or God, and the son of god, or God, and the oldest god of all, Horus, gives him his eye, and he sits on a great throne by the side of God; yet in the same texts we read that he partakes of the figs and wine of the gods, that he drinks beer which lasts for ever, that he thirsts not like the gods Shu and Tefnut, and that the throne of God is made of iron, that its legs terminate in hoofs like those of bulls, and that its sides are ornamented with the faces of lions.[1] The great god Horus gives him his own "double" (*ka*), and yet there are in heaven enemies who dare to oppose the deceased; and although he is declared to be immortal, "all the gods give him of their food that he may not "die," and he sits down, clothed in white linen and wearing white sandals, with the gods by the lake in the Field of Peace, and partakes with them of the wood (or, tree) of life on which they themselves live that he also may live. Though he is the son of God he is also the child of Sothis, and the brother of the Moon, and the goddess Isis becomes his wife; though he is the son of God we are also told that his flesh and his bones have been gathered together, that his material body has been reconstructed; that his limbs perform all the functions of a healthy body; and as he lives as the gods live we see that from one point of view he and the gods are constituted alike. Instances of the mixture of spiritual with material ideas might be multiplied almost indefinitely, and numbers of passages containing the most contradictory statements might be adduced almost indefinitely to prove that the ideas of the Egyptians about the world beyond the grave, and about God and the gods were of a savage, childish, and inconsistent character. What, however, we have to remember in dealing with Egyptian religious texts is that the innate conservatism of the Egyptian in all ages never permitted him to relinquish any belief which had once found expression in writing, and that the written word was regarded by him as a sacred thing which, whether he believed it not, must be copied and preserved with great care, and if possible without any omission or addition whatsoever. Thus religious ideas and beliefs which had been entirely forgotten by the people of Egypt generally were preserved and handed down for thousands of years by the scribes in the temples. The matter would have been simple enough if they had done this and nothing more, but unfortunately they incorporated new texts into the collections of old ones, and the various attempts which the priests and scribes made to harmonize them resulted in the confusion of beliefs which we now have in Egyptian religious works.

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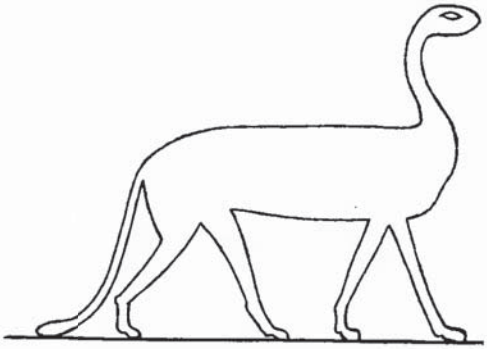
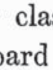
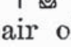
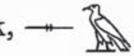
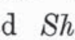
[1] The passages from the Pyramid Texts are collected in my *Papyrus of Ani*, London, 1894, pp. lxxi. ff.



The serpent-headed leopard SETCHA.

Before we pass to the consideration of the meaning of the old Egyptian name for god and God, i.e., "neter," mention must be made of a class of beings which were supposed to possess bodies partly animal and partly human, or were of a composite character. Among the latter class may be mentioned the creature which has the body of a leopard and the head and neck of a serpent, and was called "Setcha,"[1] ; and that which has the body of a lion, from which grow a pair of wings, and the head of an eagle, and is called "Sefer," [2]; and that which has a body, the fore part being that of a lion, and the hind part that of a horse, and the head of a hawk, and an extended tail which terminates in a flower somewhat resembling the lotus. The name of this creature is Saḳ, , and she is represented with a collar round her neck, and with bars and stripes on her body, which has eight teats.[1] Among creatures, part animal part human, may be mentioned the leopard, with a human head and a pair of wings growing out of his back,[2] and the human-headed lion or sphinx. The winged human head which springs from the back of the leopard[3] strongly reminds one of the modern conventional representations of angels in religious pictures, but as the name of this fabulous creature is unknown, it is impossible even to guess at the reasons for which he was furnished with a winged man's head. In connexion with the composite animals enumerated above must be mentioned the "Devourer of Åmenti," called "Ām-mit, the Eater of the Dead," whose forequarters were those of a crocodile, and hindquarters those of a hippopotamus, and whose body was that of a lion, . The tombs at Beni-hasan, in which the figures of the *Setcha*, the *Sefer*, and the *Saḳ* are depicted, date from the XIIth Dynasty, about B.C. 2500, and there is no reason for supposing that their existence was not conceived of long before that time. Side by side with these is also depicted an animal called *Sha*, , which has long square ears, and an extended tail resembling an arrow, and in its general appearance it much resembles the animal of the god Set.

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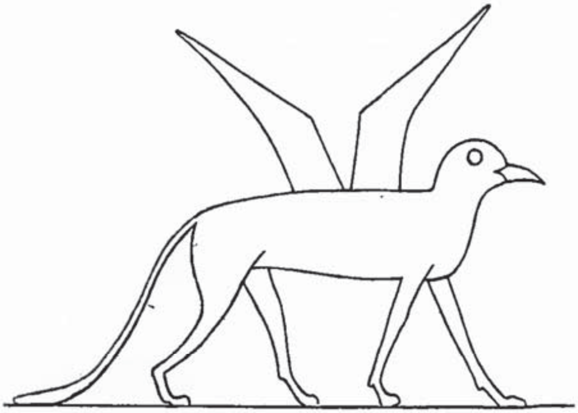
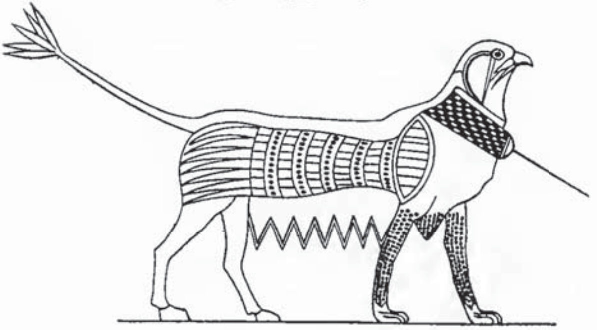
[1] See Champollion, *Monuments*, tom. iv., Paris, 1845, pl. 382.

[2] *Ibid.* See also Newberry, *Beni-Hasan*, ii., pl. iv.



The eagle-headed lion SEFER.



The fabulous beast SAḲ.

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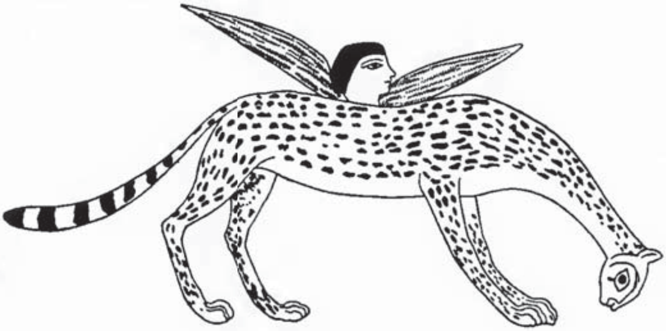
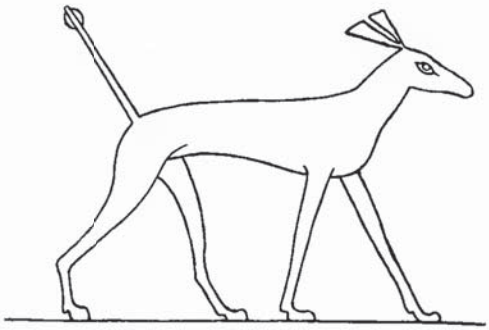
[1] See Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. xxiii., No. 4.

[2] *Ibid.*, pl. xxiii., No. 6.

[3] See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii., pl. 131.

Two explanations of the existence of such composite creatures may be given. They may be due either to the imagination of the Egyptians, which conceived of the existence of quadrupeds wherein were united the strength of one animal and the wisdom or cunning of another, e.g., the Setcha which united within itself the strength of the leopard with the cunning of the serpent, and the nameless leopard with a man's winged head, or to the ignorance of the ancients of natural history. The human head on an animal represented the intelligence of a man, and the wings the swift flight of the bird, and the body of the leopard the strength and the lithe motions of that animal. In conceiving the existence of such creatures the imagination may have been assisted in its fabrication of fabulous monsters by legends or stories of predynastic animals which were current in certain parts of Egypt during the dynastic period. Thus, as we have said before, the monster serpents of Egyptian mythology have their prototypes in the huge serpents which lived in the country in primeval times, and there is no doubt that Āpep was, originally, nothing more than a huge serpent which lived in some mountain on the western bank of the Nile. On the other hand, it is possible that the Egyptians really believed in the existence of composite animals, and that they never understood the impossibility of the head and neck of a serpent growing out of the body of a lion, or the head


A fabulous leopard.


The animal *Sha*.

of a hawk out of the body of a lion, or a human head with the wings of a bird out of the body of a leopard. They were keen enough observers of the animals with which they came in contact daily, and their representations of them are wonderful for the accurate delineation of their forms and characteristics; but of animals which they had never seen, and could only know from the reports of travellers and others, naturally they could not give accurate representations. Man in all ages seems prone to believe in the existence of composite animals and monsters, and the most cultured of the most ancient nations, e.g., the Egyptians and the Babylonians, form no exception to the rule. The early seal-cylinders of the Babylonians reveal their belief in the existence of many a fabulous and mythical animal, and the boundary stones, or landmarks, of a later period prove that composite animals were supposed to watch over the boundaries of kingdoms and estates, which they preserved from invasion, and the winged man-headed bulls, which the Assyrians set up in the gates and doorways of their palaces to "protect the footsteps of the kings who made them," indicate clearly that they duly followed the examples set them by their kinsmen, the Babylonians. From the Assyrians Ezekiel probably borrowed the ideas which he developed in his description in the first chapter of his book of the four-faced and four-winged animals. Later, even the classical writers appeared to see no absurdity in solemnly describing animals, the existence of which was impossible, and in declaring that they possessed powers which were contrary to all experience and knowledge. Horapollo, i. 10, gravely states that the scarabaeus represents an *only begotten*, because the scarabaeus is a creature self-produced, being unconceived by a female, μονογενές μὲν ὅτι αὐτογενές ἐστι τὸ ζῶον, ὑπὸ θηλείας μὴ κυοφορούμενον; and in one form or another this statement is given by Ælian (*De. Nat. Animal.*, iv. 49), Aristotle (*Hist. An.*, iv. 7), Porphyry (*De Abstinentia*, iv. 9), Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xi. 20 ff.), etc. Of the man-headed lion at Gîzeh, i.e., the Sphinx, Pliny, Diodorus, Strabo, and other ancient writers have given long descriptions, and all of them seem to take for granted the existence of such a creature.

The second explanation, which declares that composite animals are the result of the imagination of peoples who have no knowledge, or at all events a defective one, of the common facts of natural history is not satisfactory, for the simple reason that composite animals which are partly animal and partly human in their powers and characteristics form the logical link between animals and man, and as such they belong to a certain period and stage of development in the history of every primitive people. If we think for a moment we shall see that many of the gods of Egypt are closely connected with this stage of development, and that comparatively few of them were ever represented wholly in man's form. The Egyptians clung to their representations of gods in animal forms with great tenacity, and even in times when it is certain they cannot have believed in their existence they continued to have them sculptured and painted upon the walls of their temples; curiously enough, they do not seem to have been sensible of the ridicule which their conservatism brought down upon them from strangers.

We have already said above that the common word given by the Egyptians to God, and god, and spirits of every kind, and beings of all sorts, and kinds, and forms, which were supposed to possess any superhuman or supernatural power, was NETER, 𓈖𓏏𓂋, and the hieroglyph which is used both as the determinative of this word and also as an ideograph is 𓊹. Thus we have 𓊹 or 𓊹𓀭, "god," and 𓏥𓊹, or 𓊹𓏥, or 𓊹𓊹𓊹, or 𓊹𓊹𓊹𓏥, "gods;" the plural is sometimes written out in full, e.g., 𓈖𓏏𓂋𓅱𓀭𓏥. The common word for "goddess" is NETERT, which can be written 𓊹𓏏𓆇, or 𓊹𓏏𓂋𓏏, or 𓊹𓏏𓂋𓏏𓆇; sometimes the determinative of the word is a woman, 𓁐, and at other times a serpent, e.g. 𓊹𓏏𓂋𓏏𓆗. The plural is NETERIT, 𓊹𓏏𓂋𓇌𓏏𓆗𓏥. We have now to consider what object is supposed to be represented by 𓊹, and what the word NETER means. In Bunsen's *Egypt's Place* (i., Nos. 556, 557, 623) the late Dr. Birch described 𓊹 as a hatchet; in 1872 Dr. Brugsch placed[1] 𓊹 among "objets tranchants, armes," in his classified list of hieroglyphic characters; thus it is clear that the two greatest masters of Egyptology considered 𓊹 to be either a weapon or a cutting tool, and, in fact, assumed that the hieroglyphic represented an axe-head let into and fastened in a long wooden handle. From the texts wherein the hieroglyphics are coloured it is tolerably clear that the axe-head was fastened to its handle by means of thongs of leather. The earliest axe-heads were made of stone, or flint or chert, and later of metal, and it is certain that when copper, bronze, and iron took the place of stone or flint, the method by which the head was fastened to the handle was considerably modified. Recently an attempt has been made to show that the axe, 𓊹, resembled in outline "a roll of "yellow cloth, the lower part bound or laced over, the upper part "appearing as a flap at the top probably for unwinding. It is "possible, indeed, that the present object represents a fetish, e.g., "a bone carefully wound round with cloth and not the cloth "alone."[1] But it need hardly be said that no evidence for the correctness of these views is forthcoming. Whether the hieroglyphic 𓊹 was copied from something which was a roll of cloth or a fetish matters little, for the only rational determination of the character is that which has already been made by Drs. Birch and Brugsch, and the object which is represented by 𓊹 is, in the writer's opinion, an axe and nothing else.

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[1] *Index des hiéroglyphes phonétiques*, No. 394.

Mr. Legge has collected[2] a number of examples of the presence of the axe as an emblem of divinity on the megaliths of Brittany and in the prehistoric remains of the funeral caves of the Marne, of Scandinavia, and of America, and, what is very much to the point, he refers to an agate cylinder which was published by the late Adrien de Longpérier, wherein is a representation of a priest in Chaldaean garb offering sacrifice to an axe standing upright upon an altar. Mr. Legge points out "that the axe "appears on these monuments not as the representation of an "object in daily use, but for religious or magical purposes," and goes on to say that this is proved by "the fact that it is often "found as a pendant and of such materials as gold, lead, and even "amber; while that it is often represented with the peculiar "fastenings of the earlier flint weapon shows that its symbolic use

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[1] Griffith, *Hieroglyphs*, p. 46.

[2] *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1899, p. 310.

"goes back to the neolithic and perhaps the palaeolithic age." He is undoubtedly correct in thinking that the use of the stone axe precedes that of the flint arrow-head or flint knife, and many facts could be adduced in support of this view. The stone tied to the end of a stick formed an effective club, which was probably the earliest weapon known to the predynastic Egyptians, and subsequently man found that this weapon could be made more effective still by making the stone flat and by rubbing down one end of it to form a cutting edge. The earliest axe-head had a cutting edge at each end, and was tied by leather thongs to the end of a stick by the middle, thus becoming a double axe; examples of such a weapon appear to be given on the green slate object of the archaic period which is preserved in the British Museum[1] (Nos. 20,790, 20,792), where, however, the axe-heads appear to be fixed in forked wooden handles. In its next form the axe-head has only one cutting edge, and the back of it is shaped for fastening to a handle by means of leather thongs. When we consider the importance that the axe, whether as a weapon or tool, was to primitive man, we need not wonder that it became to him first the symbol of physical force, or strength, and then of divinity or dominion. By means of the axe the predynastic Egyptians cut down trees and slaughtered animals, in other words, the weapon was mightier than the spirits or gods who dwelt in the trees and the animals, and as such became to them at a very early period an object of reverence and devotion. But besides this the axe must have been used in sacrificial ceremonies, wherein it would necessarily acquire great importance, and would easily pass into the symbol of the ceremonies themselves. The shape of the axe-head as given by the common hieroglyphic 𓊹 suggests that the head was made of metal when the Egyptians first began to use the character as the symbol of divinity, and it is clear that this change in the material of which the axe-head was made would make the weapon more effective than ever.

Taking for granted, then, that the hieroglyphic 𓊹 represents an axe, we may be sure that it was used as a symbol of power and divinity by the predynastic Egyptians long before the period when they were able to write, but we have no means of knowing what they called the character or the axe before that period. In dynastic times they certainly called it NETER as we have seen, but another difficulty presents itself to us when we try to find a word that will express the meaning which they attached to the word; it is most important to obtain some idea of this meaning, for at the base of it lies, no doubt, the Egyptian conception of divinity or God. The word NETER has been discussed by many Egyptologists, but their conclusions as to its signification are not identical. M. Pierret thought in 1879 that the true meaning of the word is "renewal, because in the mythological conception, the god assures "himself everlasting youth by the renewal of himself in engendering himself perpetually."[1] In the same year, in one of the Hibbert Lectures, Renouf declared that he was "able to affirm "with certainty that in this particular case we can accurately "determine the primitive notion attached to the word," i.e., to NUTAR (NETER). According to him, "none of the explanations "hitherto given of it can be considered satisfactory," but he thought that the explanation which he was about to propose would "be generally accepted by scholars," because it was "arrived at as "the result of a special study of all the published passages in which "the word occurs."[2] Closely allied to NUTAR (NETER) is another word NUTRA (NETRA), and the meaning of both was said by Renouf to be found in the Coptic **ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ** or **ⲛⲟⲩϯ**, which, as we may see from the passages quoted by Tatham in his *Lexicon* (p. 310), is rendered by the Greek words ἰσχὺς, παράκλησις, and παρακαλεῖν. The primary meaning of the word **ⲛⲟⲩϯ** appears to be "strong," and having assumed that NETER was equivalent in meaning to this word, Renouf stated boldly that NETER signified "mighty," "might," "strong," and argued that it meant Power, "which is "also the meaning of the Hebrew El." We may note in passing

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[1] See my *History of Egypt*, vol. ii., p. 10, where it is figured and described.

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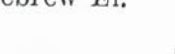
[1] "Le mot par lequel on rendait l'idée de Dieu  *nuter*, signifie au "propre, 'renouvellement,' parce que dans la conception mythologique, le dieu "s'assure une éternelle jeunesse par le renouvellement de lui-même, en s'engendrant "lui-même perpétuellement." *Essai sur la Mythologie Égyptienne*, Paris, 1879, p. 8.

[2] *Religion of Ancient Egypt*, p. 93.

that the exact meaning of "El," the Hebrew name for God, is unknown, and that the word itself is probably the name of an ancient Semitic deity.

The passages which were quoted to prove that NETER meant "strong, strength, power," and the like could, as M. Maspero has said,[1] be explained differently. M. Maspero combats rightly the attempt to make "strong" the meaning of NETER (masc.), or NETERIT (fem.), in these words: "In the expressions 'a town "*neterit*,' 'an arm *neteri*,' . . . . is it certain that 'a strong city,' "'a strong arm,' gives us the primitive sense of *neter?* When "among ourselves one says 'divine music,' 'a piece of divine "poetry,' 'the divine taste of a peach,' 'the divine beauty of a "woman' [the word] divine is a hyperbole, but it would be a "mistake to declare that it originally meant 'exquisite' because "in the phrases which I have imagined one could apply it as "'exquisite music,' 'a piece of exquisite poetry,' 'the exquisite "taste of a peach,' 'the exquisite beauty of a woman.' Similarly "in Egyptian 'a town *neterit*' is a 'divine town'; 'an arm "*neteri*' is 'a divine arm,' and *neteri* is employed metaphorically "in Egyptian as is [the word] 'divine' in French, without its "being any more necessary to attribute to [the word] *neteri* the "primitive meaning of 'strong,' than it is to attribute to [the "word] 'divine' the primitive meaning of 'exquisite.' The "meaning 'strong' of *neteri*, if it exists, is a derived and not an "original meaning."[2]

The view taken about the meaning of *neter* by the late Dr. Brugsch was entirely different, for he thought that the fundamental meaning of the word was "the operative power which "created and produced things by periodical recurrence, and gave "them new life and restored to them the freshness of youth (die "thätige Kraft, welche in periodischer Wiederkehr die Dinge "erzeugt und erschafft, ihnen neues Leben verleiht und die "Jugendfrische zurückgiebt."[3] The first part of the work from which these words are quoted appeared in 1885, but that Dr. Brugsch held much the same views six years later is evident from the following extract from his volume entitled *Die Aegyptologie* (p. 166), which appeared in 1891. Referring to Renouf's contention that NETER has a meaning equivalent to the Greek δύναμις, he says, "Es liegt auf der Hand, dass der Gottesname in "Sinne von Starker, Mächtiger, vieles fur sich hat, um so mehr "als selbst leblose Gegenstände, wie z. B. ein Baustein, adjektivisch als *nutri* d. h. stark, mächtig, nicht selten bezeichnet "werden. Aber so vieles diese Erklärung für sich zu haben "schient, so wenig stimmt sie zu der Thatsache, dass in den "Texten aus der besten Zeit (XVIII Dynastie) das Wort *nutr* als "ein Synonym für die Vorstellung der Verjungung oder Erneuerung auftritt. Es diente zum Ausdruck der periodisch wiederkehrenden Jugendfrische nach Alter und Tod, so dass selbst dem "Menschen in den ältesten Sarginschriften zugerufen wird, er sei "fortan in einen Gott d. h. in ein Wesen mit jugendlicher Frische "umgewandelt. Ich lasse es dahin gestellt sein, nach welcher "Richtung hin die aufgeworfene Streitfrage zu Gunsten der einen "oder der anderen Auffassung entschieden werden wird; hier "sei nur betont, dass das Wort 𓊹 *nutr*, *nute*, den eigentlichen "Gottesbegriff der alten Aegypter in sich schliesst und daher einen "ganz besonderen Aufmerksamkeit werth ist."

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[1] *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, tom. ii., p. 215.

[2] Maspero, op. cit., p. 215.

[3] *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 93.

In this passage Dr. Brugsch substantially agrees with Pierret's views quoted above, but he appears to have withdrawn from the position which he took up in his *Religion und Mythologie*, wherein he asserted that the essential meaning of NETER was identical with that of the Greek φυσις and the Latin "natura."[1] It need hardly be said that there are no good grounds for such an assertion, and it is difficult to see how the eminent Egyptologist could attempt to compare the conceptions of God formed by a half-civilized African people with those of such cultured nations as the Greeks and the Romans.

The solution of the difficulty of finding a meaning for NETER is not brought any nearer when we consider the views of such distinguished Egyptologists as E. de Rougé, Lieblein, and Maspero.

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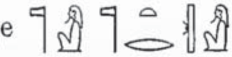
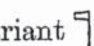
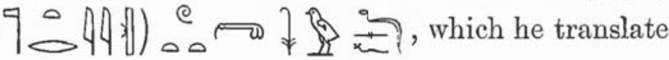
[1] "Der Inbegriff dieses Wortes deckt sich daher vollständig mit der ursprünglichen Bedeutung des griechischen *physis* und des lateinischen *natura*." (p. 93.)

The first of these in commenting on the passage  (variant ) , which he translates "Dieu "devenant dieu (en) s'engendrant lui-même," says in his excellent *Chrestomathie Égyptienne* (iii. p. 24), "One knows not exactly the "meaning of the verb *nuter*, which forms the radical of the word "*nuter*, 'god.' It is an idea analagous to 'to become,' or 'renew "oneself,' for *nuteri* is applied to the resuscitated soul which "clothes itself in its immortal form." Thus we find that one of the greatest Egyptologists thinks that the exact meaning of NETER is unknown, but he suggests that it may have a signification not unlike that proposed by Pierret. Prof. Lieblein goes a step further than E. de Rougé, for he is of opinion that it is impossible to show the first origin of the idea of God among any people hitherto known historically. "When we, for instance, take the Indo-"Europeans, what do we find there? The Sanskrit word *deva* is "identical with the Latin *deus*, and the northern *tivi*, *tivar*; as "now the word in Latin and northern language signifies God it "must also in Sanskrit from the beginning have had the same "signification. That is to say, the Arians, or Indo-Europeans, "must have combined the idea of God with this word, as early as "when they still lived together in their original home. Because, "if the word in their pre-historic home had had another more "primitive signification, the wonder would have happened, that "the word had accidentally gone through the same development "of signification with all these people after their separation. As "this is quite improbable, the word must have had the significa-"tion of God in the original Indo-European language. One could "go even farther and presume that, in this language also, it was "a word derived from others, and consequently originated from a "still earlier pre-historic language. All things considered it is "possible, even probable, that the idea of God has developed itself "in an earlier period of languages, than the Indo-European. The "future will perhaps be able to supply evidence for this. The "science of languages has been able partly to reconstruct an Indo-"European pre-historic language. It might be able also to "reconstruct a pre-historic Semitic, and a pre-historic Hamitic, "and of these three pre-historic languages, whose original con-"nexion it not only guesses, but even commences to prove "gradually, it will, we trust in time, be able to extract a still "earlier pre-historic language, which according to analogy might "be called Noahitic. When we have come so far, we shall most "likely in this pre-historic language, also find words expressing "the idea of God. But it is even possible that the idea of God "has not come into existence in this pre-historic language either. "It may be that the first dawning of the idea, and the word God "should be ascribed to still earlier languages, to layers of languages "so deeply buried that it will be impossible even to excavate "them. Between the time of inhabiting caves in the quaternian "period, and the historical kingdoms, there is such a long space of "time, that it is difficult to entertain the idea, that it was quite "devoid of any conception of divinity, so that this should first "have sprung up in the historical time. In any case we shall not "be able to prove historically where and when the question first "arose, who are the superhuman powers whose activity we see "daily in nature and in human life. Although the Egyptians are "the earliest civilized people known in history, and just therefore "especially important for the science of religion, yet it is even "there impossible to point out the origin of the conception of the "deity. The oldest monuments of Egypt bring before us the "gods of nature chiefly, and among these especially the sun. "They mention, however, already early (in the IVth and Vth "Dynasties) now and then the great power, or the great God, it "being uncertain whether this refers to the sun, or another god of "nature, or if it was a general appellation of the vague idea of a "supernatural power, possibly inherited by the Egyptians. It is "probably this great God indicated on the monuments, from the "the IVth Dynasty, and later on, who has given occasion to the "false belief that the oldest religion of the Egyptians was pure "monotheism. But firstly, it must be observed, that he is not "mentioned alone but alongside of the other gods, secondly, that "he is merely called 'The great God,' being otherwise without "distinguishing appellations, and a God of whom nothing else is "mentioned, has, so to speak, to use Hegel's language, merely an "abstract existence, that by closer examination dissolves into "nothing."

It is necessary to quote Professor Lieblein's opinion at length because he was one of the first to discuss the earliest idea of God in connection with its alleged similarity to that evolved by Aryan nations; if, however, he were to rewrite the passage given above in the light of modern research he would, we think, modify many of his conclusions. For our present purpose it is sufficient to note that he believes it is impossible to point out the origin of the conception of the deity among the Egyptians. The last opinion which we need quote is that of M. Maspero, who not only says boldly that if the word NETER or NETRI really has the meaning of "strong" it is a derived and not an original meaning, and he prefers to declare that the word is so old that its earliest signification is unknown. In other words, it has the meaning of god, but it teaches us nothing as to the primitive value of this word. We must be careful, he says, not to let it suggest the modern religious or philosophical definitions of god which are current to-day, for an Egyptian god is a being who is born and dies, like man, and is finite, imperfect, and corporeal, and is endowed with passions, and virtues, and vices.[2] This statement is, of course, true as regards the gods of the Egyptians at several periods of their history, but it must be distinctly understood, and it cannot be too plainly stated, that side by side with such conceptions there existed, at least among the educated Egyptians, ideas of monotheism which are not far removed from those of modern nations.

From what has been said above we see that some scholars take the view that the word NETER may mean "renewal," or "strength," or "strong," or "to become," or some idea which suggests "renewal," and that others think its original meaning is not only unknown, but that it is impossible to find it out. But although we may not be able to discover the exact meaning which the word had in predynastic times, we may gain some idea of the meaning which was attached to it in the dynastic period by an examination of a few passages from the hymns and Chapters which are found in the

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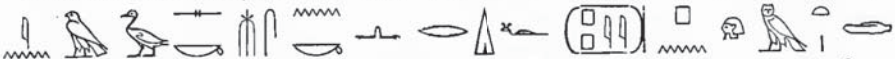
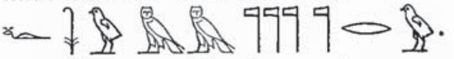
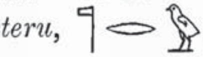
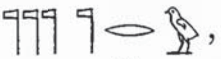
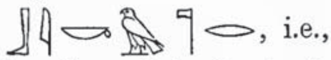
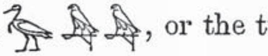
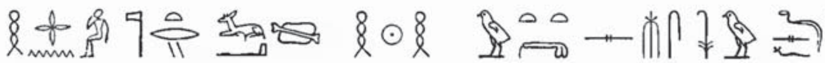
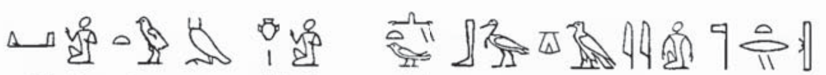
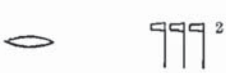
[1] *Egyptian Religion*, by J. Lieblein, Leipzig, 1884.

[2] *La Mythologie Égyptienne* (*Études de Mythologie*, tom. ii., p. 215).

various versions of the *Book of the Dead.* In the text of Pepi I. (line 191) we have the words:—"Behold thy son Horus, to whom "thou hast given birth. He hath not placed this Pepi at the "head of the dead, but he hath set him among the gods *neteru,*"  . Now here *neteru,* , must be an adjective, and we are clearly intended to understand that the gods referred to are those which have the attribute of *neteru;* since the "gods *neteru,*" , are mentioned in opposition to "the dead" it seems as if we are to regard the gods as "living," i.e., to possess the quality of life. In the text of the same king (line 419) a *bȧk neter,* , i.e., a hawk having the quality of *neter* is mentioned; and in the text of Unȧs (line 569) we read of *baui netrui,* , or the two souls which possess the quality of *neter.* These examples belong to the Vth and VIth Dynasties. Passing to later dynasties, i.e., the XVIIIth and XIXth, etc., we find the following examples of the use of the words *neter* and *netri*:—

1. [1]
ḥun netri aā ḥeḥ utet se-mes su tchesef
Boy *netri,* heir of eternity, begetting and giving birth to himself.

2. 
ṭā-ȧ tu em ȧb-ȧ ȧti bakai netri
I am devoted in my heart without feigning, O thou *netri*

[2]
er neteru
more than the gods.

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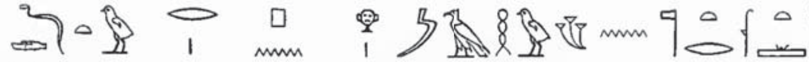
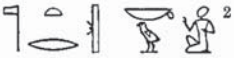
[1] See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day,* Text, p. 11, l. 10.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 43, l. 4.

3.  [1]

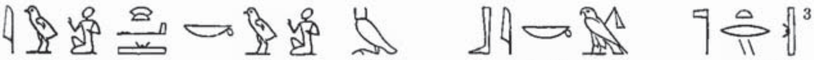
tcheṭ - tu re pen ḥer maḥu en netrȧt

Shall be said this chapter over a crown of *netrȧt.*

4.  [2]

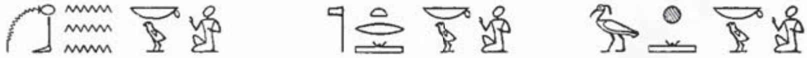
neter - kuȧ

I have become *neter.*

5.  [3]

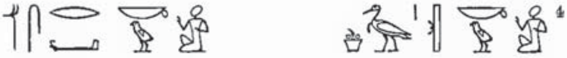
ȧu - ȧ khā - kuȧ em bȧk netri

I have risen up in the form of a hawk *netri.*

6. 

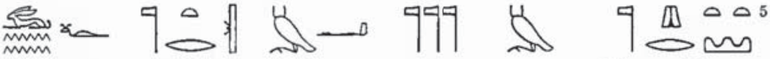
āb - kuȧ neter - kuȧ khu - kuȧ

I have become pure, I have become *neter*, I have become a spirit (*khu*),

 [4]

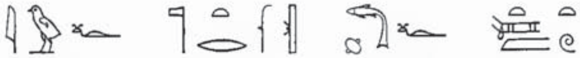
user - kuȧ ba - kuȧ

I have become strong, I have become a soul (*ba*).

7.  [5]

unen-f neter mā neteru em Neter-khertet

His being *neter* with the gods in the Neter-khertet.
(or, he shall be)

8.  [6]

ȧu - f netrȧ khat-f temtu

He shall *netrạ* his body all.

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[1] See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, p. 80, l. 10.

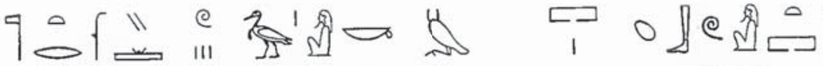
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 154, l. 6.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 168, l. 3.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 174, l. 15.

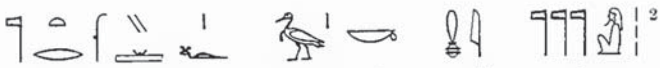
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 417, l. 12.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 419, l. 7.

9.  [1]

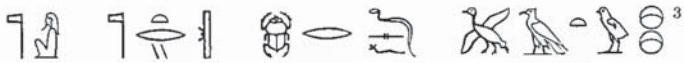
netri *u* *ba - k* *em* *per* *Sebut*

They make *neter* thy soul in the house of Sebut.

10.  [2]

netri - f *ba - k* *mȧ* *neteru*

He makes *neter* thy soul like the gods.

11.  [3]

neter *netri* *kheper tchesef* *paut*

God *netri*, self-produced, primeval matter.

Now, in the above examples it is easy to see that although the words "strong" or "strength," when applied to translate *neter* or *netri*, give a tolerably suitable sense in some of them, it is quite out of place in others, e.g., in No. 6, where the deceased is made to say that he has acquired the quality of *neter*, and a spirit, and a soul, and is, moreover, strong; the word rendered "strong" in this passage is *user*, and it expresses an entirely different idea from *neter*. From the fact that *neter* is mentioned in No. 1 in connection with eternal existence, and self-begetting, and self-production, and in No. 11 with self-production and primeval matter, it is almost impossible not to think that the word has a meaning which is closely allied to the ideas of "self-existence," and the power to "renew life indefinitely," and "self-production." In other words, *neter* appears to mean a being who has the power to generate life, and to maintain it when generated. It is useless to attempt to explain the word by Coptic etymologies, for it has passed over directly into the Coptic language under the forms *nouti* **ⲛⲟⲩϯ**, and *noute* **ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ**, the last consonant, *r*, having disappeared through phonetic decay, and the translators of the Holy Scriptures from that language used it to express the words "God" and "Lord." Meanwhile, until new light is thrown upon the subject by the discovery of inscriptions older than any which we now have, we must be content to accept the approximate meaning of *neter* suggested above.

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[1] See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, Text, p. 509, l. 13.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 511, l. 13.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 49, l. 1.

The worship of the gods (*neteru*), which began far away back in predynastic times, continued through the archaic and dynastic periods, and lasted until the IVth or Vth century of our era; it is tolerably certain that in respect of some of them the ideas of the Egyptians never changed, but, as regards others, their views did not remain as constant as some writers would have us imagine. In the earliest days every village community in Egypt had its local god, who shared the good or evil fortune of the community to which he belonged. His emblem or symbol was carried out to war, and was, of course, present at all great public gatherings when matters connected with the welfare of his devotees were discussed. A special habitation was set apart for him, and its upkeep was provided for out of common funds. As the riches of the people of the village increased, the rank and dignity of their god kept pace with them, but his revenues suffered in times of scarcity, and defeat, and war; his emblem might even be carried off into captivity and burnt, or smashed, when, of course, the spirit which dwelt in his symbol was also destroyed. The number of such early gods was legion, for many large communities possessed several gods, each of which was famed locally for some particular attribute. When a man left one village and settled in another he took his god or gods with him, but he would be obliged to acknowledge the god of the village or city in which he had made his new abode, and to contribute towards the maintenance of his house and its small compound. The reduction in the number of the gods of Egypt began when man first realized that certain gods were mightier than others, for he ceased gradually to worship those who had, in his opinion, failed to justify his belief in them, and transferred his allegiance to the gods who were able to give him the most help. In process of time the god or goddess of a certain village or town would obtain a fame and reputation for power which would outrival those of the deities of the neighbouring cities, and the growth of the worship of such god or goddess would be accompanied by a corresponding decline in that of the gods in the towns round about. The gods, in the first instance, grew by a process of selection out of the spirits who were well disposed towards man and were helpful to him, and the "great gods" of the Egyptians were evolved, practically, in a somewhat similar manner. It is at present hopeless to attempt to enumerate all the gods who were, from first to last, worshipped by the Egyptians, for it will not be possible to do this until every text extant has been published. Meanwhile an examination of the earliest Egyptian religious literature known to us proves that a number of gods who were of some importance in the polytheistic system of the Early Empire dropped out from it long before the period of the New Empire, and thus it is very doubtful if we shall ever be able to collect the names of all the gods who have been worshipped in the Valley of the Nile between the Archaic and Roman periods, whilst to make a list of all the predynastic gods is manifestly impossible.

Future discoveries in Egypt may produce texts that will tell us which were the favourite gods in the archaic period and give us some idea as to the pronunciation of their names, for we have reason to think that during the greater part of that period the Egyptians were able to write. If ever such texts are brought to light we shall probably find that the gods who were worshipped during the archaic period were those who were popular in the predynastic period, just as we find that the gods of the Egyptians of the Middle and New Empires were to all intents and purposes the same as those of the Egyptians of the Early Empire. Speaking generally, it may be said that the Egyptians of the greater part of the dynastic period of their history invented few new gods, and that they were well content to worship such deities as were known to their ancestors; we know that they admitted, at times, foreign gods into the assembly of the old Egyptian gods, but the religious texts prove that they were never allowed to usurp the functions of the indigenous gods. Political and other reasons might secure for them a certain amount of recognition in the country generally, and the people of the cities where their emblems and statues found resting-places treated them with the easy toleration which is so marked a characteristic of many countries in the East; but as soon as such reasons disappeared the foreign gods were quietly ignored, and in a short time their worship was forgotten. This statement is not intended to apply to the gods who were introduced from one city or district of Egypt into another, for we know that the Egyptian priesthood and people of a given city were ready to show hospitality to almost any god of any town, or city, or district, provided that he belonged to the same *company* as that of which the chief local god was a member.

We have, unfortunately, no long connected religious texts in the forms in which they must have existed under the first four dynasties, and we cannot therefore say what gods were worshipped during that period. There is, as has been shown elsewhere,[1] good reason for believing that some parts of the *Book of the Dead* were revised or edited during the early part of the period of the Ist Dynasty, and if this be so we may assume that the religious system of the Egyptians as revealed in the texts of a much later time closely resembled that which was in existence in the later part of the archaic period, i.e., during the first three dynasties. Under the Vth and VIth Dynasties we touch firmer ground, and we find abundant, though not complete, materials for the study of the gods of Egypt and their attributes in the lengthy hieroglyphic texts which were inscribed inside the pyramid tombs of Unȧs, Tetȧ, Pepi I., Mer-en-Rā-Meḥti-em-sa-f, and Pepi II. An examination of these texts reveals the existence of an established theological system in Egypt, and we find that even at that time the literature in which it was, more or less, expounded, contained innumerable layers of religious thought and expressions of belief which belonged to periods many of which must have been separated by long intervals of time. The gods are mentioned in such a way as to prove that the writers of the texts, or at least the copyists, assumed that the reader would be well acquainted with the subject matter of the compositions, and from first to last neither explanation nor gloss is to be found in them. The texts are, of course, sepulchral, and the greater number of the gods mentioned in them are referred to in their characters as gods who deal with the souls of the dead in the world beyond the grave.

The Sun-god Rā and the gods of his cycle, and Osiris, the god and judge of the dead, and the gods of his cycle, have definite positions and duties assigned to them, and it is very clear that both the texts which describe these and the ceremonies which were performed in connection with the words recited by the priests were, even under the Vth Dynasty, extremely ancient. Moreover, it is certain that the religious texts in use for funeral purposes under that dynasty are substantially those which were compiled several centuries before. We may note in passing that the funeral books were edited by the priests of Ȧnnu or Ȧnu, i.e., Heliopolis, and as a result they exhibit traces of the influence of the theological opinions of the great priestly college of that city; but at bottom the views and beliefs which may be deduced from them, and the fundamental conceptions to which they give expression are the products of the minds of the predynastic, indigenous Egyptians. To the consideration of the Heliopolitan religious system we shall return later, and we may therefore pass on to the enumeration of the principal gods who are made known to us by the Pyramid Texts at Ṣaḳḳâra. Among the great gods who were certainly worshipped in the early archaic period may be mentioned :—

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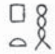
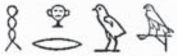
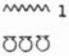
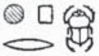
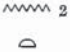
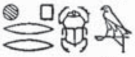
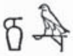
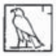
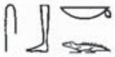
[1] See my *Book of the Dead*, London, 1901, vol. i., p. xxxiii.

Ptaḥ (Tetȧ 88)		Ḥeru,[3] or Horus (Mer-en-Rā 454)	
Nu (Unȧs 199)	 [1]	Kheper (Unȧs 444)	
Net, or Neith (Unȧs 67)	 [2]	Kheprer (Pepi II. 856)	
Rā (*passim*)		Khnemu (Unȧs 556)	
Ḥet-Ḥeru (Hathor)		Sebek (Unȧs 565)	

Of these gods Heru, or Horus, was the hawk-god, i.e., the spirit and personification of the "height" of heaven; Kheper was the beetle-god; Khnemu the ram-god; and Sebek the crocodile-god; Net or Neith was originally a wood-spirit, Rā and Ptah were two forms of the Sun-god, and Nu was the watery mass of heaven

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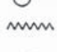
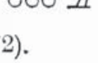
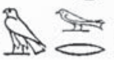
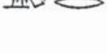
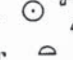
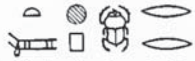
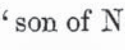
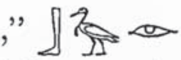
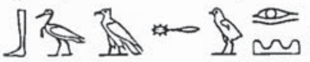
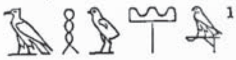
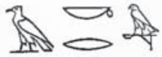
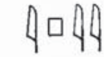
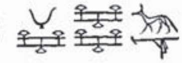
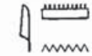
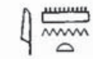
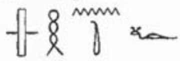
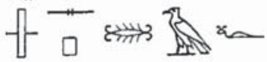
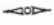
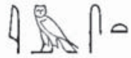
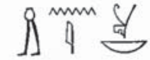
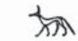
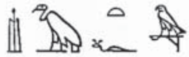
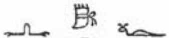
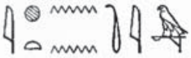
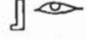
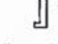
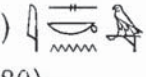
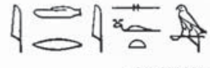
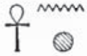
[1] Or,  (Unȧs, 399), or  (Tetȧ, 78).

[2] Or,  (Unȧs, 272).

[3] Or,  Ḥeru-ur, "Horus the elder" (Unas, 358).

in which he lived. With Rā and Kheper the priests of Heliopolis associated the form of the Sun-god which was specially worshipped in their city, and thus we have mentioned the compound gods Rā-Tem  (Unȧs 216, 224, Mer-en-Rā 458), and Tem-Khepher  (Pepi II. 662). In the text of Unȧs (line 626) Sebek is styled "son of Net," , and he is also called "lord of Baru,"  (line 565); but if the XVIIIth Dynasty texts be correct the name of this place is misspelt, and in any case it must be identical with the Bakhau, , or Mountain of the Sunrise of Chapter cviii. of the *Book of the Dead*. The following is a list of the other principal gods mentioned in the Pyramid Texts:—

Aḥu (Pepi II. 850)	[1]
Aker (Unȧs 498, 614, Tetȧ 309)	
Ȧpi (Unȧs 487)	
Ȧp-uat (Unȧs 187)	
Ȧmen (Unȧs 557)	
Ȧment (Unȧs 557)	
Ȧm-ḥenth-f (Pepi I. 666)	
Ȧm-sepa-f (Pepi I. 666)	
Ȧmsu or Min (Unȧs 377)	
Ȧmset (Tetȧ 60, 197)	
Ȧnȧ (Unȧs 272, 275)	
Ȧnpu (Unȧs 71, 207, 219)	
Ȧn-mut-f (Pepi II. 772)	
Ȧn-tcher-f (Pepi I. 651)	
Ȧkhet-nen-thȧ (Tetȧ 307)	
Ȧsȧr, Osiris (*passim*)	
Ȧst, Isis (Unȧs 181)	
Ȧsken (Pepi II. 1324)	
Ȧṭer-ȧsfet (Pepi II. 980)	
Ānkh (Pepi I. 672)	

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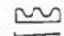
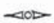
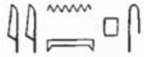
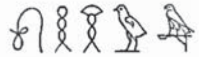
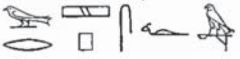
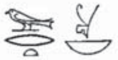
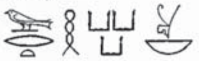
[1] Aḥu appears to be identical with , who is Ȧmsu or Min ; see Pepi II., l. 1320.

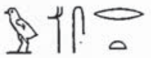
I-en-ḥer-pes (Unȧs 392) 

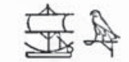
Uaḥu (Tetȧ 333) 

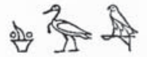
Ur-sheps-f (Pepi I. 671) 

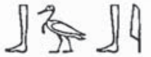
Urt (Unȧs 272) 

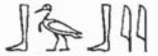
Urt-ḥekau (Unȧs 269) 

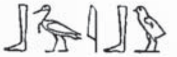
Usert (Unȧs 229) 

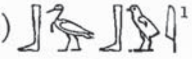
Uthes (Pepi II. 976) 

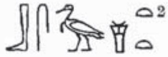
Ba (Mer-en-Rā 784) 

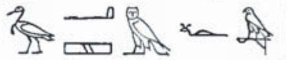
Babȧ (Unȧs 532) 

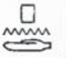
Babi (Unȧs 644, 647) 

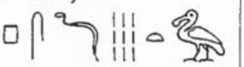
Baȧbu (Pepi I. 568) 

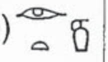
Babuȧ (Pepi I. 604) [1]

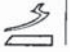
Bastet (Pepi I. 569) [2]

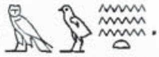
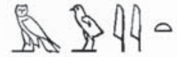
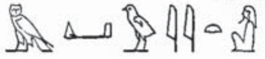
Ba-āshem-f (Mer-en-Rā 784) 

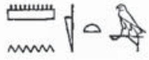
Penṭ (Unȧs 280) 

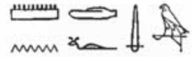
Pesetchet (Unȧs 417) 

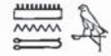
Maat-Khnemu (Pepi I. 445) 

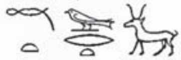
Maāt (Unȧs 220) 

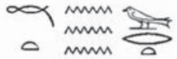
Mut (Unȧs 181) . The variants are  

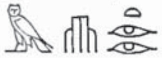
Ment (Pepi II. 849) 

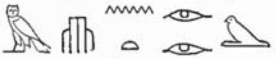
Menṭef (Pepi II. 1228) 

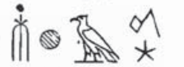
Menth (Mer-en-Rā 784) 

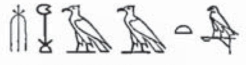
Meḥt-urt (Unȧs 427, 623) 

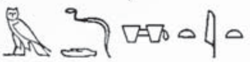
Meḥt-urt (Unȧs 427, 623) 

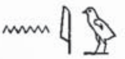
Em-khent-maati (Pepi I. 645) 

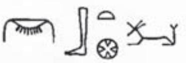
Em-khent-maati (Pepi I. 645) 

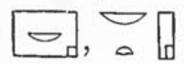
Meskha (Unȧs 567) 

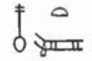
Meskhaat (Pepi I. 671) 

Metchetȧt (Pepi II. 956) 

Nȧu (Unȧs 557) 

Nubt (Unȧs 479) 

Nebt-ḥet (Unȧs 220) 

Nefer-Tem (Unȧs 395) 

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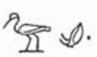
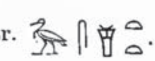
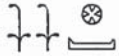
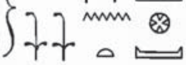
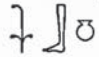
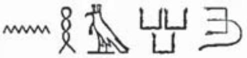
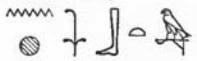
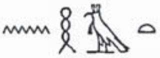
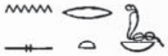
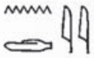
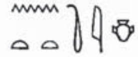
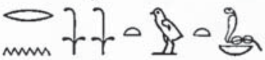
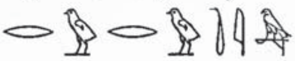
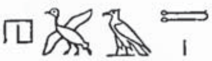
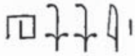
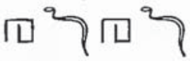
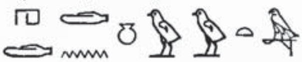
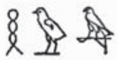
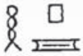
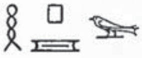
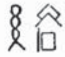
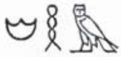
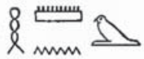
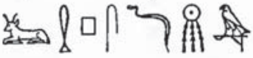
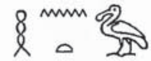
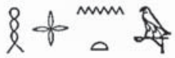
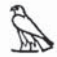
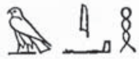
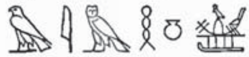
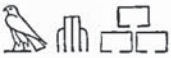
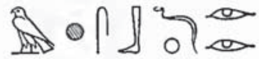
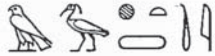
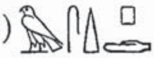
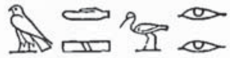
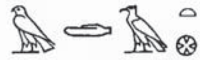
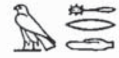
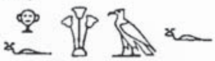
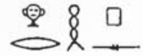
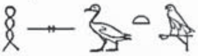
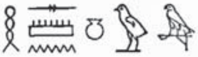
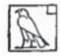
[1] This god is said to have a "red ear" .

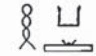
[2] Var. .

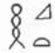
Enen (Unȧs 557)	
Enenet (Unȧs 240)	
Nekhben (Unȧs 459)	
Neḥebkau (Unȧs 559)	
Nekhebet (Mer-en-Rā 762)	
Neḥt (Unȧs 601)	
Nesert (Unȧs 269)	
Neṭi (Unȧs 279)	
Netetthȧb (Unȧs 598)	
Renenut (Unȧs 441)	
Ruruthȧ (Pepi II. 976, 979)	
Hepath (Pepi I. 636)	
Henenȧ (Pepi I. 636)	
Hetchhetch (Pepi I. 173)	
Heṭṭenuut (Tetȧ, 332)	
Ḥu (Unȧs 439)	
Ḥep (Unȧs 187)	
Ḥep-ur (Unȧs 431)	
Ḥep (Tetȧ 60, 197)	
Ḥem (Pepi I. 641)	
Ḥemen (Pepi II. 850)	
Ḥen-pesetchti (Tetȧ 309)	
Ḥent (Unȧs 417)	
Ḥunt (Tetȧ 357)	
Ḥeru (*passim*)	
Ḥeru-ȧāḥ (Tetȧ 365)	
Ḥeru-ȧm-ḥenu (Unȧs 211)	
Ḥeru-khent-peru (Unȧs 202)	
Ḥeru-khesbetch-maati(Unȧs369)	
Ḥeru-khutthȧ (Unȧs 471)	
Ḥeru-Sepṭ (Unȧs 465)	
Ḥeru-ṭesher-maati (Unȧs 369)	
Ḥeru-Ṭat (Unȧs 218)	
Ḥeru-kharṭ (Tetȧ 301)	
Ḥrȧ-f-ḥa-f (Pepi I.)	
Ḥer-ḥepes (Unȧs 226)	

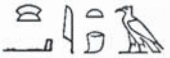
Ḥesat (Pepi II. 976) 

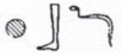
Ḥesmennu (Mer-en-Rā 670) 

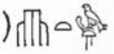
Ḥet-Ḥert (Unȧs 575) 

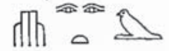
Ḥeka (Pepi I. 583) 

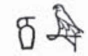
Ḥeqet (Pepi I. 570) 

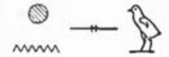
Khāȧta (Unȧs 536) 

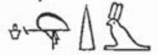
Khebetch (Unȧs 434) 

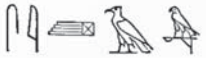
Khent-Ȧmenti(Unȧs201) 

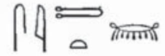
Khent-maati (Unȧs 218) 

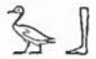
Khnemu (Unȧs 556, Pepi I. 455) 

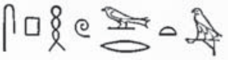
Khensu (Unȧs 510) 

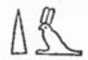
Khensu-Sepṭ (Unȧs 588) 

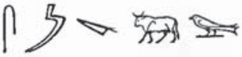
Sȧa (Unȧs 439) 

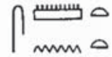
Sathet (Pepi I. 297) 

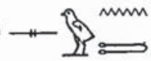
Seb (Unȧs 234) 

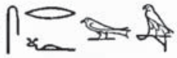
Sepḥu-urt (Pepi II. 976) 

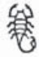
Sepṭ (Unȧs 219) 

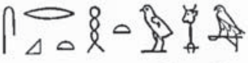
Sma-ur (Unȧs 280) 

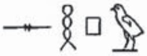
Smentet (Tetȧ 355) 

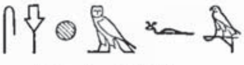
Sunth (Pepi II. 854)  [1]

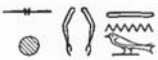
Seref-ur (Tetȧ 309) 

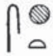
Serqet (Pepi I. 647) 

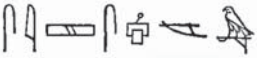
Serqet-ḥetu (Tetȧ 207) 

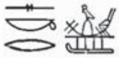
Seḥepu (Pepi I. 685) 

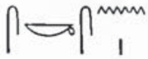
Sekhemf (Pepi II. 978) 

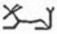
Sekhen-ta-en-ur (Unȧs 281) 

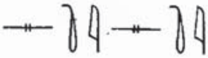
Sekhet (Unȧs 390) 

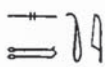
Sȧshsa (Pepi II. 975) 

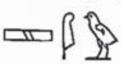
Seker (Pepi I. 641)  [2]

Seksen (Pepi I. 650)  [3]

Set (Unȧs 6) 

Sethȧsethȧ (Pepi I. 265) 

Seththa (Pepi I. 259) 

Shu (Unȧs 185) 

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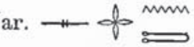
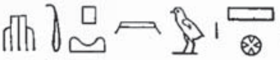
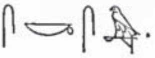
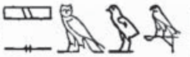
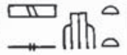
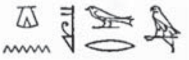
[1] Var.  Pepi I., 352.

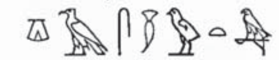
[2] He is identified with  in Pepi II., 1320.

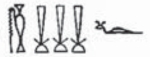
[3] Var. .

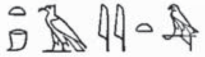
Shesmu (Unȧs 511) 

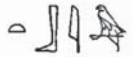
Sheskhentet (Unȧs 390) 

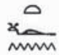
Ḳenur (Pepi II. 979) 

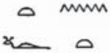
Ḳasut (Pepi II. 975) 

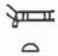
Qebḥsennuf (Tetȧ 60) 

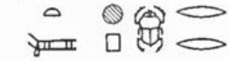
Tait (Tetȧ 376) 

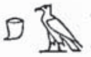
Tebȧ (Unȧs 428) 

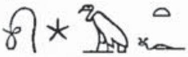
Tefen (Unȧs 453) 

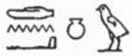
Tefnut (Unȧs 453) 

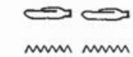
Tem (Unȧs 207) 

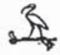
Tem-kheprer (Pepi II. 662) 

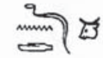
Tatet (Unȧs 67) 

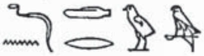
Ṭuamutef (Tetȧ 60) 

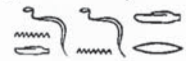
Ṭenānu (Pepi I. 269) 

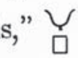
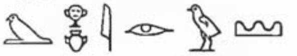
Ṭenṭen (Unȧs 280) 

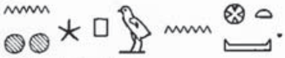
Teḥuti (Unȧs 228) 

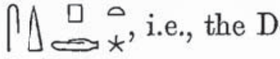
Tchenṭ (Mer-en-Rā 773) 

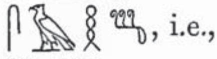
Tchenṭeru (Tetȧ 198) 

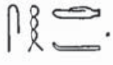
Tchenṭtchenṭer (Pepi I. 301) 

Besides the above gods are mentioned the "angel (or messenger) of the two gods,"  (Unȧs 408); and the "Āshem that dwelleth within Ȧru,"  (Tetȧ 351). Allusions are made to the following important stars:—

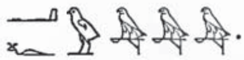
Nekhekh (Tetȧ 218), .

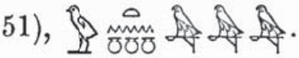
Sepṭet (Tetȧ 349), , i.e., the Dog Star.

Saḥ (Tetȧ 349), , i.e., Orion.

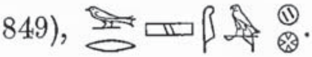
Seḥuṭ (Pepi II. 857), .

The Pyramid Texts show that in addition to the gods already enumerated there existed certain classes of beings to whom were attributed the nature of the gods, e.g.:—

The Āfu (Pepi II. 951), .

The Utennu (Pepi II. 951), .

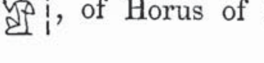
The Urshu of Pe (Pepi II. 849), .

The Urshu of Nekhen (Pepi II. 849), .

The Ḥenmemet (Unȧs 211), .

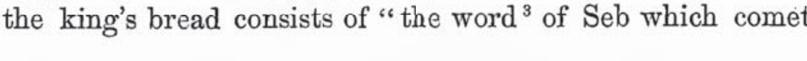
The Set beings, superior and inferior, (Pepi II. 951), .

The Shemsu Ḥeru (Pepi I. 166), .

Of the functions of the Āfu and Utennu nothing whatever is known. The Urshu, i.e., the Watchers, of Pe and Nekhen may have been groups of well-known gods, who were supposed to "watch over" and specially protect these cities; but, on the other hand, they may only have been the messengers, or angels, of the souls of Pe and Nekhen. The Ḥenmemet beings are likewise a class of divine beings about whom we have no exact information. In certain texts they are mentioned in connection with gods and men in such a manner that they are supposed to represent "unborn generations," but this rendering will not suit many of the passages in which the word occurs, and in those in which it seems to do so many other hypothetical meanings would fit the context just as well. The passage in which the Set beings are referred to must belong to the period when the god Set was regarded as a beneficent being and a god who was, with Horus, a friend and helper of the dead. The text quoted above shows that, like Horus, Set was supposed to be the head of a company of divine beings with attributes and characteristics similar to those of himself, and that this company was divided into two classes, the upper and the lower, or perhaps even the celestial and the terrestrial. Last must be mentioned the Shemsu Ḥeru, or the "Followers of Horus," to whom many references are made in funeral literature; their primary duties were to minister to the god Horus, son of Isis, but they were also supposed to help him in the performance of the duties which he undertook for the benefit of the dead. In the religious literature of the Early Empire they occupy the place of the "Mesniu," , of Horus of Beḥuṭet, the modern

Edfû, i.e., the workers in metal, or blacksmiths, who are supposed to have accompanied this god into Egypt, and to have assisted him by their weapons in establishing his supremacy at Beḥuṭet, or Edfû. The exploits of this god will be described later on in the section treating of Horus generally.

In the text of Pepi I. (line 419) we have a reference to a god with four faces in the following words:—"Homage to thee, O thou "who hast four faces which rest and look in turn upon what is in "Kenset,[1] and who bringest storm . . . . . ! Grant thou unto this "Pepi thy two fingers which thou hast given to the goddess Nefert, "the daughter of the great god, as messenger[s] from heaven to "earth when the gods make their appearance in heaven. Thou "art endowed with a soul, and thou dost rise [like the sun] in thy "boat of seven hundred and seventy cubits.[2] Thou hast carried in "thy boat the gods of Pe, and thou hast made content the gods of "the East. Carry thou this Pepi with thee in the cabin of thy "boat, for this Pepi is the son of the Scarab which is born in "Ḥetepet beneath the hair of the city of Iusāas the northern, and "he is the offspring of Seb. It is he who was between the legs of "Khent-maati on the night wherein he guarded (?) bread, and on "the night wherein he fashioned the heads of arrows. Thou hast "taken thy spear which is dear to thee, thy pointed weapon which "thrusteth down river banks, with a double point like the darts of "Rā, and a double haft like the claws of the goddess Mafṭet."

Throughout the Pyramid Texts frequent mention is made of one group, or of two or three groups, of nine gods. Thus in Unȧs (line 179) we read of "bowing low to the ground before the nine gods," ; and in line 234 we are told that the king's bread consists of "the word[3] of Seb which cometh

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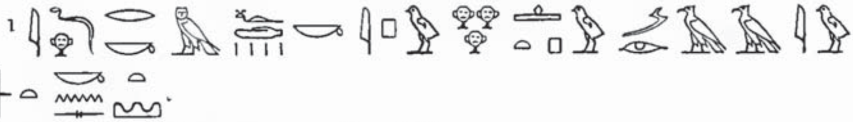
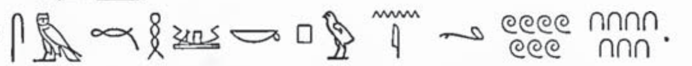
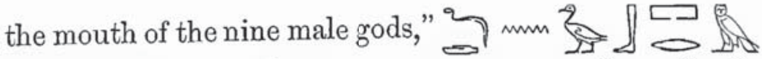
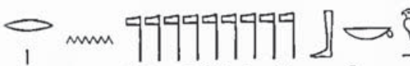
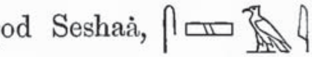
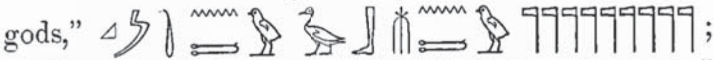
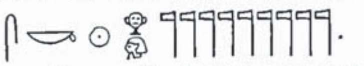
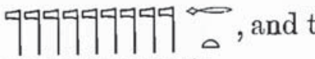
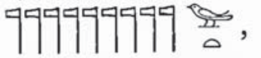
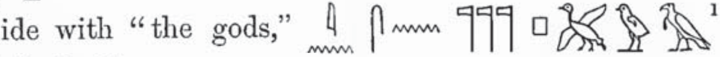
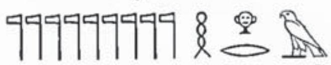
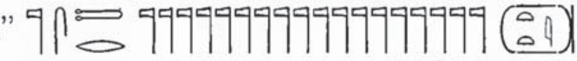
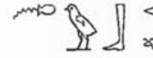
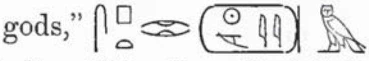
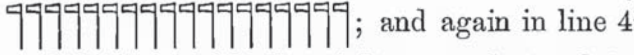
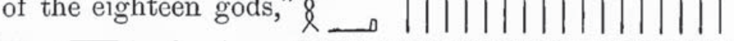
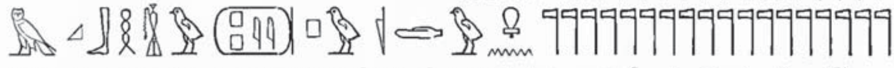
[1] 

[2] 

[3] *tchet* means literally "word," but it often is used to express "thing," "matter," like the Hebrew דָּבָר.

forth from the mouth of the nine male gods,"  . The god Seshaȧ, , is said in line 382 to have been "begotten by Seb and brought forth by the nine gods," ; and in line 592 Rā is said to be the "chief of the nine gods," . From several passages (e.g., Unȧs 251) we learn that one company of nine gods was called the "Great," , and that another company was called the "Little," , and the "nine gods of Horus" are spoken of side by side with "the gods," [1]  (line 443), but whether this group is to be connected with the Great or Little company of gods cannot be said. A double group of nine gods is frequently referred to, e.g., in Tetȧ, line 67, where it is said, "The eighteen gods cense Tetȧ, and his mouth is pure,"  ; and in Pepi I., line 273, where we read that the "two lips of Meri-Rā are the eighteen gods,"  ; and again in line 407, where Pepi I. is said to be "with the eighteen gods in Qebḥu," and to be the "fashioner of the eighteen gods,"  . We may perhaps assume that the eighteen gods include the Great and the Little companies of the gods, but, on the other hand, as "male and female gods" are mentioned[2] in the text of Tetȧ, nine of the eighteen gods may be feminine counterparts of the other nine, who must therefore be held to be masculine. But the texts of Tetȧ (line 307) and Pepi I. (line 218) show that there was a third company of nine gods recognized by the priests of Helio-

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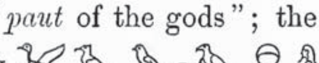
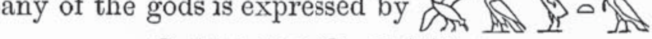
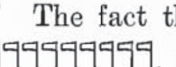
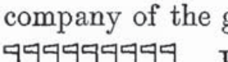
[1] Variant ; Tetȧ, l. 253.

[2] (l. 197).

polis, and we find all three companies represented thus: .

The Egyptian word here rendered "company" is PAUTI or *paut*, which may be written either or , and the meaning usually attached to it has been "nine." It is found in texts subsequent to the period of the pyramids at Ṣaḳḳâra thus written:— *paut neteru*, "*paut* of the gods"; the double company of the gods is expressed by  *pautti*, or we may have , *paut neteru āat paut neteru netcheset*, i.e., "the Great company of gods and the Little company of the gods." The fact that a company of gods is represented by nine axes, , has led to the common belief that a company of the gods contained nine gods, and for this reason the word *paut* has been explained to mean "nine." It is quite true that the Egyptians frequently *assigned* nine gods to the *paut*, as we may see from such passages as Unȧs 235,[1] and especially from line 283, where it is said, "Grant thou that this Unȧs may rule the nine, and that he may complete the company of the gods," . But the last quoted passage proves that a *paut* of the gods might contain more than nine divine beings, for it is clear that if the intent of the prayer was carried out the *paut* referred to in it would contain ten, king Unȧs being added to the nine gods. Again, in a litany to the gods of the Great company given in the Unȧs text (line 240 ff.) we see that the *paut* contains Tem, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Isis, Set, Nephthys, Thoth, and Horus, i.e., *ten* gods, without counting the deceased, who wished to be added to the number of the gods. In the text of Mer-en-Rā (line 205) the *paut* contains nine gods,[2] and it is described as the

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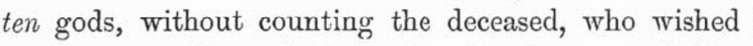
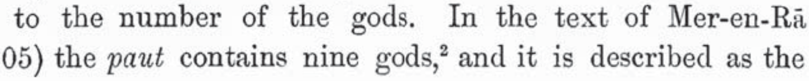
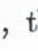
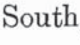
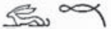
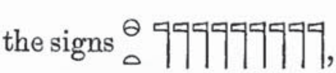
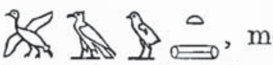
[1] .

[2]  ; see also Pepi II., l. 665.

"Great *paut* which is in Ȧnnu" (Heliopolis), whilst in the text of Pepi II. (line 669) the same *paut* is said to contain Tem, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Osiris-Khent-Ȧmenti, Set, Horus, Rā, Khent-maati, and Uatchet, i.e., *twelve* gods. Similarly the gods of the Little *paut* are more than nine in number, and in Unȧs (line 253 f.) they are thus enumerated:—Rāt, , the dweller in Ȧnnu, , the dweller in Āntchet, , the dweller in Ḥet-Serqet, , the dweller in the divine palace, , the dweller in Ḥetch-paār, , the dweller in Orion, , the dweller in Ṭep, , the dweller in Ḥet-ur-ka, , the dweller in Unnu of the South, , the dweller in Unnu of the North, .

Thus the Little *paut* contained *eleven* gods, not counting the deceased who desired to be added to their number. The fact that the *paut* contained at times more than nine gods is thus explained by M. Maspero[1]: "The number nine was the original number, "but each of the nine gods, especially the first and the last, could "be developed." Thus if it was desired to add the god Ȧmen of the Theban triad to the *paut* of Heliopolis, he could be set at the head of it either in the place of Temu, the legitimate chief of the *paut*, or side by side with him. Mut, the consort of Ȧmen, might be included in the *paut*, but Ȧmen and Mut would together only count as one god. Similarly, any one or all of the gods who belonged to the shrine of Ȧmen could be included with that god himself in the *paut* of Heliopolis, and yet the number of that *paut* was supposed to be increased only by one. In other words, the admission of one god into a *paut* brought with it the admission of all the gods who were in any way connected with him, but their names were never included among those of the original members of it. This explanation is very good as far as it goes, but it must not be taken as a proof that the Egyptians argued in this manner, or that they argued at all about it.

The nine axes are, beyond doubt, intended to represent nine gods, i.e., a triad of triads, but the signs , *paut neteru*, must be translated not "Neunheit," as Brugsch rendered them,[1] but the "stuff of the nine gods," i.e., the substance or matter out of which the nine gods were made. The word *paut*, , means "dough cake," or cake of bread which formed part of the offerings made to the dead; similarly *paut* is the name given to the plastic substance out of which the earth and the gods were formed, and later, when applied to divine beings or things, it means the aggregation or entirety of such beings or things. Thus in the Papyrus of Ani (sheet i., line 6) the god Tatunen is declared to be "one, the maker of mankind, and of the "material of the gods of the South and the North, the West and "the East."[2] But there was a primeval matter out of which heaven was made, and also a [primeval] matter out of which the earth was made, and hence Kheperȧ, the great creator of all things, is said in Chapter xvii. (line 116) of the *Book of the Dead* to possess a body[3] which is formed of both classes of matter (*paut*). And again in Chapter lxxxv. (line 8) the deceased, wishing to identify himself with this divine substance, says, "I am the eldest "son of the divine *pautti*, that is to say, the soul of the souls of the "gods of everlasting, and my body is everlasting, and my creations are "eternal, and I am the lord of years, and the prince of everlasting-"ness." In the words which are put into the mouth of Kheperȧ, who is made to describe his creation of the world, the god says, "I produced myself from the [primeval] matter [which] I made,"

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[1] *La Mythologie Égyptienne*, p. 245.

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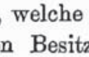
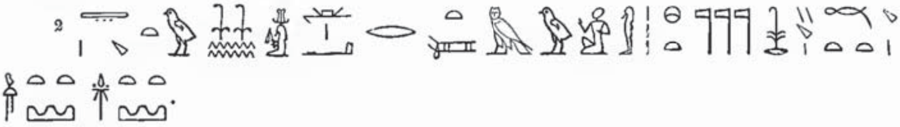
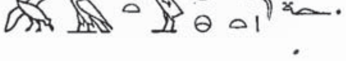
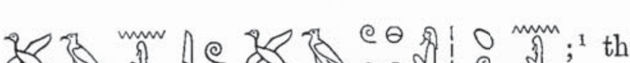
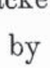
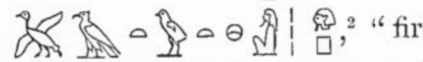
[1] "Der kosmogonische Lehre von der Ogdoas, deren aelteste Spuren sich bis "zu den Pyramidentexten verfolgen lassen, schloss sich die Doctrin 'der Neunheit' "(Enneas) oder der  an. Sie umfasste die genetische Entstehung der neun "Theile und Kräfte, welche die zukünftige Wohnung der den Leib Gottes bildeten, "dessen Seele davon Besitz nahm, um alles mit ihr zu erfüllen." *Aegyptologie*, p. 170.

[2] .

[3] .

;[1] this is the only meaning which can be extracted from the Egyptian words, and the context, which the reader will find given in the section on the Creation, proves that it is the correct one. The word "primeval," which is added in brackets, is suggested by the texts wherein *pautti* is accompanied by  *ṭep*, i.e., "first," in point of time, compare ,[2] "first matter," that is to say, the earliest matter which was created, and the matter which existed before anything else. From the above facts it is clear that the meaning "Neunheit" must not be given to the Egyptian word *paut*.

We have now seen that, so far back as the Vth Dynasty, the priests of Heliopolis conceived the existence of three companies of gods; the first two they distinguished by the appellations "Great" and "Little," but to the third they gave no name. The gods of the first or "Great" company are well known, and their names are:—
1. Tem, the form of the Sun-god which was worshipped at Heliopolis. 2. Shu. 3. Tefnut. 4. Seb. 5. Nut. 6. Osiris. 7. Isis. 8. Set. 9. Nephthys. Sometimes this company is formed by the addition of Horus and the omission of Tem. The names of gods of the second or "Little" company appear to be given in the text of Unȧs, line 253 ff., where we have enumerated :—1. Rāt. 2. Ȧm-Ȧnnu. 3. Ȧm-Āntchet. 4. Ȧm-Ḥet-Ṣerqet-ka-ḥetepet. 5. Ȧm-Neter-ḥet. 6. Ȧm-Ḥetch-paār. 7. Ȧm-Saḥ. 8. Ȧm-Ṭep. 9. Ȧm-Ḥet-ur-Rā. 10. Ȧm-Unnu-resu. 11. Ȧm-Unnu-meḥt. It must, however, be noted that whereas in the text the address to the Great company of the gods as a whole follows the separate addresses to each, the address to the Little company precedes the separate addresses to each; still there is no reason for doubting that the second group of names given above are really those of the Little company of the gods. The names of the gods of the third company are unknown, and the texts are silent as to the functions which the company was supposed to perform; the Great and Little companies of the gods are frequently referred to in texts of all periods, but

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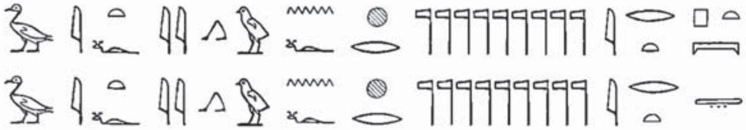
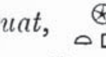
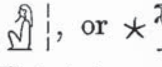
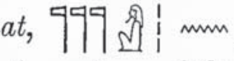
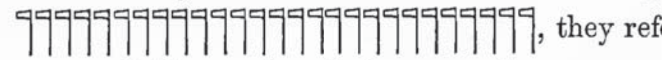
[1] See *Archaeologia*, vol. lii., p. 557.

[2] See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, Text, p. 348, l. 15.

the third company is rarely mentioned. Thus in the text of Pepi I. (line 43), the king is said to sit on an iron throne and to weigh words at the head of the Great company of gods in Ȧnnu; the two companies of the gods lift up the head of Pepi (line 97), and he takes the crown in the presence of the Great company (line 117); he sits at the head of the two companies (line 167), and in their boat (line 169); and he stands between the two companies (line 186). It has already been suggested[1] that the Great company of gods was a macrocosm of a primitive kind, and the Little company a microcosm; this view is very probably correct, and is supported by passages like the following:—"The son of his father is come with "the company of the gods of heaven, . . . the son of his father is "come with the company of the gods of earth."

[2]

From numerous passages in texts of all periods it is clear that the Egyptians believed that heaven was in many respects a duplicate of earth, and, as it was supposed to contain a celestial Nile, and sacred cities which were counterparts of those on the earth and which were called by similar names, it is only reasonable to assign to it a company of gods who were the counterparts of those on earth. And as there were gods of heaven and gods of earth, so also were there gods of the Ṭuat, or Underworld, who were either called *ṭuat*, , or , or *neteru en ṭuat*, . This being so, we may assume that when the writers of the Pyramid Texts mentioned three companies of the gods, , they referred to the company of the gods of heaven, the company of the gods of earth, and the company of the gods of the Underworld, meaning thereby what the writer of the XXIIIrd Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* meant when he spoke of "the

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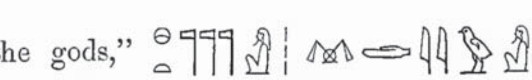
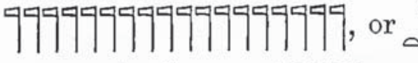
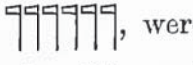
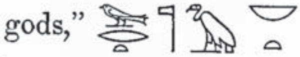
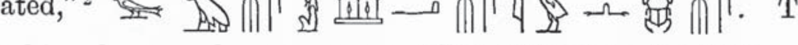
[1] Maspero, *La Mythologie Égyptienne*, p. 244.

[2] Pepi I., ll. 298–300.

"company of all the gods," . In the Pyramid Texts, however, and in the later Recensions of the *Book of the Dead* which are based upon them, the *pautti neteru*, , or , were intended to represent the Great and Little companies of the gods, and these only; the members of each company varied in different cities and in different periods, but the principle of such variation is comparatively simple. Long before the priests of Heliopolis grouped the gods of Egypt into companies certain very ancient cities had their own special gods whom they probably inherited from their predecessors, i.e., the predynastic Egyptians. Thus the goddess of Saïs was Nit, or Net, or Neith; the goddess of Per-Uatchet was Uatchet; the goddess of Dendera was Hathor; the goddess of Nekheb was Nekhebet; the god of Edfû was Horus; the god of Heliopolis was Tem; and so on. When the priests of these and other cities found that, for some reason, they were obliged to accept the theological system formulated by the priests of Heliopolis and its Great company of gods, they did so readily enough, but they always made the great local god or goddess the head or chief, , of the company.

At Heliopolis, where the chief local god was called Tem, the priests joined their god to Rā, and addressed many of their prayers and hymns to Tem-Rā or Rā-Tem. At Edfû the great local god Horus of Beḥuṭet was either made to take the place of Tem, or was added to the Heliopolitan company in one form or another. The same thing happened in the case of goddesses like Neith, Uatchet, Nekhebet, Hathor, etc. It was found to be hopeless to attempt to substitute the Heliopolitan company of gods for Neith in the city of Saïs, because there the worship of that goddess was extremely ancient and was very important. The fact that her name forms a component part of royal names very early in the Ist Dynasty proves that her worship dates from the first half of the archaic period, and that it is much older than the theological system of Heliopolis. But when the priests of Saïs adopted that system they associated her with the head of the company of the gods, and gave her suitable titles and ascribed to her proper attributes, in accordance with her sex, which would make her a feminine counterpart to the god Tem. The god Tem was the Father-god, and the lord of heaven, and the begetter of the gods, therefore Neith became "the "great lady, the mother-goddess, the lady of heaven, and queen of "the gods," . Elsewhere[1] she is called "mother of the gods," and just as Tem was declared to have been self-produced, so we find the same attribute ascribed to Neith, and she is said to be "the great lady, who gave birth to Rā, who "brought forth in primeval time herself, never having been "created,"[2] . The same thing happened at the cities of Per-Uatchet in the Delta and Nekhebet in Upper Egypt, for at one place Uatchet, the ancient and local goddess, became the head of the company of gods, and the goddess Nekhebet at the other. It is interesting to note that the priests of Heliopolis themselves included Uatchet in their Great company of the gods, as we may see from the text of Pepi II.,[3] where we find that the deceased king prays concerning the welfare of his pyramid "to the great *paut* of gods in Ȧnnu," i.e., Tem, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Set, Nephthys, Khent-Maati, and Uatchet.

The goddess Hathor at Dendera was treated by the priests there as was Neith at Saïs, for every conceivable attribute was ascribed to her, and her devotees declared that she was the mother of the gods, and the creator of the heavens and the earth, and of everything which is in them. In fact, both Neith and Hathor were made to assume all the powers of the god Tem, and indeed of every solar god.

The general evidence derived from a study of texts of all periods shows that the chief local gods of many cities never lost their exalted positions in the minds of the inhabitants, who clung to their belief in them with a consistency and conservatism which are truly Egyptian. In fact, the god of a nome, or the god of the capital city of a nome, when once firmly established, seems to have maintained his influence in all periods of Egyptian history, and though his shrine may have fallen into oblivion as the result of wars or invasions, and his worship have been suspended from time to time, the people of his city always took the earliest opportunity of rebuilding his sanctuary and establishing his priests as soon as prosperity returned to the country.

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[1] D. Mallet, *Le Culte de Neit à Saïs*, Paris, 1888, p. 47.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

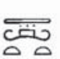
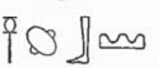
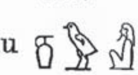
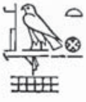
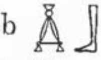
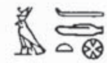
[3] See ll. 669 ff.

CHAPTER III

PRIMITIVE GODS AND NOME-GODS

DURING the predynastic period in Egypt every village and town or settlement possessed its god, whose worship and the glory of whose shrine increased or declined according to the increase or decrease of the prosperity of the community in which he lived. When the country was divided into sections which the Egyptians called *ḥespu*, , or "nomes," a certain god, or group of allied gods, became the representative, or representatives, of each nome, and so obtained the pre-eminence over all the other gods of the nome; and sometimes one god would represent two nomes. In this way the whole country of Egypt, from the Mediterranean Sea to Elephantine, was divided among the gods, and it became customary in each nome to regard the god of that nome as the "Great God," or "God," and to endow him with all the powers and attributes possible. We have, unfortunately, no means of knowing when the country was first split up into nomes, but the division must have taken place at a very early period, and the gods who were chosen to represent the nomes were undoubtedly those who had been worshipped in the large towns or settlements during the predynastic period. Thus in the earliest dynastic times of which we have inscriptions of any length we find that Neith was the chief deity of Saïs, Osiris of Busiris, Thoth of Hermopolis, Uatchet of Per-Uatchet, Ptaḥ of Memphis, Sebek of Crocodilopolis, Ȧmen of Thebes, Nekhebet of Nekheb, and Khnemu of Elephantine. The number of the nomes seems to have been different in different periods, so it is not possible to say with certainty how many the early nome-gods were in number. The Egyptian lists give the number of nomes as forty-two or forty-four, but the classical writers, Strabo, Diodorus, and Pliny, do not agree in their statements on the subject. Strabo says[1] that the Labyrinth contained twenty-seven chambers, and if each one represented a nome the nomes must have been twenty-seven in number, i.e., ten in Upper Egypt, ten in Lower Egypt, and seven in the Heptanomis. On the other hand, Herodotus says[2] that the Labyrinth contained twelve halls. Pliny (Bk. v., chap. 9) enumerates the nomes as follows:—Ombites, Apollopolites, Hermonthites, Thinites, Phaturites, Coptites, Tentyrites, Diopolites, Antaeopolites, Aphroditopolites, Lycopolites, Pharbaethites, Bubastites, Sethroites, Tanites, the Arabian nome, the Hammonian nome, Oxyrynchites, Leontopolites, Athribites, Cynopolites, Hermopolites, Xoites, Mendesium, Sebennytes, Cabasites, Latopolites, Heliopolites, Prosopites, Panopolites, Busirites, Onuphites, Saïtes, Ptenethu, Phthemphu, Naucratites, Metelites, Gynaeopolites, Menelaites, Maraeotis, Heracleopolites, Arsinoïtes, Memphites, and the two nomes of Oasites. Diodorus Siculus (i. 54) gives the number of the nomes as thirty-six;[3] Herodotus (ii. 164) tells us that the country of Egypt was divided into districts[4] or nomes, but he does not say how many of them there were. These facts serve to show that the number of nomes when the country was first divided was smaller than in later times, and we may assume that it was the nomes of the Delta which increased in number rather than those of Upper Egypt. The following is a list of the nomes of Egypt according to inscriptions at Edfû and elsewhere, together with their capitals and the gods who were worshipped in them:—

UPPER EGYPT.

Nome.	Capital.	God.
1. TA-KHENT 	Ābu  (Elephantine)	Khnemu 
2. THES-ḤERTU 	Ṭeb  (ApollinopolisMagna)	Ḥeru-Beḥuṭet 

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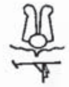
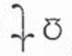
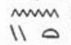
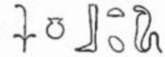
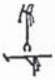
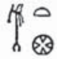
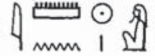
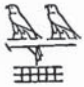
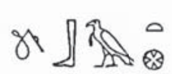
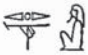
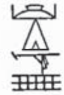
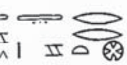
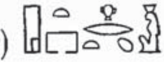
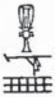
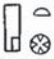
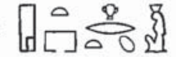
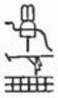
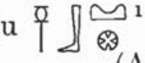
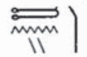
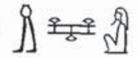
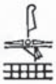
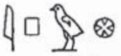
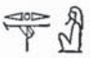
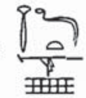
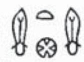
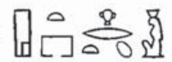
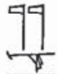
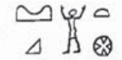
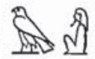
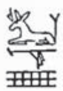
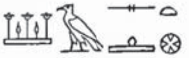
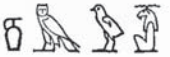
[1] xvii. 1. § 37.

[2] ii. § 148.

[3] Τὴν δὲ χώραν ἅπασαν εἰς ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα μέρη διελών, ἃ καλοῦσιν Αἰγύπτιοι νομούς.

[4] κατὰ γὰρ δὴ νομοὺς Αἴγυπτος ἅπασα διαραίρηται.

Nome.	Capital.	God.
3. TEN 	Nekheb  (Eileithyia) Senit  (Esneh)	Nekhebet 
4. UAST 	Uast  (Thebes)	Ȧmen-Rā 
5. ḤERUI 	Qebti  (Coptos)	Ȧmsu, Min or Khem 
6. ȦA-ṬĀ 	Ta-en-tarert  (Denderah)	Ḥet-Ḥeru (i.e., Hathor) 
7. SESHESH 	Ḥet  (Diospolis Parva)	Ḥet-Ḥeru 
8. ȦBṬ 	Ȧbṭu [1] (Abydos) Thenit  (This)	Ȧn-Ḥer 
9. ȦMSU, MIN or KHEM 	Ȧpu  (Panopolis)	Ȧmsu, Min or Khem 
10A. UATCHET 	Ṭebut  (Aphroditopolis)	Ḥet-Ḥeru 
10B. NETERUI 	Ṭu-qat  (Antaeopolis)	Ḥeru (Horus) 
11. SET 	Shas-ḥetep  (Hypsele)	Khnemu 

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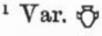
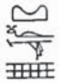
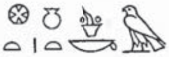
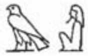
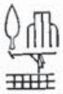
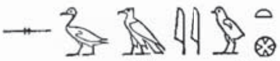
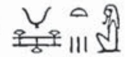
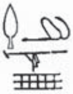
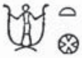
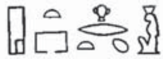
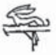
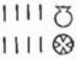
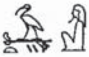
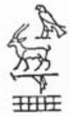
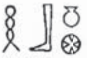
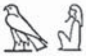
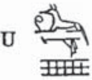
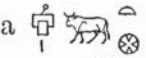
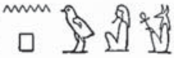
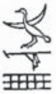
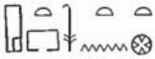
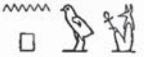
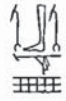
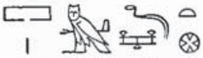
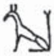
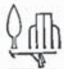
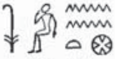
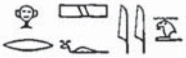
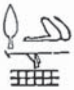
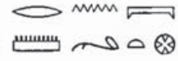
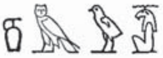
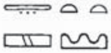
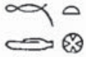
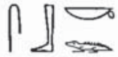
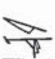
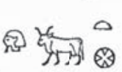
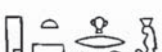
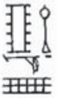
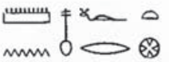
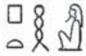
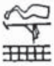
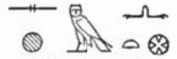
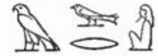
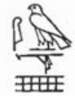
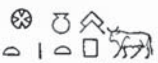
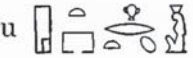
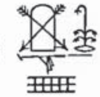
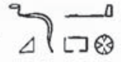
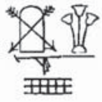
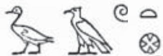
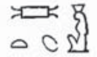
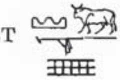
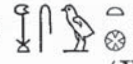
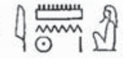
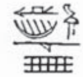
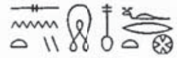
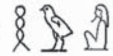
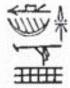
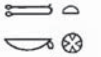
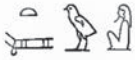
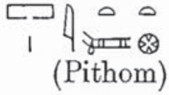
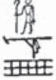
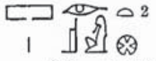
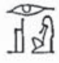
[1] Var.  *Ȧb-ṭut*, i.e., "the city of the mountain of the heart's desire"; see Dümichen, *Geschichte*, p. 143.

	Nome.	Capital.	God.
12.	Ṭu-f 	Nut-en-bak  (Antaeopolis)	Ḥeru 
13.	Ȧtef-khent 	Saiut  (Lycopolis)	Ȧp-uat 
14.	Ȧtef-peḥu 	Qesi  (Cusae)	Ḥet-Ḥert 
15.	Un 	Khemennu  (Hermopolis)	Teḥuti (Thoth) 
16.	Meḥ-maḥetch 	Ḥebennu  (Hipponon)	Ḥeru 
17.	Ȧnpu 	Kasa  (Cynopolis)	Ȧnpu 
18.	Sep 	Ḥet-suten  (Alabastronpolis)	Ȧnpu 
19.	Uab 	Per-Mātchet  (Oxyrynchus)	Set 
20.	Ȧtef-khent 	Henensu  (Herakleopolis Magna)	Ḥer-shefi 
21a.	Ȧtef-peḥu 	Ermen-ḥert 	Khnemu 
21b.	Ta-she 	Sheṭ  (Crocodilopolis)	Sebek 
22.	Māten 	Ṭep-ȧḥet  (Aphroditopolis)	Ḥet-Ḥert 

LOWER EGYPT.

	Nome.		Capital.		God.	
1.	Ȧneb-ḥetch		Men-nefert (Memphis)		Ptaḥ	
2.	Khensu[1]		Sekhemt (Letopolis)		Ḥeru-ur	
3.	Ȧment		Nut-ent-Ḥāp (Apis)		Ḥet-Ḥeru	
4.	Sāpi-res		Tcheqā		Sebek, Isis, Ȧmen	
5.	Sāp-meḥ		Saut (Saïs)		Net (Neith)	
6.	Kaset		Khasut (Xoïs)		Ȧmen-Rā	
7.	... Ȧment		Senti-nefert		Ḥu	
8.	... Ȧbt		Theket (Succoth)		Temu	
			Per-Ȧtem (Pithom)			
9.	Ȧti		Per-Ȧsȧr (Busiris)	[2]	Osiris	

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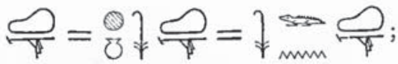
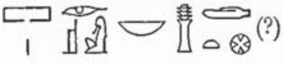
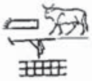
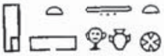
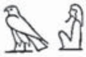
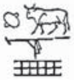
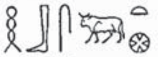
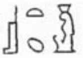
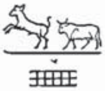
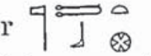
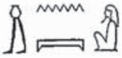
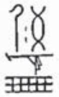
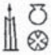
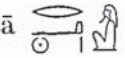
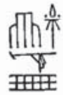
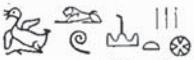
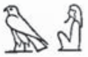
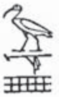
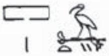
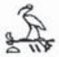
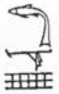
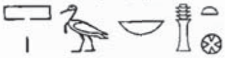
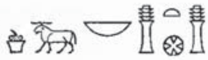
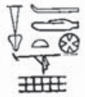
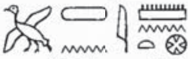
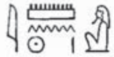
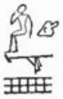
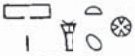
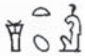
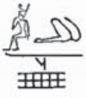
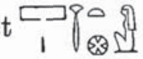
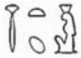
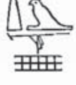
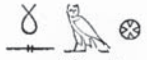
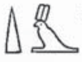
[1] Perhaps a variant is ; see Pleyte, *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1868, p. 17; and Dümichen, *Kalendarinschriften*, 118*b*, 106*d*.

[2] Or, (?).

	Nome.	Capital.	God.
10.	KA-QEM 	Ḥet-ta-ḥer-ȧb  (Athribis)	Horus 
11.	KA-ḤESEB 	Ḥebes-ka  (Cabasus)	Isis 
12.	THEB-KA 	Theb-neter  (Sebennytus)	Ȧn-ḥer 
13.	ḤEQ-ĀṬ 	Ȧnnu  (Heliopolis, On)	Rā 
14.	KHENT-ȦBT 	Tchalu  (Tanis)	Ḥeru 
15.	TEḤUT 	Per-Teḥuti  (Hermopolis)	Teḥuti (Thoth) 
16.	KHA (?) 	Per-ba-neb-Ṭeṭṭu  (Mendes)	Ba-neb-Tattu, or Ṭeṭṭeṭet 
17.	SAM-BEḤUṬET 	Pa-khen-en-Ȧmen  (Diospolis)	Ȧmen-Rā 
18.	ȦM-KHENT 	Per-Bast  (Bubastis)	Bast 
19.	ȦM-PEḤU 	Per-Uatchet  (Buto)	Uatchet 
20.	SEPṬ 	Qesem  (Goshen ?)	Sepṭ  [1]

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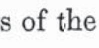
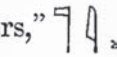
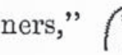
[1] The authorities to be consulted on the nomes of Egypt are Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* (see the list at the end of vol. iii.); Dümichen, *Geographie des alten Aegyptens* (in Meyer, *Geschichte des alten Aegyptens*), Berlin, 1887; and J. de Rougé, *Géographie Ancienne de la Basse-Égypte*, Paris, 1891.

Thus every nome of Egypt possessed a representative god whose temple was situated in the capital city of the nome, and attached to the service of each nome-god was a body of priests who divided among themselves the various duties connected with the service of the gods, the maintenance of the buildings of the temple, the multiplying of copies of religious works, and the religious education of the community. In Upper Egypt, where the care of the dead seems to have been the principal duty of the living, the lower orders of the priesthood probably carried on a lucrative business in mummifying the dead, and in funeral papyri and amulets, and in conducting funerals. The high-priest of each great city, and sometimes even the high-priestess, bore a special title. In Thebes the high-priest was called "first servant of the "god Rā in Thebes";[1] in Heliopolis the title of the high-priest was "Great one of visions of Rā-Ȧtem";[2] in Memphis, "Great chief "of the hammer in the temple of him of the Southern Wall, and "Setem of the god of the Beautiful Face (i.e., Ptaḥ)";[3] in Saïs, "governor of the double temple";[4] and similarly the high-priestess of Memphis bore the title of "Nefer-tutu";[5] in Sekhem the title of the high-priestess was "Divine mother";[6] in Saïs, "Urt," i.e., "great one";[7] in Mendes, "Utcha-ba-f";[8] and so on. The priests of every great god were divided into classes, among which may be mentioned "those who ministered at certain hours," ; "the servants of the gods," ; the "holy fathers," ; the "libationers," . The accounts of the temple were kept by the "scribe of the temple,"

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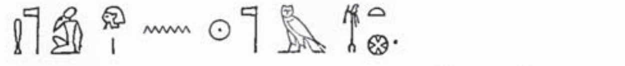
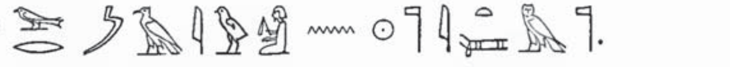
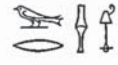
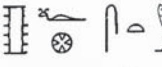
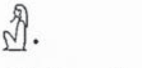
[1]

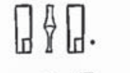
[2] 

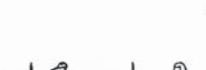
[3] 

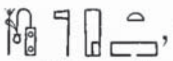
[4] 

[5] 

[6] 

[7] 

[8] 

, and, in large temples, one or more scribes kept a register of gifts to the temple and of the property of the god.[1] It is impossible to say how many priests of all classes ministered to any given nome-god; it seems that the highest permanent priestly officials were at all times and in all cities very few in number, and that the "servants of the god" were very many. The priests of each nome-god were subject to no external authority, and the high-priest of a great nome possessed a power which was hardly inferior to that of the nomarch himself.

The worship of each nome-god contained elements peculiar to itself, and the beliefs which centred in him represented all the ancient and indigenous views of the inhabitants of the nome, and these were carefully observed and cultivated from the earliest to the latest times. We may see from the list of nome-gods given above that many nomes worshipped the same god, e.g., Horus was worshipped in three nomes of Upper Egypt and two nomes of Lower Egypt, whilst one nome worshipped him under the special form of Horus of Beḥuṭet; three nomes of Upper Egypt worshipped Khnemu, two worshipped Ȧmsu (or Min or Khem ?), two worshipped Ȧnpu, and Hathor was worshipped in five nomes in Upper Egypt and one in Lower Egypt. The cults of the ram-headed god Khnemu at Elephantine, of the vulture goddess Nekhebet at Eileithyia, of the crocodile god Sebek in the district of Ta-she (Fayyûm), of the dog-headed god Ȧnpu at Cynopolis and Alabastronpolis, of the ibis-god Thoth at Hermopolis, of Horus the elder (Ḥeru-ur) at Letopolis, and of Uatchet at Buto (Per-Uatchet), were extremely ancient, and with them are probably to be grouped in point of antiquity the cults of the wolf(?)-headed god Ȧp-uat, the lioness goddess Sekhet, the cat-headed goddess Bast, and the god Set. The animal which was the type and symbol of this last god has not as yet been identified; it cannot have been the ass as was once thought, and it is hardly likely to have been the camel; at present, therefore, we can only tentatively assume that it belonged to some class of animal which became extinct at a very early period. The cults of the various forms of the sky-god Horus, and of the Sun-god, and of the goddess Hathor, are the oldest of all. The goddess Neith, whose symbols were two arrows and a shield, appears to have been of Libyan origin, but, as has already been shown, the attributes of some of the oldest indigenous gods of Egypt were ascribed to her in early dynastic times. The origin of the god Osiris is obscure, but it is difficult, when all the statements made concerning him in the religious texts are taken into consideration, not to think that the original seat of his worship was in the Delta. Early in the dynastic period his most important shrine was at Abydos, which became the centre of his cult and the sacred city to which his worshippers flocked for countless generations. In spite of this, however, the nome-lists show that the nome-god was Ȧn-Ḥer, or Ȧnhur, and notwithstanding the special honour in which Osiris was held throughout Egypt, Ȧn-Ḥer was always regarded as the official god of the nome Ȧbṭ and of its capital of the same name.

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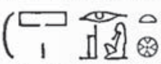
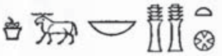
[1] For other temple officials see Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, p. 218.

The Elysian Fields, i.e., the Sekhet-ḥetepet, were situated in the Delta where the country was fertile, and where the land was traversed by canals and streams of water running in all directions; moreover, the "House of Osiris" *par excellence* ( Per-Ȧsȧr[1] = Busiris) was in the Delta, and the shrine of the god who was worshipped in the form of a ram which was said to contain the soul of Osiris, was also in the Delta. Everywhere in the texts Osiris is called the "lord of Abydos," and generally this title is followed by another, i.e., "lord of Ṭaṭṭu." Now Ṭaṭṭu is the city, and "The Ram, lord of Ṭaṭṭu,"  *Ba-neb-Ṭaṭṭu*, was its god. The name Ṭaṭṭu was corrupted into "Mendes" by the Greeks, and in this city the great local god was worshipped under the form of a ram, which is now commonly known as the "Mendesian Ram." The frequent use of the title "lord of Ṭaṭṭu" suggests that the worship of Osiris was grafted on to or was made to absorb that of the local ram-god, and that in consequence Osiris became the lord of the city in his stead. It may be urged that Ṭaṭṭu was merely the seat of the shrine of the god Osiris in the northern kingdom, just as Abydos was his sanctuary in the southern kingdom, but this explanation of the use of the title is insufficient. It may further be urged that, inasmuch as the titles "lord of Abydos," "lord of Ṭaṭṭu," occur in connection with others which have reference to Osiris in his capacity as governor of the Underworld, the Abydos and Ṭaṭṭu here mentioned are mythological cities and not cities upon earth. But even if this be so it matters little, for we know that the Egyptians fashioned their mythological or heavenly cities after the manner of their earthly cities, and that their conceptions of things spiritual were based upon things material.

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[1] The words *Ba-neb-Ṭaṭṭu* usually follow here, therefore the full name of the city is, "House of Osiris, the Ram, lord of Ṭaṭṭu."

Returning for a moment to the adoption of gods, we may note that from first to last the people of one nome were generally ready to offer hospitality to the gods of another, and also to the gods of strangers who had come to settle among them. At times, however, a new god, or a new group of gods, was forced upon the inhabitants of one or more nomes, and even upon a whole province, as the result of conquest, or by the wish of the king, or by the supremacy of the priesthood of a given city. Thus the priesthood of Rā or Rā-Tem at Heliopolis succeeded in making their theological system paramount in the country, and the whole of the religious philosophy of the Theban *Books of the Dead* is based upon their teaching. Until the conquest of the Hyksos by the Theban princes the god Ȧmen was a nome-god of no great importance, but when they became kings of the south and north, he immediately became the king of all the gods of the south and the north, and the titles and powers and attributes of the great gods of the country were ascribed to him by his priests. As the prince of Thebes was greater than any and every prince in the other nomes of Egypt, so the Theban nome-god was greater than any and every other god of Egypt. The extraordinary dislike which Ȧmen-ḥetep IV. exhibited towards this god, and the foolish attempt which he made to substitute for his worship that of Ȧten, or the Disk, furnishes us with an example of the imposition of a god upon a priesthood and province; the attempt was successful for a time over a limited area, but it had no chance of permanent success because the fundamental ideas of the worship of the god as Ȧmen-ḥetep interpreted them were foreign to the religious conceptions of the Egyptians generally.

From what has been said above it will be easy to imagine the remarkable spectacle which Egypt must have presented to a foreigner who went there and found the country split up into a series of nomes, each possessing its great god, who was ministered to by a body of priests and servants who were amenable to no general authority outside the nome, and who performed his worship when and as they pleased, and who claimed for him powers, and rights, and privileges without fear of opposition. The stranger would find that each college of priests in each nome asserted that its god was the father of all the other gods, and the creator of the heavens and the earth, and that, generally speaking, the priests of one nome-god and his divine companions were content to allow their neighbours in other nomes to declare anything they pleased about their nome-gods and their divine companions. As far as can be gathered from the religious texts, it seems that the priests of one company of gods never attempted to suppress the gods of another company if the fortune of war gave them paramount power in the nome wherein they were worshipped. Thus when the priests of Rā attained to the great power which they enjoyed at Heliopolis under the Vth and VIth Dynasties they did not suppress the local god Tem, but they associated their god with him, and produced the compound god Rā-Tem. Similarly, at a later period, when Åmen, as the nome-god of the victorious princes and kings of Thebes, was declared to be the greatest of the gods of Egypt, his priests did not declare that the other gods of Egypt were not gods and try to suppress them, but they asserted that all the powers of the other gods were assimilated in him, and that he was in consequence the greatest of the gods. In the texts of Unås and the kings who were his immediate successors we read of the Great and Little companies of the gods, but we also find mention of the company of gods of Horus and of the double company of gods of Tem;[1] the priests of Heliopolis claimed supremacy among the gods for Rā, but they took care to include as far as possible the name of every god and goddess to whom worship had been paid in past generations. The

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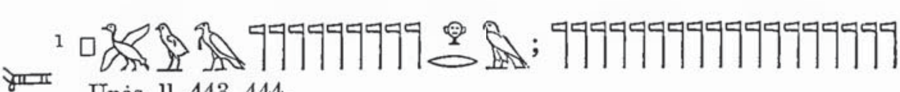
[1] . Unås, ll. 443, 444.

same characteristic is observable in the texts of the Theban priesthood, and we find that their god Ȧmen was even introduced into the *Book of the Dead* where, manifestly, he had little claim to be. The hymns in the chapters of that work are addressed either to Rā, in one form or another, or to Osiris, but in Chapter clxxi. we find the following address:—" O Tem, O Shu, O Tefnet, O Seb, O Nut, " O Osiris, O Isis, O Set, O Nephthys, O Ḥeru-khuti (Harmachis), " O Hathor of the Great House, O Kheperȧ, O Menthu, the lord of " Thebes, O Ȧmen, the lord of the thrones of the two lands, O " Great company of the gods, O Little company of the gods, O gods " and goddesses who dwell in Nu, O Sebek of the two *Meḥt*, O " Sebek in all thy manifold names in thine every place wherein thy " Ka (i.e., double) hath delight, O gods of the south, O gods of the " north, O ye who are in heaven, O ye who are upon the earth, " grant ye the garment of purity unto the perfect spirit of Ȧmen- " ḥetep."[1] The greater number of the gods whose names are given in the Pyramid Texts are also mentioned in the religious literature, especially in the *Book of the Dead* of later periods, and if we possessed copies of all the religious works of the New Empire we should probably discover that the names of all the gods, with perhaps the exception of Set, worshipped under the Early Empire were preserved in them. The Egyptians, certainly in dynastic times, rarely abandoned a god, and, speaking generally, it is remarkable how little the character and attributes of the gods vary in the period between the IVth and the XXVIth Dynasties. The obstinate conservatism of the Egyptians, which seems to have been inherited in an almost unaltered state by their descendants the Copts, induced the writers of religious texts to introduce into their works as many of the gods as possible, and they were moved to do this as much by motives of priestly policy and by self-interest as by feelings of reverence for the gods of Egypt.

In the Pyramid Texts the predominant gods are those of the company of Heliopolis, but we nevertheless find that the gods of remote towns and cities had duties assigned to them, and that one and all of them were supposed to minister to the deceased kings in the Underworld. The reason of this is not far to seek.

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[1] See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* (Translation), p. 315.

The heaven which the Egyptian conceived in his mind closely resembled Egypt in respect of its sub-divisions, and its various cities and districts were ruled by gods whom it was necessary to propitiate, and whose friendship must be gained at any cost. A man hoped that in the next life he would be able to wander about at will through the length and breadth of heaven, and the only way to obtain this privilege was to secure the goodwill of the gods of the four quarters of the sky by the recital of prayers of various kinds, and by the performance of certain ceremonies, which were always of a more or less magical character. To be able to pass at pleasure along the eastern Delta of heaven and without opposition presupposed the favour of Sepṭ and Temu; and to have power to drink of the waters of the celestial Nile presupposed the favour of the god Khnemu, the lord of the Island of Elephantine, close to which were situated, according to Egyptian belief, the sources of the Nile. The texts of all periods exhibit an almost childish anxiety to prove that every god of Egypt is interested in the welfare of the beings in the Underworld who were once mortal men, and it was a common belief also in all periods that the mere asserting in writing that the gods would minister to the deceased would produce the assistance desired. To enjoy the power to enter into certain cities in heaven the deceased was obliged to know the various gods or "Souls" who were worshipped in them. Thus the Souls of the West were Tem, and Sebek, the lord of the Mountain of Sunrise, and Hathor, the lady of the Evening;[1] the Souls of the East were Ḥeru-khuti (Harmachis), the Calf of the goddess Kherȧ, and the Morning Star;[2] the Souls of the city of Pe were Horus, Mesthȧ, and Ḥāpi;[3] the Souls of the city of Nekhen were Horus, Ṭuamutef, and Qebḥsennuf;[4] the Souls of Heliopolis were Rā, Shu, and Tefnet;[5] and the Souls of the city of Hermopolis were Thoth, Sa, and Tem.[6] Similarly every great heavenly city was held to contain a company of gods, and the beatified soul was thought to enjoy the duty of paying visits to their shrines just as, when in the body, it made offerings to their earthly counterparts.

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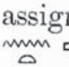
[1] *Book of the Dead*, Chap. cviii. [2] *Ibid.*, Chap. cix. [3] *Ibid.*, Chap. cxii.
[4] *Ibid.*, Chap. cxiii. [5] *Ibid.*, Chap. cxv. [6] *Ibid.*, Chap. cxvi.

In the observations already made concerning the difficulty of assigning an exact meaning to the word for God and "god," neter, , we have seen that in dynastic times the chief attribute which was assigned to a god was the power to renew his life indefinitely, and to live for ever, and the text of Unȧs has shown us that in very early times the Egyptian thought he could obtain this power by eating his god or gods. Closely connected with this belief is another which finds expression in the Pyramid Texts, and also in the later Recensions of the *Book of the Dead* which are based upon them. In many passages scattered throughout the religious texts of all periods we find it stated that the deceased has acquired the powers of such and such a god, and that as a result he has become the counterpart or fellow of several gods, and that he takes his place among the company of gods in the proper persons of several of their number. A still further development of the idea makes every member of the body of the deceased to be, first, under the protection of a god, and secondly, to become that same member of the god its protector; hence his whole body becomes the "double company of the gods," and the "two great "gods watch, each in his place, and they find him in the form of "the double company of the gods weighing the words of every "chief like a chief, and they bow down before him, and they make "offerings to him as to the double company of the gods."[1] Moreover, the deceased is made in the texts to stand up at the head of the company of the gods as Seb, the "erpā," or hereditary chief, of the gods, and as Osiris, the governor of the divine powers, and as Horus, the lord of men and of gods.[2] His bones are the gods

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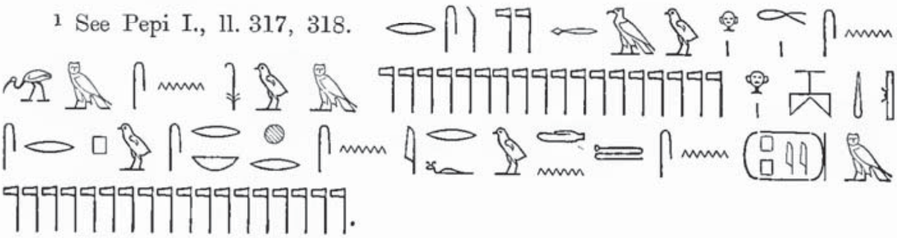
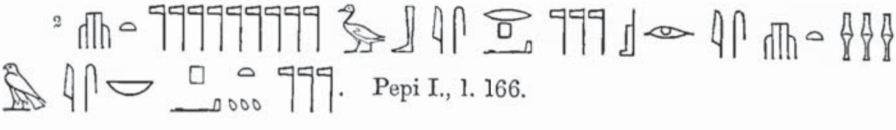
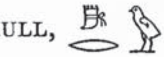
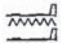
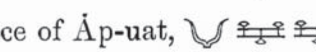
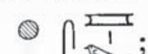
[1] See Pepi I., ll. 317, 318. .

[2] . Pepi I., l. 166.

and goddesses of heaven;[1] his right side belongs to Horus, and his left side to Set; he becomes the actual son of Tem, or Tem-Rā, and Shu, Tefnet, Seb, and Nut, and he is the brother of Isis, Nephthys, Set, and Thoth, and the father of Horus.[2] The god Horus taketh his own Eye and giveth it to him,[3] and he bestoweth upon him his own *ka* or double,[4] and never leaveth him, and the Bull of the Nine[5] maketh wide his dominions among the gods.

The oldest copy of the prayer for the deification of the members of the body is found in the text of Pepi I. (line 565 ff.), and as it is very important from several points of view a version of it is here given:—"The HEAD of this Rā-meri is in the form "of [that of] the hawk; he cometh forth and raiseth himself up in "heaven. The SKULL, , of this Pepi is that of the divine "Goose; he cometh forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. The "[HAIR] of this Pepi is the . . . .  of Nu; he cometh forth "and raiseth himself up in heaven. The FACE of this Pepi is the "face of Ȧp-uat, ; he cometh forth and raiseth "himself up in heaven. The TWO EYES of Rā-meri are the great "goddess (Hathor ?) at the head of the Souls of Ȧnnu; he cometh "forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. The MOUTH of this Pepi "is Khens-ur, ; he cometh forth and raiseth himself up "in heaven. The TONGUE of this Pepi is the steering-pole (?) of the "boat of Maāt; he cometh forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. "The TEETH of this Pepi are the Souls [of Ȧnnu]; he cometh forth "and raiseth himself up in heaven. The LIPS of this Pepi are "the . . . . ; he cometh forth and raiseth himself up in heaven.

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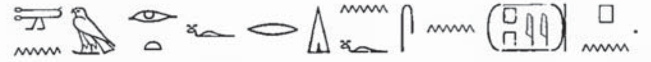
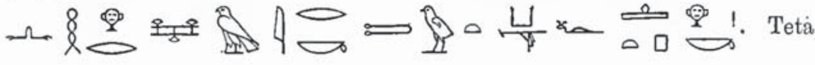
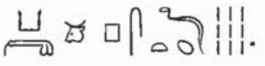
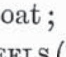
[1] See Tetȧ, l. 209.

[2] See Unȧs (*Recueil*), tom. iii, pp. 209–211.

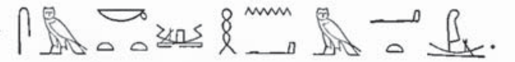
[3] . Pepi I., l. 457.

[4] . Tetȧ, l. 265.

[5] .

"The CHIN of this Pepi is Khert-Khent-Sekhem, ; he "cometh forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. The BACKBONE of "this Pepi is [the Bull] Sma, ; he cometh forth and "raiseth himself up in heaven. The SHOULDERS AND ARMS of this "Pepi are Set; he cometh forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. "The [BREAST] of this Pepi is Baȧbu, ; he cometh "forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. The HEART of this "Rā-meri is Bastet; he cometh forth and raiseth himself up "in heaven. The BELLY of this Rā-meri is Nut; he cometh "forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. The [LOINS of "this Pepi are] the Great and Little companies of the gods; "he cometh forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. The "BACK of this Pepi is Ḥeqet; he cometh forth and raiseth "himself up in heaven. The BUTTOCKS, , of this Rā-meri are "the Semket and Māt boats;[1] he cometh forth and raiseth himself "up in heaven. The PHALLUS of this Pepi is Ḥāp;[2] he cometh "forth and raiseth himself up in heaven. The two THIGHS[3] of "Rā-meri are Nit and Serqet; he cometh forth and raiseth himself "up in heaven. The two LEGS[4] of this Rā-meri are the twin soul-"gods at the head of Sekhet-tcher;[5] he cometh forth and raiseth "himself up in heaven. The soles of the two FEET[6] of this Rā-"meri are the double Maāti boat; he cometh forth and raiseth "himself up in heaven. The HEELS (?), , of this Pepi are the "Souls of Ȧnnu; he cometh forth and raiseth himself up in "heaven."

In the XVIIIth Dynasty versions of this interesting text were written in papyri containing the *Book of the Dead*, and of these the following exhibit variant readings which appear to indicate changes of belief.

[1] 

[2]

[3]

[4]

[5]

[6]

From the Papyrus of Nu.

(Brit. Mus., No. 10,477, sheet 6.)

"My hair is the hair of Nu.
"My face is the face of the Disk.
"My eyes are the eyes of Hathor.
"My ears are the ears of Ȧp-uat.
"My nose is the nose of Khenti-"khas.
"My lips are the lips of Ȧnpu.
"My teeth are the teeth of "Serqet.
"My neck is the neck of the "divine goddess Isis.
"My hands are the hands of "Ba-neb-Ṭaṭṭu.
"My fore-arms are the fore-arms "of Neith, the Lady of Saïs.
"My backbone is the backbone "of Suti.
"My phallus is the phallus of "Osiris.
"My reins are the reins of the "Lords of Kher-āḥa.
"My chest is the chest of Āa-"shefit.
"My belly and back are the "belly and back of Sekhet.
"My buttocks are the buttocks "of the Eye of Horus.
"My hips and legs are the hips "and legs of Nut.
"My feet are the feet of Ptaḥ.
"[My fingers] and my leg-bones "are the fingers and leg-"bones of the Living Gods.
"There is no member of my

From the Papyrus of Ani.

(Brit. Mus., No. 10,470, sheet 32.)

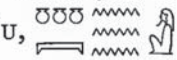
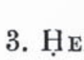
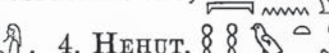
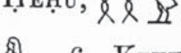
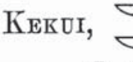
"The hair of Osiris Ani is the "hair of Nu.
"The face of Osiris Ani is the "face of Rā.
"The eyes of Osiris Ani are the "eyes of Hathor.
"The ears of Osiris Ani are the "ears of Ȧp-uat.
"The lips of Osiris Ani are the "lips of Ȧnpu.
"The teeth of Osiris Ani are the "teeth of Serqet.
"The neck of Osiris Ani is the "neck of Isis.
"The hands of Osiris Ani are "the hands of Ba-neb-Ṭaṭṭu.
"The shoulder of Osiris Ani is "the shoulder of Uatchet.
"The throat of Osiris Ani is the "throat of Mert.
"The fore-arms of Osiris Ani "are the fore-arms of the "Lady of Saïs.
"The backbone of Osiris Ani is "the backbone of Set.
"The chest of Osiris Ani is the "chest of the Lords of "Kher-Āḥa.
"The flesh of Osiris Ani is the "flesh of Āa-shefit.
"The reins and back of Osiris "Ani are the reins and "back of Sekhet.
"The buttocks of Osiris Ani are

"body which is not the
"member of a god. The
"god Thoth shieldeth my
"body wholly, and I am
"Rā day by day."[1]

"the buttocks of the Eye
"of Horus.
"The phallus of Osiris Ani is
"the phallus of Osiris.
"The legs of Osiris Ani are the
"legs of Nut.
"The feet of Osiris Ani are the
"feet of Ptaḥ.
"The fingers of Osiris Ani are
"the fingers of Orion.
"The leg-bones of Osiris Ani
"are the leg-bones of the
"Living Uraei."

The text which follows that describing the deification of the members in the inscription of Pepi I.[2] is perhaps of even greater interest, for it declares that :—

"This Pepi is god, the son of god; he cometh forth and raiseth "himself up to heaven. This Rā-meri is the son of Rā, who loveth "him; he cometh forth and raiseth himself up to heaven. Rā hath "sent forth this Rā-meri, who cometh forth and raiseth himself up "to heaven. Rā hath conceived this Pepi, who cometh forth and "raiseth himself up to heaven. Rā hath given birth to this Pepi, "who cometh forth and raiseth himself up to heaven. This [is] the "word of power which is in the body of Rā-meri, and he cometh "forth and raiseth himself up to heaven. This Rā-meri is the "Great Power among the great company of sovereign chiefs who "are in Ȧnnu, and he cometh forth and raiseth himself up to "heaven."

In the previous pages it has been shown that the Great company of the Gods of Heliopolis contained nine or more gods, and that whenever these were adopted by other cities and towns the attributes of the chief of the Heliopolitan gods were transferred to the local nome-god, and the identities of both gods were merged in each other. It will, however, be evident at a glance that there were very few localities which could afford to maintain in a proper state the worship of nine or more great gods in addition to that of the nome-god, and as a matter of fact we find that very few even of the great towns and cities adopted all the gods of the companies of Heliopolis, and that very few possessed companies of gods which contained as many members as nine. The city of Khemennu (Hermopolis) was famous as the sanctuary of the company of Eight Gods, indeed the name "Khemennu," , means "the city of the Eight Gods." The names of these gods were:—1. Nu, . 2. Nut, . 3. Ḥeḥu, . 4. Ḥeḥut, . 5. Kekui, . 6. Kekuit, . 7. Ḳereḥ, . 8. Ḳereḥet, , and with their leader Teḥuti, or Thoth, they formed one of the oldest of the companies of gods in all Egypt. The names of the members of the *paut*, or company, of Hermopolis as here given are taken from the texts inscribed on the walls of the temple which Darius II. built at Ḥebet in the Oasis of Khârga,[1] and which is a comparatively late building, but there is reason for believing that they are copied from very ancient documents, and that taken together this group of gods represents the oldest form of the Hermopolitan *paut*. In some lists of the gods Ȧmen and Ȧment are made to take the places of Nu and Nut, and those of Ḳereḥ and Ḳereḥet are filled by Nenu and Nenut; in others Ȧmen and Ȧment are substituted for Ḳereḥ and Ḳereḥet.[2]

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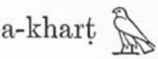
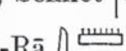
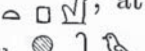
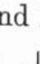
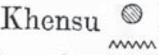
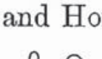
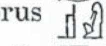
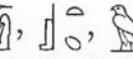
[1] See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* (Translation), p. 94.

[2] Line 574.

Throughout Egypt generally the company of gods of a town or city were three in number, and they were formed by the local deity and two gods who were associated with him, and who shared with him, but in a very much less degree, the honour and reverence which were paid to him. Speaking generally, two members of such a triad were gods, one old and one young, and the third was a goddess, who was, naturally, the wife, or female counterpart, of the older god. The younger god was the son of the older god and goddess, and he was supposed to possess all the attributes and powers which belonged to his father. The head of the triad was sometimes Rā, and sometimes a god of comparatively limited reputation, to whom were ascribed the power and might of the great Sun-god, which his devotees assumed that he had absorbed. The feminine counterpart or wife of the chief god was usually a local goddess of little or no importance; on the other hand, her son by the chief god was nearly as important as his father, because it was assumed that he would succeed to his rank and throne when the older god had passed away. The conception of the triad or trinity is, in Egypt, probably as old as the belief in the gods, and it seems to be based upon the anthropomorphic views which were current in the earliest times about them. The Egyptian provided the god with a wife, just as he took care to provide himself with one, in order that he might have a son to succeed him, and he assumed that the god would have as issue a son, even as he himself wished and expected to have a son. In later times, the group of nine gods took the place of the triad, but we are not justified in assuming that the ennead was a simple development of the triad. The triad contains two gods and one goddess, but the ennead contains five gods and four goddesses, being made up of four pairs of deities, and one supreme god. The ennead is, however, often regarded as a triad of triads, and the three enneads of Heliopolis, , as a triad of a triad of triads. The conception of the ennead is probably very much later than that of the triad.[1] Examples of triads are:—At Mendes, Ba-neb-Ṭaṭṭu , Ḥāt-meḥit , and Ḥeru-pa-khart ; at Tcheqā, Sebek , Isis , and Àmen ; at Memphis, Ptaḥ , Sekhet , and I-em-ḥetep ; at Thebes, Àmen-Rā , Mut , and Khensu ; and triads like Osiris, Isis, and Horus , , , and Set, Nephthys, and Anubis , ,  were wor-

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[1] See Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase el-Khargeh*, Leipzig, 1878, pl. 14.

[2] For the lists of the *paut* of Thoth at Edfû, Dendera, Karnak, Philae, etc., see Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 127.

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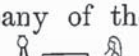
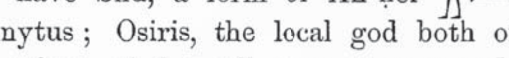
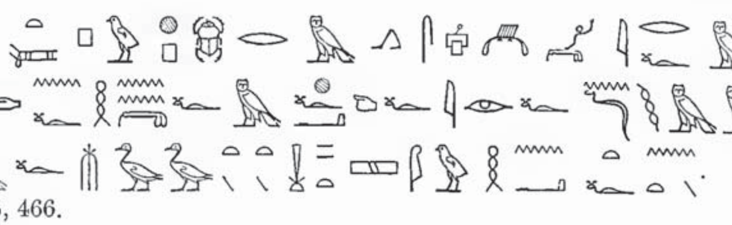
[1] An exactly opposite view is taken by M. Maspero (*La Mythologie Égyptienne*, p. 270).

shipped in several places in Egypt. The members of many triads in Egypt varied at different times and in different places, but variations were caused chiefly by assimilating local gods and goddesses with the well-known members of the companies of the gods of Heliopolis.

The facts recorded in the preceding pages show that the great gods of the dynastic period in Egypt were selected from a large number of local gods, who were in turn chosen from among the representatives of the gods of the desert, and mountain, and earth, and water, and air, and sky, who had been worshipped in predynastic times. Thus in the great company of the gods of Heliopolis we have Shu, a form of Ȧn-ḥer , the local god of Sebennytus; Osiris, the local god both of Busiris and Mendes; Isis, a form of the still more ancient goddess "Uatchit, lady of Pe," , i.e., Buto; Tefnet, the goddess of a district in the fifteenth nome of Lower Egypt; etc. The gods of the later predynastic period were, of course, developed out of the multitude of spirits, good and bad, in whom the most primitive Egyptians believed, and it is clear that in general characteristics the gods of the dynastic period were identical with those of the predynastic period, and that the Egyptians rarely abandoned any god whose priests in the earliest times had succeeded in establishing for him a recognized position. The form of the worship of the gods must have changed greatly, but this was due rather to the increase in the general prosperity of the country than to any fundamental change in the views and beliefs of the Egyptians as to their gods; the houses of the gods, or temples, became larger and larger and more magnificent as increased wealth flowed into the country as the result of foreign conquest, but the gods remained the same, and the processions and ceremonies, though more magnificent under the New Empire, preserved the essentials of the early period. But if we examine the religious texts carefully it will be seen that the Egyptians were always trying to reduce the number of their gods, or, in other words, were always advancing from polytheism to monotheism. The priesthood and the educated classes must have held religious views which were not absolutely identical with those of the peasant who cultivated the fields, but such, I believe, were concerned chiefly with the popular forms of worship of the gods and with conceptions as to their nature. The uneducated people of the country clung with great tenacity to the ordinary methods of celebrating their worship, principally because the frequent festivals and the imposing ceremonies, which formed a large and important part of it, were regarded as essential for their general well-being; the priests and the educated, on the other hand, clung to them because their influence was not sufficiently powerful to establish a popular form of religion and worship which would be consistent with their own private views.

Every change which can be traced in the religion of the country proves that the priesthoods of the various great religious centres absorbed into the new systems whenever possible the ancient gods and the ancient beliefs in them; hence during the period of the highest culture in Egypt we find ideas of the grossest kind jostling ideas which were the product of great intellectuality and much thinking. Expressions which are the result of a series of beliefs in tree gods, desert gods, water gods, earth gods, and gods with human passions, abound, and it is these which have drawn down upon the Egyptians the contempt of the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans, and even of modern skilled investigators of Egyptian religion and mythology. It has not been sufficiently realized that the polytheism of the Egyptians had aspects which were peculiar to itself, and the same may be said of one phase of the beliefs of this people which appears to be, and which, the writer thinks, undoubtedly is, monotheistic. When the priests of Heliopolis formulated their system of theogony they asserted that the god Tem produced the two gods that issued from himself, i.e., Shu and Tefnut, by masturbation,[1] and there is little doubt that in making this declaration they were repeating what the half savage and primitive Egyptians may really have believed; but it would be

[1]  Pepi I., ll. 465, 466.

utterly wrong to declare that the priests themselves believed these things, or that such a statement represented the views of any educated person in Egypt on the subject of the origin of the gods. In Chapter xvii. of the *Book of the Dead*[1] is an allusion to the fight which took place between Horus and Set, but no Egyptian who accepted the refined beliefs which are found even in the same chapter could have regarded this allusion as anything more than the record of an act of savagery which had crept into religious texts at a time when acts of the kind were common.

The same might be said of dozens of expressions and allusions which are scattered throughout the texts of all periods, and no just investigator will judge the Egyptians, and their religion, and their beliefs by the phases of thought and expressions which reflect the manners and customs and ideas of the primitive dwellers in the Valley of the Nile. But yet it is precisely by such things that the Egyptian religion is judged by many modern writers. The eminent Egyptologist, M. Maspero, says that before he began to decipher Egyptian texts for himself, and so long as he was content to reproduce the teaching of the great masters of the science of Egyptology, he believed that the Egyptians had in the earliest times arrived at the notion of divine unity, and that they had fashioned an entire system of religion and of symbolic mythology with an incomparable surety of hand. When, however, he began to study the religious texts he found that they did not breathe out the profound wisdom which others had found. "Certainly," he says, "no one will accuse me of wishing to belittle the Egyptians; "the more I familiarize myself with them, the more I am persuaded "that they were one of the great nations of the human race, and "one of the most original and most creative, but at the same "time that they always remained half savage."[2] In other words,

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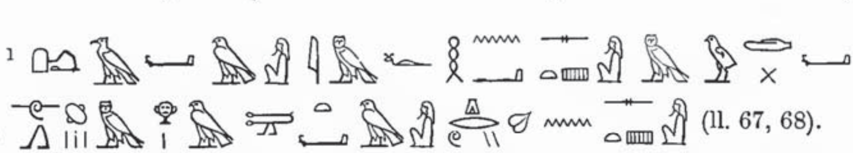
[1]  (ll. 67, 68).

[2] "J'ai cru, au debout de ma carrière, il y a bientôt vingt-cinq ans de cela, et "j'ai soutenu pendant longtemps, comme M. Brugsch, que les Égyptiens étaient "parvenus, dès leur enfance, à la notion de l'unité divine et qu'ils en avaient tiré "un système entier de religion et de mythologie symbolique, agencé d'un bout à

the Egyptians, according to M. Maspero, never attained to the idea of the unity of God, and were at the best of times nothing but a half savage nation. It is easy to bring a charge of being half savage against a great nation, but in this case the charge is ill-founded, and is, in the writer's opinion, contradicted by every discovery which is made in Egypt; for the more we learn of the ancient Egyptians the more complete and far-reaching we find their civilization to have been. The evidence of the monuments of the Egyptians will, however, be sufficient to exhibit the character of this civilization in its true light, and, as the expression "half savage" is at best very vague, and must vary in meaning according to the standpoint of him who uses it, we pass on to consider the question whether the Egyptians attained to a conception of the unity of God or whether they did not.

We have seen that M. Maspero believes that they did not, but on the other hand some of the greatest Egytologists that have ever lived thought that they did. He thinks that the Egyptians possessed the greater number of their myths in common with the most savage of the tribes of the Old and New Worlds, that their practices preserved the stamp of primitive barbarism, that their religion exhibits the same mixture of grossness and refinement which is found in their arts and crafts, that it was cast in a mould by barbarians, and that from them it received an impression so deep that a hundred generations have not been able to efface it, nor even to smooth its roughnesses or to soften its outlines.[1] No

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"l'autre avec une sûreté de main incomparable. C'était le temps où je n'avais pas "essayé par moi-même le déchiffrement des textes religieux et où je me bornais "à reproduire l'enseignement de nos grands maîtres. Quand j'ai été contraint "de les aborder, ... j'ai dû m'avouer à moi-même qu'ils ne respiraient point "cette sagesse profonde que d'autres y avaient sentie. Certes on ne m'accusera pas "de vouloir déprécier les Égyptiens : plus je me familiarise avec eux, et plus je me "persuade qu'ils ont été un des grands peuples de l'humanité, l'un des plus originaux "et des plus créateurs, mais aussi qu'ils sont toujours demeurés des demi-barbares." *La Mythologie*, p. 277.

[1] "En art, en science, en industrie, ils ont beaucoup inventé, beaucoup "produit, beaucoup promis surtout; leur religion présente le même mélange de "grossièreté et de raffinement qu'on retrouve dans tout le reste. La plupart de "ses mythes lui sont communs avec les tribus les plus sauvages de l'Ancien et du "Nouveau-Monde; ses pratiques gardent le cachet de la barbarie primitive, et je "crois que les sacrifices humains n'en avaient pas disparu dans certaines circon-

one will attempt to deny that traces of half savage ideas and customs are to be found in Egyptian religious literature, but the real question is whether such traces render it impossible for the Egyptians ever to have attained to the conception of monotheism, whether the existence of such half savage ideas and customs is incompatible with it or not. Every one who is familiar with the literatures of oriental religions knows that the sublime and the ridiculous, spiritual ideas and material views, intellectuality and grossness, and belief and superstition, occur frequently in close juxtaposition, and illustrations of these statements may be found in the writings of the Arabs, and even in certain parts of the Hebrew Scriptures. Yet no one will deny that the Arabs as a people have been monotheists since the time of Muḥammad the Prophet, and no one will refuse to admit that the Hebrews, after a certain date in their history, became monotheists and have remained so. The literatures of both the Hebrews and the Arabs are full of extravagances of every kind, but no competent person has denied to these nations the right to be called monotheistic, and no one in the light of modern research will attempt to judge them by the coarsest expressions and materialistic thoughts which are found in their Scriptures. On the other hand, no one expects to find either in Hebrew or in Arabic literature the lofty spiritual and philosophical conceptions which modern highly educated thinkers associate with the idea of monotheism, and the same is, of course, to be said for the literature of the Egyptians; but it is not difficult to show that the idea of monotheism which existed in Egypt at a very early period is at least of the same character as that which grew up among both Hebrews and Arabs many centuries later.

To prove this statement recourse must be had to a number of extracts[1] from religious texts, and among such may be quoted the following:—To the dead king Unȧs it is said, "Thou existest at

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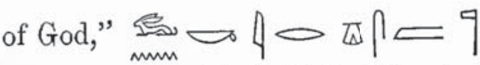
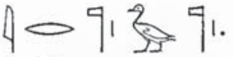
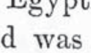
"stances, même sous les grands Pharaons thébains. Elle a été jetée au moule "par des Barbares, et elle a reçu d'eux une empreinte si forte que cent générations "n'ont pu, je ne dirai pas l'effacer, mais en amollir les aspérités et en adoucir les "contours." *La Mythologie*, p. 277.

[1] See the group given in my *Papyrus of Ani*, London, 1895, p. lxxxiii. ff.

"the side of God," ; of Tetȧ it is said, "He weigheth words, and behold, God hearkeneth unto the words," ; of the same king it is said, "God hath called Tetȧ (in his name, etc.)," ; to Pepi I. it is said, "Thou hast received the "attribute (or, form) of God, thou hast become great therewith "before the gods," ; and "Thy mother Nut hath set thee to be as God to thine "enemy in thy name of God," ; and of the same king it is said, "This Pepi is, therefore, God, the son of God," . It may be argued that we should render *neter*, , in these passages by "a god" or "the god," but this would make nonsense of the passages in most cases. There is no point in telling a dead king that he will live "by the side of a god," or that "a god" will listen to his words when he is weighing words, i.e., giving judgment upon matters in the next world; what the writer said and what he meant his readers to understand was that Unȧs will live with the God, or God, and that he will have such an exalted position there that he will be appointed by God to act as judge, an office which belonged to God himself, and that God will listen to, i.e., obey his rulings. The above passages are taken from texts of the Vth and VIth Dynasties, but they are only copies of older documents, for there are good reasons for thinking that even so far back as the time when they were made, about B.C. 3300, the texts had already been revised two or three times, and changes and additions made in them as the result of modified beliefs and ideas.

The value of such passages, however, consists in the fact that they prove conclusively that so far back as B.C. 3300 some one god had become so great in the mind of the Egyptians that he stood out from among the "gods," , and was different from the First, Second, and Third companies of the gods,

𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹𓊹. Another view which may be urged is that the *neter*, 𓊹, here referred to is either the god Osiris or the god Rā, but even so it must be admitted that Osiris or Rā occupied a position in the mind of the Egyptian theologian which was far superior to that of any of the "gods." On the other hand, it must be pointed out that the Pyramid Texts are full of passages in which we are told what great things Rā will do for the deceased in the next world, and the honour which he will pay to him, and we must therefore conclude that the God referred to in the passages which we have quoted is not Rā, although he may be Osiris. But if we arrive at this conclusion we must admit that in the relatively remote period about B.C. 3300 Osiris was considered to be such a great god, and to occupy such an exalted position at the head of the "gods," that he could be spoken of and referred to simply as "God." We have already seen it implied that Osiris was the judge of those who were in the Underworld, and we know from the text of Unȧs (line 494) that he sat on a throne in heaven;[1] as the king is said to have become "god, and the messenger (or, angel) of God"[2] (line 175), and to "enter into the place which was more holy than any other place"[3] (line 178), it is perfectly clear that the God of the Pyramid Texts was an entirely different being from the "gods" and the "companies of the gods." The deceased is actually called "Osiris Pepi,"[4] and as he is said to have become an angel of God, if Osiris be that God and judge, he must have held a similar position to that of the God of the Hebrews, who is said to "judge among the gods,"[5] and must have been ministered to by "gods"

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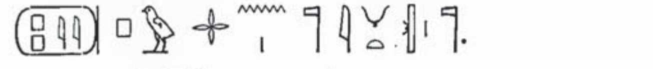
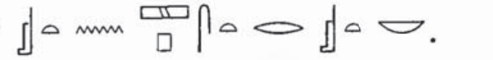
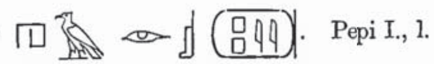
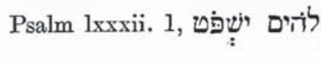
[1] 

[2] 

[3] 

[4]  Pepi I., l. 60.

[5] Psalm lxxxii. 1, בְּקֶרֶב אֱלֹהִים יִשְׁפֹּט.

of a rank inferior to his own. We may assume, then, that the God of the Pyramid Texts was Osiris, the god and judge of the dead, but it is clear that the only aspects of the God which are referred to are those which he bears as the god and judge of the dead. We have, unfortunately, no means of knowing how he was described by his earliest worshippers, for the priests of Heliopolis, when they absorbed him into their theological system, took care to give him only such characteristics as suited their own views; they have, however, shown us that he was the judge of the dead, and that he occupied a unique position among the gods, and enjoyed some of the powers possessed by the God of the nations which are on all hands admitted to be monotheistic.

But we may obtain further information about the conception of God among the Egyptians by an examination of certain passages in the famous Precepts of Kaqemna and the Precepts of Ptaḥ-ḥetep. The first of these works was composed in the reign of Seneferu, a king of the IVth Dynasty, and the second in the reign of Ȧssȧ, a king of the Vth Dynasty, but we only know them from the copies contained in the papyrus which was given to the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris by E. Prisse d'Avennes in 1847.[1] This document was probably written about the period of the XVIIth Dynasty, and may, of course, contain readings and additions reflecting the opinions of the Egyptians on religion and morals which were then current; but the foundations of both works belong to an earlier time, though whether that time fell under the XIIth Dynasty, as some think, or under the IVth and Vth Dynasties as the works themselves declare, matters little for our present purpose. In both sets of Precepts we have a series of moral aphorisms similar to those with which we are familiar in the Book of Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, and the Book of Proverbs, and they are given as the outcome of the experience of men of the world; neither the work of Kaqemna nor that of Ptaḥ-ḥetep can be said to have been drawn up from a religious point of view, and neither author supports his advice by appeals to religious authority. In these works we find the following admonitions and reflections :—

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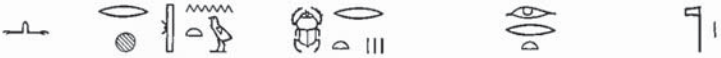
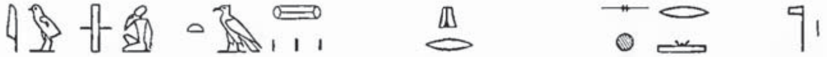
[1] See *Fac-simile d'un papyrus Égyptien en caractéres hièratiques*, Paris, 1847, folio.

1. [1]

ȧn *rekhentu* *khepert* *ȧrit* *neter*

"Not [are] known the things which maketh God,"

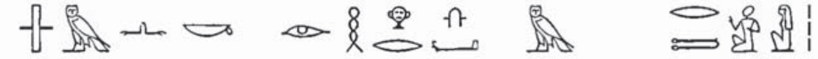
i.e., the things which will come to pass by God's agency cannot be known, that is to say, God's ways are inscrutable.

2. 

ȧu *ȧm* *tau* *kher* *sekher* *neter*

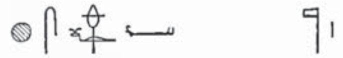
The eating of bread is according to the plan of God,

i.e., a man's food comes to him through the providence of God.

3. 

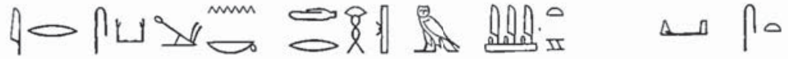
ȧm - *k* *ȧri* *ḥer* *em* *reth*

Thou shalt not put terror into men and women;



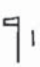
khesef *neter*

is opposed [thereto] God.

4. 

ȧr *seka* - *nek* *ṭer* *em* *sekhet* *ṭā* *set*

If thou hast land for ploughing labour in the field (which) hath given



neter

God.

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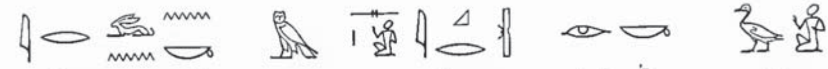
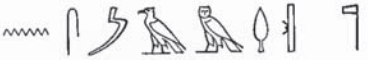
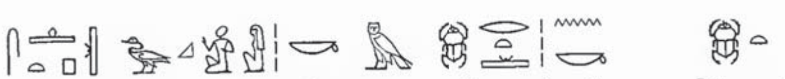
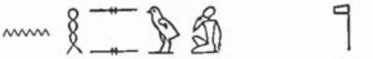
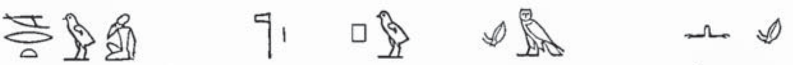
[1] The author of this observation was Kaqemna; the other ones are by Ptaḥ-ḥetep.

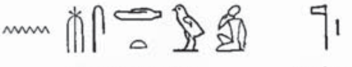
5.

ȧr un - nek em sa ȧqer ȧri - k sa
If thou wouldst be a man perfect make thou [thy] son

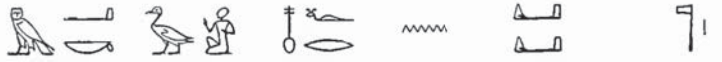

en smam neter
to be pleasing unto God.

6.

seḥetep āqu - k em khepert-nek khepert
Satisfy thy dependants by thy actions; it should be done

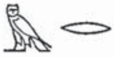
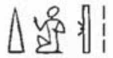
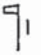

en ḥesesu neter
by him that is favoured by God.

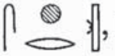
7.

mertu neter pu setem ȧn setem
What is loved of God is obedience; disobedience


en mesṭetu neter
hateth God.

8.

māk sa nefer en ṭāṭā neter
Verily a son good [is] of the gifts of God.

And finally from the Prisse Papyrus may be quoted the exhortation, "If having been of no account, thou hast become great, and "if, having been poor, thou hast become rich, when thou art "governor of the city be not hard-hearted on account of thy "advancement, because thou hast [only] become

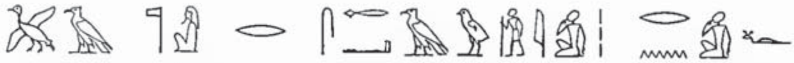
9.			
	mer	*sepṭu*	*neter*
	"the guardian	of the provisions	of God."

From this group of extracts we learn that the ways of the god referred to in the "Precepts" were inscrutable, that it was he who was supposed to give a man children, and property, and food, that he was opposed to any man tyrannizing over his fellow creatures; that he loved to be obeyed and hated disobedience, i.e., those who would not hearken unto him; that the perfect man was he who brought up his son in ways pleasing to God; that God expected the man who had been favoured by him to do good to those who were dependent upon him; and the writer of the "Precepts" urged the governor of a city to remember that he was only the guardian of goods and provisions which belonged to God. In all these extracts it is clear that the allusion is to some great and powerful being who rules and governs the world and provides according to his will for those who are in it. In the second extract we have the words *sekher neter*, i.e., the *sekher* of God. The word *sekher* , has many meanings, among them being "thought, plan, intention, scheme, design," and the like, and when Ptaḥ-ḥetep said that "the eating of bread is according to the *sekher* of God," there is no doubt that he intended his readers to understand that a man obtained bread, or food, to eat according to the plan or design which God had made, or decreed beforehand. A rendering which would very well represent the words *sekher neter* is "Divine providence;" but they do not justify the translation "fate" which has been proposed for them.

Now we know that both the writers Kaqemna and Ptaḥ-ḥetep lived in the neighbourhood of Memphis, because their tombs are at Ṣaḳḳâra, and if they lived at Memphis their great local god would be Ptaḥ of the Beautiful Face, or Ptaḥ of the White Wall, whose feminine counterpart was Sekhet and whose son was I-em-ḥetep. But in the group of extracts just given there is no mention of any of these gods, and the God referred to cannot be Osiris, first, because the texts are not funereal, and secondly, because the attributes ascribed to this God are not of those which we know from later texts belonged to the god of the dead. Who then is the God whose power, and providence, and government of the world are here proclaimed? The answer to this question is that the God referred to is God, Whose power men of the stamp of Ptaḥ-ḥetep discerned even at the remote period in which he lived, and Whose attributes they clearly distinguished; He was in their opinion too great to be called anything else but God, and though, no doubt, they offered sacrifices to the gods in the temple at Memphis, after the manner of their countrymen, they knew that God was an entirely different Being from those "gods."

Passing now to the period of the New Empire we have to consider a few extracts from the famous work commonly known as the "Maxims of Ani," or the "Precepts of Khensu-ḥetep," which was first described[1] by E. de Rougé in 1861, and was published in full fifteen years later by Chabas.[2] The text [3] is written upon a papyrus which was found in a box lying upon the floor of the tomb of a Christian monk at Dêr al-Medînet, and from considerations of palaeography it must probably be assigned to the period of the XXIInd Dynasty, but the original composition must be a great deal older, and it may well date from the XVIIIth Dynasty. The following extracts will illustrate the conception of God in the mind of the author of the "Maxims":—

1.



pa	*neter*	*en*	*sāauȧ*	*ren - f*
The	God	is for	making great	his name.

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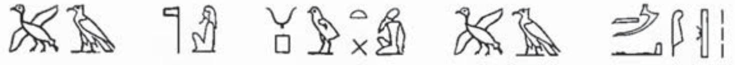
[1] See *Moniteur*, 15 Août, 1861; and *Comptes Rendus*, Paris, 1871, pp. 340-350.

[2] See *L'Égyptologie*, Chalons-sur-Saône and Paris, 4to, 1876-1878.

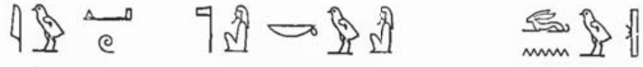
[3] A facsimile was published by Mariette in *Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*.

2.


pa *neter* *àput* *pa* *maā*

The God [is] the judge of the right.

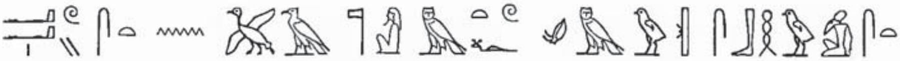
or, the God is the judge, the righteous one, i.e., the judge who passes sentence according to what is straight, *maā*, i.e., the law, the canon.

3.


àu *ṭāu* *neter-ku* *unu*

Giveth thy God the means of subsistence.

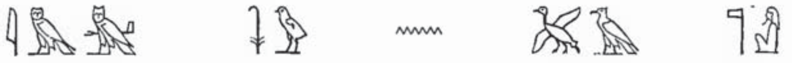
4. "I have given thee thy mother," the writer says to his son, "and she carried thee even as she carried thee, and took upon "herself a heavy burden for thy sake, and did not lean upon me. "When at length thou wast born after having been carried by her "for months, she laid herself under thy yoke, and she nourished "thee for three years,[1] and was never weary of thee. . . . When "thou wast sent to school to be taught, she came every day "without fail to thy master [bringing] bread and beer [for thee] "from her house. Now thou hast become a man and hast married "a wife and hast a house, set thine eye upon thy child, and bring "him up as thy mother brought thee up. Wrong not thy mother "lest she lift up



āāui-set *en* *pa* *neter* *emtuf* *setemu* *sebḥu-set*

"her hands to the God [and] he hearken unto her prayers"

[and punish thee].

5.


àmmā *su* *en* *pa* *neter*

"Let [a man] give himself to the God,

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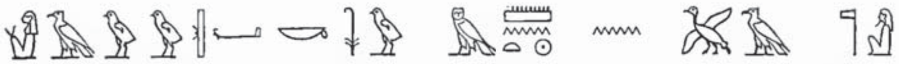
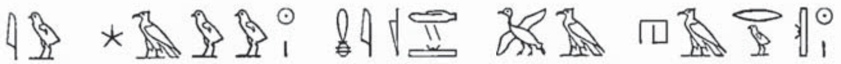
[1] Literally, "her breasts were in thy mouth for three years."



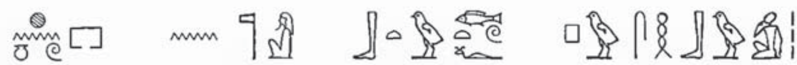
sauu - k su em-ment en pa neter

"keep thou thyself daily for the God,



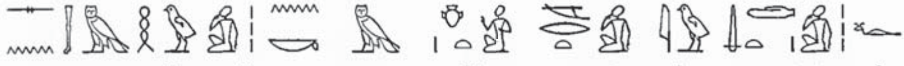
àu ṭuauu mà-qeṭi pa haru

"to-morrow (?) being like the day (to-day ?)."

6. 

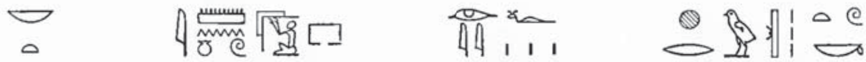
khennu en neter betu-tuf pu seḥebu

"The sanctuary of God its abomination is much speaking.



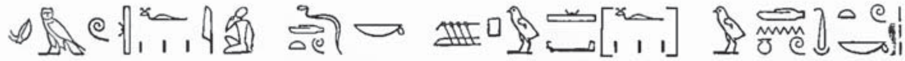
senemeḥu-nek em àb mert àu meṭet - f

"Make thou thy prayers with a heart of love all the petitions



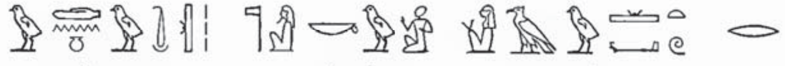
nebt àmennu àri-f kheru-tuk

"of which are in secret. He will perform thy affairs,



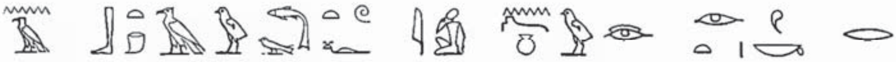
setemu-f à tcheṭetu-k seshepu-[f] uṭennu-ṭuk

"he will hear what thou sayest, he will accept thine offerings.

7. 

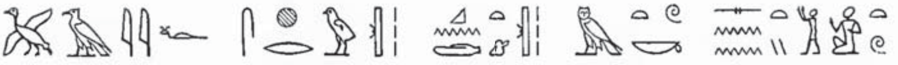
uṭennu neter-ku sau-tu er

"In making offerings to thy God guard thou thyself against



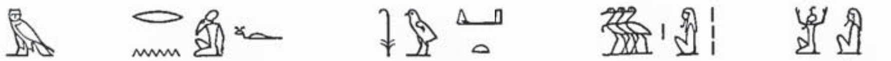
na betau-tuf à ennu maat-k er

"the things which he abominateth. O observe [with] thine eye



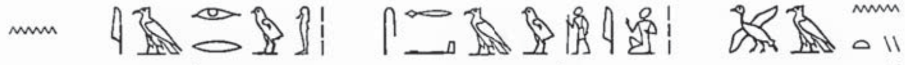
paif *sekheru* *qentet* *emtuk* *senenti-tu*

"his plans. Devote thyself to the adoration



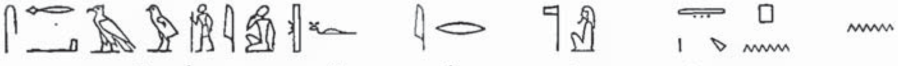
em *ren - f* *su* *ṭāt* *baiu* *ḥeḥ*

"of his name. It is he who giveth souls to millions



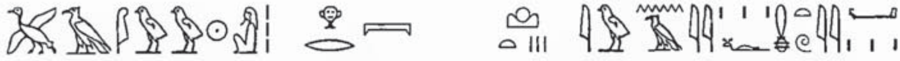
en *āaru* *sāauā* *pa* *enti*

"of forms, and [he] magnifieth whosoever



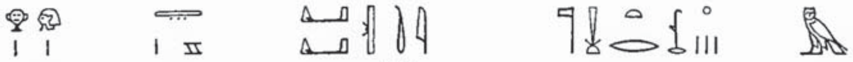
sāauā - f *ār* *neter* *ta* *pen* *en*

"magnifieth him. Now the god of this earth is



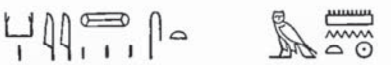
pa *Shuu* *ḥer* *khut* *āu* *naif* *mātui*

"the god Shu, he who is over the horizons. His similitudes



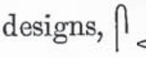
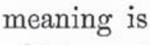
ḥer ṭep *ta* *ṭāṭā-thā* *senterā* *em*

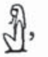
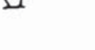
"[are] upon earth, are given [to them] offerings of incense with



kai-set *em-ment.*

"their food offerings daily."

The group of passages given above supplies a new set of attributes ascribed by the Egyptians to God, and they show that they believed this Being to be one who judged according to right, who was jealous for the honour of his name, who received prayers and offerings, and who granted to the suppliant all his petitions, and performed all his desires, when such petitions were made to him in secret and with a "loving heart." The seventh extract is peculiarly instructive, for in it we have a sharp distinction drawn between this God and the solar god Shu, who is here, clearly, identified with the Sun-god. The worshipper of God is exhorted to consider His plans, or designs, , which are manifest upon earth, to pay good heed to the manner in which he makes offerings to Him, and to dedicate himself to the adoration of His name, for it is He who giveth souls, i.e., life, to millions of beings, and those who exalt Him He will exalt. On the other hand, the similitudes of the god Shu, the lord of the horizons, i.e., the skies of the South and the North, the East and the West, and the god of this earth, are upon the earth, and to them offerings of incense and meat are made daily. There is no need here to dwell upon the lofty conception of what is meet for the worship of God; nor upon the fact that many of the phrases in the extract are identical in meaning, and almost in words, with passages in the Hebrew Scriptures, for they will be familiar to all, and extracts like the following will occur to every reader:—"Consider the wondrous works of God" (Job xxxvii. 14); "them that honour me I will honour" (1 Samuel ii. 30), etc. The word rendered "similitudes," , is difficult to explain in detail though its general meaning is clear enough, and we must understand by it "things which are in the likeness [of Shu]"; these can, apparently, only refer to the gods to whom incense and offerings were brought daily. The great importance of the second group of extracts consists in the fact that they emphasize and develop the difference between the Egyptian conception of God and the gods. The author of the "Maxims," like Kaqemna and Ptaḥ-ḥetep, set out to write a book of moral precepts by which he intended his son to mould his course of life and to be guided. This work is not of a funereal character, therefore the God who is referred to throughout cannot be Osiris, and the context proves beyond all doubt that the writer is alluding to the same Being as were the earlier writers of moral aphorisms already mentioned. In the case of the

"Maxims," however, the word for God, *neter* , is usually qualified by the emphatic article *pa* .

But in all the passages quoted above there is no distinct statement that the God alluded to therein is God alone, and that there is no other God besides Him, although this is clearly implied; we must therefore turn to another class of texts in which the attribute of oneness or unity is ascribed to one or more "great gods," and see how it is applied. The god Ta-tunen is called, "One, maker of mortals, and of the company of the gods";[1] the god Rā-Tem is called, "lord of heaven, lord of earth, maker of "beings celestial and of beings terrestrial, God One, who came "into being in primeval time, maker of the world, creator of "rational beings, maker of Nu (the sky), creator of the Nile, "maker of whatsoever is in the waters, and giver of life to the "same, knitter together of the mountains, making to come into "being men and women, and beasts and cattle, and creator of the "heavens and the earth";[2] the great Khu (Spirit) whom Tem created is described as the "only One in Nu";[3] Osiris is said to be "lord of the gods, god One";[4] and in a remarkable passage, in which the whole of the attributes of the Sun-god Rā have been transferred to Åmen-Rā, we have the following statement wherein this god is said to be "the holy (or, venerable) Soul which came

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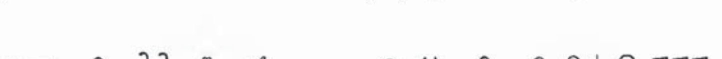
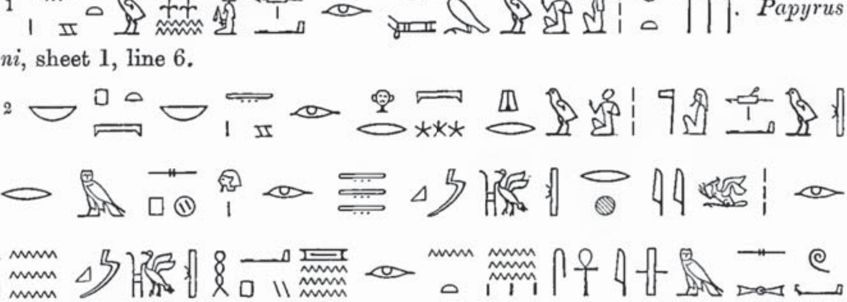
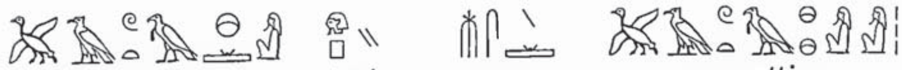
[1] . *Papyrus of Ani*, sheet 1, line 6.

[2] . *Papyrus of Hunefer*, sheet 1, line 5 ff.

[3] *Book of the Dead*, Chap. lxxviii. 16.

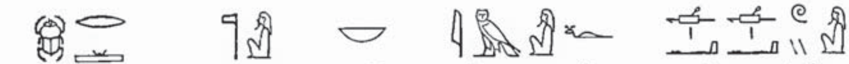
[4] *Ibid.*, Chap. clxxiii.

"into being aforetime, the great god who liveth in (or by) Maāt "(i.e., unfailing and unvarying order and regularity),



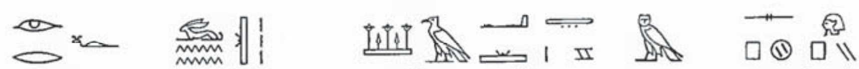
pautti *ṭepi* *mes* *pautti*

"the *paut* primeval [which] gave birth to the two companies of gods,



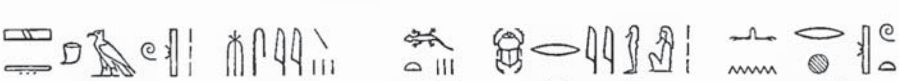
kheper *neter* *neb* *ȧm* - *f* *uā* *uāui*

"came into being god every through him, one alone,



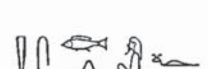
ȧri - *f* *unen* *shaā* *ta* *em* *sep ṭepi*

"he made what exists when the earth began in primeval time,



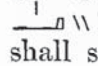
shetau *mesi* *āsht* *kheperiu* *ȧn* *rekhtu*

"hidden of births, manifold of forms, not is known



bes - *f*

"his growth."[1]

The text goes on to say that Ȧmen-Rā is the "holy Sekhem (i.e., "Power), the god who is beloved, and is terrible and mighty in "his risings, lord of space, the Power, Kheperȧ, the creator of "every evolution (or, thing) which belongeth to his existence,[2] "except whom at the beginning none other existed." Here then we have Ta-tunen, Rā-Tem, and the god Osiris all called "God One," *neter uā*, , and in the last extract we have the remarkable expression "God One alone," , applied to Ȧmen-Rā. If we consider for a moment we shall see that the

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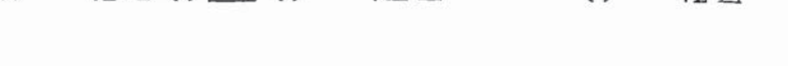
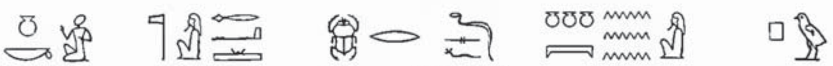
See Maspero, *Mém. Miss. Arch.*, tom i., p. 594.

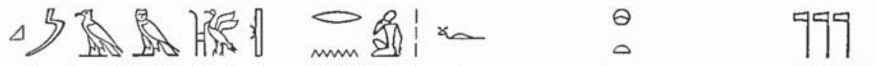
[2] .

gods Tem and Kheperȧ are only forms of the Sun-god Rā, and as Tatunen was concerned in the production of the Sun-god he also is a solar god; at the time when the above extracts were written, i.e., under the XVIIIth Dynasty, we have abundant proof that the Egyptians were continually adding to the attributes which they ascribed to Osiris, and that such attributes were those which belonged to some form of Rā or to Rā himself. The word "One" then is applied in these cases to Rā, and to the forms of Rā, and to a god who had come to be regarded in one aspect at least as a solar god, and it will be found on examination of the texts that whenever a god or goddess is described as "One" it is because that deity has been endowed by the writer, whether rightly or wrongly is another matter, with some of the attributes of Rā.

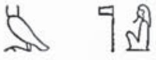
It is easy to see from the hieroglyphic extract given above that to the god there described are attributed many of the creative qualities which we assign to God Almighty. Thus he is said to be the primeval *Paut* or divine substance who gave birth to the two companies of the gods (in this case we must understand the company of the gods of heaven and the company of the gods of earth, and not the Great and Little Companies of the gods of Heliopolis), and every god came into being by him or through him. Here it is quite clear that "every god" means only every inferior being who possessed something of the quality of a *neter* or "god," and every being who ministered to the great Paut, and who in the Hebrew Scriptures would be grouped under the name "Elôhîm," אֱלֹהִים, or among the "angels," and in Arabic literature among the good Jinn. The text goes on to say not only in primeval times, i.e., "in the beginning," he created whatever exists upon the earth, but also that in primeval time no other being existed with him. This is a definite statement of the unity or oneness of God which cannot be gainsaid, and it was this attribute of unity or oneness which the priests of various cities ascribed to their local god whenever they could. We have no means of saying whether this idea of oneness or unity was first applied to Rā or to some more ancient god such as Horus, but it is, in the writer's opinion, quite certain that it existed in the minds of the educated classes of Egypt in the earliest times, and that in all periods it was the central point of their conceptions of God. But the text goes on to say that the great Paut who created the companies of the gods is "hidden of births and manifold of forms," and that "his growth (or development) is unknown." This is only another way of saying that the manner in which the beings and things produced by the Paut came into being is unknown, and that he appears under many forms. We may here refer to the passage in the XVIIth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* (line 9), wherein it is said :—



nuk *neter āa* *kheper tcheseƒ* *Nu* *pu*
"I am the great god self-created, Nu, that is to say,

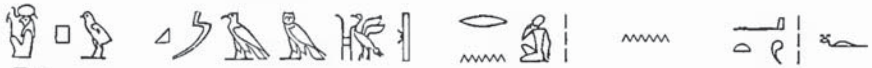


qemam *renu - ƒ* *paut* *neteru*
"who made his names the company of the gods

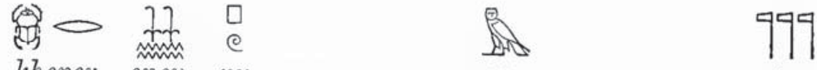


em *neter*
"as god."

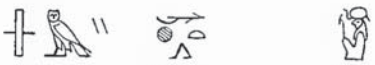
Concerning this being the question is asked, "Who then is this?" and the following answer is given :—



Rā pu *qemam* *renu* *en* *āt - ƒ*
"It is Rā who created names for his members



kheper *enen* *pu* *em* *neteru*
"and these came into being in the form of the gods



åmi - khet *Rā*
"who are in the following of Rā."

On the creative power of the great Paut special emphasis is laid in the extract on p. 132, for, after declaring that he created in the beginning whatsoever exists, the text adds that he created everything that had to do with his own coming into being; and in the passages from the *Book of the Dead* it is taught, according to one dogma, that the names of the great, self-produced god Nu became the company of gods under the form of God, and according to another that the gods who were in the train of Rā were the members or limbs of Rā, and that these limbs were, in turn, the names of Rā. The last text quoted is of considerable importance, for it gives us a direct proof that the attributes of the god Nu were transferred to Rā, and that Rā was identified absolutely with Nu, and the last text but one quoted shows how the attributes of Rā were transferred to Ȧmen, who was originally only the local god of Thebes, by means of the fusion of the two gods into Ȧmen-Rā. We know that to many gods were ascribed the attributes of Rā, and that all solar gods were, in the dynastic period at least, held to be forms of him; if we could identify them all we should be able to reduce the number of Egyptian gods considerably.

The attribute or quality of oneness or unity, which is ascribed first to the great God who was the creator of the heavens and the earth and all therein, and secondly to the Sun-god who was regarded as the visible type and symbol of God and his various forms, and thirdly, at a later period to the god Osiris, has been termed "henotheism" by many writers who asserted that it was a "phase of religious thought"[1] which was different from monotheism. According to the late Right Honourable Prof. Max Müller we have become acquainted with this phase of religious thought "for the first time through the Veda," and he goes on to say that "when these individual gods are invoked they are not "conceived as limited by the power of others, as superior or "inferior in rank. Each god is to the mind of the suppliant as "good as all the gods. He is felt at the time as a real divinity, "as supreme and absolute, in spite of the necessary limitations "which, to our mind, a plurality of gods must entail on every "single god. All the rest disappear from the vision of the poet, "and he only who is to fulfil their desires stands in full light "before the eyes of the worshippers." It is quite true that the

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[1] Max Müller, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 285.

Egyptian religion passed through a phase which has been identified as henotheism, but, assuming for a moment that we should be correct in calling that phase henotheism, the Egyptian religious texts prove that it was "not the henotheism of Max Müller or of "Hartmann, or of Asmus, but a practical henotheism, i.e., the "adoration of one God above all others as the specific tribal god or "as the lord over a particular people, a national or relative "monotheism, like that of the ancient Israelites, the worship of an "absolute sovereign who exacts passive obedience. This practical "monotheism is totally different from the theoretical monotheism, "to which the Aryans, with their monistic speculative idea of the "godhead, are much nearer."[1]

These words by the late Professor Tiele here quoted were not applied by him to the Egyptian religion, but they so well express the present writer's views about the monotheism of the Egyptians that they are adopted for that purpose. Professor Tiele was, undoubtedly, the greatest authority on comparative religion of his day, and although he was not an Egyptologist at first hand, he had discussed Egyptian religious texts with great experts like Chabas, Birch, de Rougé, and others, to such good purpose that his opinion on the subject is of peculiar value. According to him the Egyptian religion presents two apparently contradictory and irreconcilable phenomena:—1. A lively sentiment of the spirituality of God united to the coarsest materialistic representations of different divinities; and 2. A sentiment, not less lively, of the unity of God, united to an extremely great multiplicity of divine persons.[2] The best educated priests, he thinks, who were the most vigorous promoters of religious progress, were as much attached to forms and traditional symbols as the people themselves, and they were most unwilling to give up any part of them. The symbolism, being misunderstood by the ignorant folk, produced serious errors, and the forms under which the Egyptians represented their gods, and which are repellent to our refined taste, answered in their minds to the idea of divinity which was purer and more spiritual than the noble and beautiful forms of the gods of

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[1] C. P. Tiele, in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. xx., p. 367.

[2] *Histoire Comparée des Anciennes Religions*, Paris, 1882.

Hellas. The ignorant felt no repugnance to monstrous representations because they appeared as representations having a profound and mysterious meaning; the learned understood the meanings of the symbols, and paid their adoration through them to the truth of which they were the coverings. In other words, the uneducated loved a plurality of gods, while the priests and educated classes who could read and understand books adopted the idea of One God, the creator of all the beings in heaven and on earth who, for want of a better word, were called "gods."

The priests and theologians saw nothing incompatible in believing that God was One, and that he existed under innumerable forms. We may note the existence of the same view in the Hebrew Scriptures where, in spite of the commandments, "Thou "shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto "thee any graven image, or any likeness [of anything] that [is] "in heaven above, ... Thou shalt not bow down thyself to "them, nor serve them . . . ." (Exodus xx. 3-5), the Israelites felt no scruple in representing God in the midst of His sons, and for a very long time they continued to adore a number of divine beings side by side with Yahweh.[1] Thus in Joshua xxii. 22, we read, "The Lord God of gods, the Lord God of gods, he knoweth and "Israel shall know;" in Exodus xxii. 28 is given the commandment, "Thou shalt not revile the gods nor curse the ruler of thy people;" in Psalm cxxxvi. 2, Israel is exhorted to "give thanks unto the "God of gods;" the "sons of God" we know from Genesis vi. 2; Job ii. 1; xxxviii. 7;[2] and that "gods" in some passages mean nothing but beings possessing some characteristic of God is clear from 1 Samuel xxviii. 13, wherein we read that the witch of Endor told Saul that she "saw gods ascending out of the earth." The allusion in this last passage is clearly to some kind of supernatural being or beings. Returning for a moment to the views of Professor Tiele, we admit that, judging from certain texts of the Dynastic Period, he is justified in asserting that in Egypt monotheism is anterior to polytheism; but judging from the evidence of the recently discovered monuments of the predynastic and archaïc periods, we must admit that polytheism appears to be older than monotheism. On the other hand, the monotheistic ideas which appear in the works of Kaqemna and Ptaḥ-ḥetep were certainly not invented during the period in which they lived, and there is every reason for believing that they originated at a much earlier date. If literary compositions belonging to the first three dynasties are ever brought to light from the tombs of Egypt, we shall probably find that the idea of the oneness of God is expressed with just as much force and certainty as it is under the following dynasties, and in the same works we shall also find mention of the various gods who were created by the great God who was proclaimed to be One, and expected to be worshipped with obedience.

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[1] Tiele, *Hist. Comparée*, p. 138.

[2] Cf. also Deut. x. 17; Psalms xiv. 3; lxxxii. 1, 6; Job i. 6.

The final opinion of Professor Tiele on the Egyptian religion was that from the beginning it was polytheistic, but that it developed in two opposite directions; in the one direction gods were multiplied by the addition of local gods, and in the other the Egyptian drew nearer and nearer to monotheism.[1]

We may now consider the opinions of some of the greatest Egyptologists on the monotheism of the Egyptians. Writing in the *Revue Archéologique* (1860, p. 73) E. de Rougé says, "The "unity of a supreme and self-existent being, his eternity, his "almightiness, and eternal reproduction thereby as God; the "attributing of the creation of the world and of all living beings "to the supreme God; the immortality of the soul, completed by "the dogma of punishments and rewards; such is the sublime

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[1] "Een voorhistorisch monotheïsme onderstelt een graad van ontwikkeling "en een vordering in het wijsgeerig nadenken, die bij een nog barbaarsch volk "niet denkbaar zijn. Ook de egyptische godsdienst is van animisme en magisch "polydaemonisme uitgegaan en zoo eerst tot polytheïsme opgeklommen. Dit "polytheïsme ontwikkelt zich dan in twee geheel tegen o vergestelde richtingen. "Aan den eenen kant wordt de godenwereld, door bijeenvoeging van plaatselijke "godsdiensten, een gevolg van de onderwerping der verschillende gewesten met "hun godsdienstige middelpunten aan het gezag van één koning, en door over- "neming van vreemde godheden, steeds rijker. Aan den anderen kant nadert "men het monotheïsme meer en meer, zonder het ooithelder en ondubbelzinnig uit "te spreken. De geleerden trachtten beide mit elkander overeen te brengen, onder "anderen door de vele goden voor te stellen als de openbaringen van den éenen, "ongeschapen, verborgen God, zijn leben, door hem zelnengeschapen." See *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst in de Oudheid*, Amsterdam, 1893, p. 25.

"and persistent base which, notwithstanding all deviations and all "mythological embellishments, must secure for the beliefs of the "ancient Egyptians a most honourable place among the religions "of antiquity."[1] In an article on the "Religion of the Ancient Egyptians," written nine years later as a result of a close study of many of the great religious texts, he asserted that more than five thousand years before there existed in the Valley of the Nile the hymn to the unity of God, and the belief in the unity of a supreme God with the attributes of Creator of men, and Legislator of man, whom he has endowed with an immortal soul. In his description of the principal monuments at the Egyptian Museum at Bûlâk in Cairo, Mariette Bey said, "At the head of the Egyptian pantheon "soars a God who is one, immortal, uncreated, invisible and hidden "in the inaccessible depths of his essence; he is the creator of the "heavens and of the earth; he has made everything which exists "and nothing has been made without him; such is the God who "is reserved for the initiated of the sanctuary."[2] A similar view was held by Chabas,[3] who said, "The One God, who existed before "all things, who represents the pure and abstract idea of divinity, "is not clearly specialized by [any] one single personage of the vast "Egyptian pantheon. Neither Ptaḥ, nor Seb, nor Thoth, nor Rā,

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"L'unité d'un être suprême existant par lui-même, son éternité, sa toute-"puissance et la génération éternelle en Dieu; la création du monde et de tous "les êtres vivants attribuée à ce Dieu suprême; l'immortalité de l'âme, complétée "par le dogme des peines et des récompenses; tel est le fond sublime et persistant "qui, malgré toutes les déviations et toutes les broderies mythologiques, doit "assurer aux croyances des anciens Égyptiens un rang très honorable parmi les "religions de l'antiquité." . . . . "Il y a plus de 5000 ans qu'a commencé, dans "la vallée du Nil, *l'hymne à l'Unité de Dieu et à l'Immortalité de l'âme;* et nous "voyons dans les derniers temps l'Égypte arrivée au *Polythéisme* le plus effréné. "*La croyance à l'Unité du Dieu suprême, à ses attributs de Créateur et de Législateur "de l'homme, qu'il a doué d'une âme immortelle;* voilà les notions primitives "enchâssées comme des diamants indestructibles au milieu des superfétations mytho-"logiques accumulées par les siècles qui ont passé sur cette vieille civilisation." *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, Paris, 1869, p. 336.

[2] "Au sommet du panthéon Égyptien plane un Dieu unique, immortel, incréé, "invisible et caché dans les profondeurs inaccessibles de son essence; il est le "createur du ciel et de la terre; il a fait tout ce qui existe, et rien n'a été fait sans "lui; c'est le Dieu réservé à l'initié du sanctuaire." Mariette, *Notice*, Cairo, 1876, p. 17.

[3] *Calendrier des jours fastes et néfastes*, p. 107.

"nor Osiris, nor any other god is a personification of him at all "times; but of these sometimes one and at other times another is "invoked in terms which assimilate these intimately with the "supreme type; the innumerable gods of Egypt are only attributes "and different aspects of this unique type."

M. Pierret, in discussing the matter, holds the view that the texts prove that the Egyptians believed in a God who was One, and was without a second, and was infinite and eternal. At the very time, however, when the scribes were writing upon papyrus or cutting upon stone the inscriptions which affirmed this belief, the artists were making sculptures of the gods with heads of hawks, or rams, or crocodiles, or goddesses with the heads of lionesses, cats, or cows. Nevertheless the One God, who is without a second, is One even among the company of the gods, for he has numerous names and forms, and he appears under sacred and mysterious forms in the temples, that is to say under the figures[1] which were painted on the walls, and in the statues of the gods which were set up in the temples. The greatest supporter of the doctrine of ancient Egyptian monotheism was the late Dr. Brugsch, who assigned to the word for God, *neter* 𓊹𓀭, the highly philosophical meaning which has been quoted above. Accepting the view, which the Egyptians themselves held, that the gods were only names of the various attributes of the One God, he searched through the religious literature and collected from the hymns, prayers, etc., which were addressed to the various gods and goddesses in various periods, a number of epithets and attributes[2] which were bestowed upon them by their worshippers. These extracts he classified, and when they were grouped and arranged they formed a description of God such as it would be difficult to find a parallel for outside the Holy Scriptures. It has been contended that as these scattered epithets are never found together the ancient Egyptians had no conception of a God who was One, and was self-produced, and had existed, and would exist, always, and was hidden and unknown of form and name, and was the Creator of heaven and the gods, and earth, and man, and all things, and was at the same time merciful, and compassionate, and loving, and the protector of the weak against the strong, and the rewarder and protector of those who served him.

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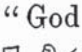
[1] Pierret, *Le Panthéon Égyptien*, Paris, 1881.

[2] They will be found in Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 96 ff.

But this contention is not well founded, because, although these attributes were ascribed to a miscellaneous number of deities, we must remember that they would not have been thus associated unless the writers recognized such gods as phases or aspects of the Great God. The fact remains that such attributes were ascribed to gods who were created by God, and that the Egyptians arrived at such ideas as those described above is a lasting proof of the exalted character of their religion and of their conception of monotheism. The main point to keep in view is that the gods of Egypt were regarded by the Egyptians generally as inferior beings to the great God who made them, and that they were not held to be equal to him in all respects. Further, we must repeat that the God referred to in the moral precepts of the Early Empire holds a position similar to that held by Yahweh among the Hebrews and Allah among the Arabs, and that the gods and goddesses who were ministers of his will and pleasure find their counterparts in the angels, and archangels, and spirits of all kinds, both good and bad, of whom the Hebrew and Arabic literatures are full. No surer proof of this can be given than the well-known passage in Deuteronomy vi. 4, where it is said, "Hear, O Israel, Yahweh our "God (literally, gods), is Yahweh One,"[1] and the Egyptian *neter uā* , "One God," as far as the application and meaning of *uā* is concerned, is identical with that of the Hebrew word אֶחָד in the text quoted. We may note, too, the words, "Yahweh our gods," which show that Yahweh was identified with the gods, אֱלֹהִים, of the polytheistic period of the ancient Hebrew religion; it is, however, possible that when the verse in Deuteronomy was written the word Elôhîm had come to mean the great God of the Hebrews, although originally it had meant a collection of sacred or divine beings. In the Ḳur'ân, Sura cxii., the God of the Arabs is declared to be One, and from the commentaries on the Sura we know that this declaration was revealed to Muḥammad in answer to the people of the Kurêsh, who asked him concerning the distinguishing attributes of the God he invited them to worship. If we had all the literature of the early Hebrews, and of the Arabs at the period of the propaganda of Muḥammad we should probably find that many local gods in Palestine and Arabia were called One, but that only the God who had the moral aspects which were attributed to the great God of the Egyptians by the philosophers of the Early Empire succeeded in retaining it permanently.

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[1] Compare St. Mark xii. 29.

The religion of the Egyptians has, however, always been regarded from two distinct and opposite points of view; a number of scholars, among whom may be mentioned Champollion-Figeac, de Rougé, Chabas, Mariette, Dévéria, Birch, and Brugsch, have considered it to have been monotheistic, but others have declared unhesitatingly that it was polytheistic; this result is due probably to the way in which it is regarded. Speaking of the difference of opinion which existed on the subject between the late Dr. Brugsch and himself, M. Maspero says that he and Brugsch considered the Egyptian religion in two different ways. Time, he says, which has done so much harm to other nations, has shown itself favourable to the Egyptians. It has spared their tombs, their temples, their statues, and the thousand small objects which were the pride of their domestic life, and it has led us in such a way that we judge them by the most beautiful and the prettiest of the things which they made, and has at length caused us to place their civilization on the same footing as that of the Romans or the Greeks. But if it be looked at more nearly the point of view changes; to speak quite shortly, Thothmes III. and Rameses II. resemble Mtesa of Central Africa more closely than they do Alexander or Caesar. It is not their fault, but they arrived too soon in a period which was too early, and they must bear the penalty of their precociousness. In art, in science, in trade, they have invented much and produced much, and have, above all, promised much; their religion presents the same mixture of coarseness and refinement which is found in all else. Most of its myths it holds in common with the most savage tribes of the Old and the New Worlds. The Egyptian possessed the spirit of the metaphysician, a fact which he proved when Christianity furnished him with a subject worthy of his subtle powers. But, M. Maspero asks, what kind of metaphysics could proceed from so naïve a conception of the universe and of things which he has revealed? He thinks it must be true, at least in the main, because Brugsch depicted the Egyptian world in a manner very similar to his own, and deeming it true he cannot any longer admit the notion of the Egyptian Deity and his unity which several scholars have adopted. He takes the Egyptian religion for what it shows that it is, viz., a polytheism with its contradictions, and its repetitions, with its dogmas indecent sometimes, cruel sometimes, and ridiculous sometimes, according to modern ideas, and with its families of half-human gods which the worshipper cherished the more or understood the better the more closely they resembled himself.[1] The opinion thus expressed, though unfavourable to the character of the Egyptian, and directly opposed to the views of some of the greatest Egyptologists of the last century, is evidently honest, and coming from such a quarter is entitled to the greatest respect; but it seems that M. Maspero has judged the Egyptians of all periods according to the standard of religion which was in vogue in Egypt in predynastic times, when the primitive Egyptians were, no doubt, half savage.

The Egyptians, being fundamentally an African people, possessed all the virtues and vices which characterized the North African races generally, and it is not to be held for a moment that any African people could ever become metaphysicians in the modern sense of the word. In the first place, no African language is suitable for giving expression to theological and philosophical speculations, and even an Egyptian priest of the highest intellectual attainments would have been unable to render a treatise of Aristotle into language which his brother priests without teaching could understand. The mere construction of the language would make such a thing an impossibility, to say nothing of the ideas of the great Greek philosopher, which belong to a domain of thought and culture wholly foreign to the Egyptian. The allusion to the Christian metaphysics of the Egyptian is understandable, as everyone knows who has taken the trouble to read the literature of the Copts, who transferred much of the base and degraded Egyptian mythology which was current during the first few centuries of the Christian era into their newly acquired belief in Jesus Christ. The lives of the Coptic martyrs show the use which the Egyptian made of his metaphysical spirit, and the history of the early Church in Egypt illustrates what happened when he tried to apply it to the consideration of the common theological terms in Greek and in Latin. Incidentally we may note that in order to express the various ideas connected with the Christian Deity and the Persons of the Trinity he was obliged to take over the actual Greek words into his language, which was poor in abstract ideas. In the picture which M. Maspero has given of the Egyptian's conception of the universe and of the origin of gods and things he has only dwelt upon the mythological side of the question, and has not set forth all the passages upon which other Egyptologists have based their views about Egyptian monotheism; moreover, no allowance appears to have been made for the peculiar religious and mental characteristics of the race. But when all is said against the Egyptian religion which can be said, the fact remains that it is not the religion itself which has cruel, ridiculous, and indecent dogmas, but the myths wherewith generations of foolish priests obscured the pure beliefs in monotheism and immortality which seem to have existed in Egypt from the earliest times. If modern oriental religions were judged in the adverse manner in which the religion of ancient Egypt has been judged, none would escape similar condemnation; the same thing may be said of some of the religions of the Western nations.

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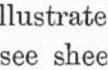
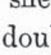
[1] *La Mythologie Égyptienne*, p. 278.

The superstitions which exist among many Eastern nations professing monotheism and even Christianity are as gross as those found among so-called Pagan nations; as examples may be quoted the Christians of St. John in Southern Mesopotamia, and many of the Arabic-speaking peoples of the Eastern Sûdân, yet among the former no one attempts to deny the existence of a sort of Christianity, though he would indeed be bold who would dare to compare it with the Christianity of such men as Canon Liddon or Cardinal Newman; similarly, the monotheism of the peoples of the Eastern Sûdân is universally admitted, but it does not prevent their indulging in the coarsest and most fantastic beliefs and practices, many of which, however, it must be admitted have descended to them from their pagan ancestors. Fortunately, however, the monotheistic character of the Egyptian religion rests on too firm a foundation to be easily overthrown, and notwithstanding the elaborate system of symbolic ceremonials which was so prominent a feature of Egyptian worship, Egyptian monotheism always maintained its place in the minds of those who were sufficiently educated to understand the ideas which the symbols thereof represented. The Egyptian never confounded God with the gods, and it would seem that he even discriminated between God and "the god of the "city," for in the Negative Confession (No. 38) the deceased says, "O Utu-rekhit, who comest forth from thy house, I have not cursed "God"; and in No. 42 he says, "Hail, Ȧn-ā-f, who comest forth "from Ȧukert (the Underworld), I have not thought scorn of (or, "belittled) the god who is in my city." Whence came the Egyptian conception of monotheism, or when it first sprang up, cannot be said, but in its oldest form it is coeval with the dynastic civilization of Egypt at least, and it may well date from far earlier times. The monotheistic idea is not the peculiar attribute of any one people or period. It may seem unnecessary to discuss Egyptian monotheism at such length, but the matter is one of great interest and importance because the literature of Egypt proves it to have been in existence in that country for more than three thousand five hundred years before Christ; in fact, Egyptian monotheism is the oldest form of monotheism known to us. It is easy enough to understand how anxious the priesthoods of the various cities would be to persuade the people who worshipped the local gods that this or that god was the being who united in himself the attributes of the original god of the city with those of the great cosmic god with physical aspects who created the heavens and the earth, and with those of the ethical god who was proclaimed by Kaqemna, Ptaḥ-ḥetep, Ani, and other writers of moral precepts.

In the earliest times it was the god Horus who was chosen in this manner, for under the form of a hawk he appears to have been the first god who was worshipped throughout the country generally, and the numerous forms of this god, and the fact that his attributes were at a later period ascribed to Horus the son of Isis, attest the antiquity and importance of his cult. The next god chosen to represent the great ethical God of the Egyptians was not a personification of the sky as was Horus, but the Sun-god Rā, on whom was bestowed every epithet of power and might which was known to the Egyptians, as well as the epithets and forms of the god Horus. But although his worship was common throughout Egypt, and his sanctuaries were for many centuries the most important in the land, there is abundant proof that the Egyptians never merged their conceptions of their great ethical God in their conceptions of Rā.

There seem to be traces of a belief that Rā as the spirit or god of the sun may have been a form or representative of him, but they are not very definite, and the worship of Rā's visible symbol, the sun, as the source of heat and light, and therefore of life—as the Egyptians recognized at an early period—was commoner than any abstract conception of his nature or existence. In a hymn to Ḥāpi, the Nile-god, we find a remarkable passage in which some of the chief attributes of God are ascribed to the power which causes the Inundation and who is addressed under the names of the gods Ptaḥ and Khnemu. To this Being it is said by the author of the hymn, "If thou wert overcome in heaven the gods, , "would fall upon their faces and mankind would perish." The context shows that the author first pays a tribute of reverence to the local god of Memphis, Ptaḥ, whom he styles the "lord of fish," and the "creator of wheat and barley," and of whom he says with reference to the well-known attribute of Ptaḥ as the great artificer, "inactivity is the abomination of his fingers," i.e., the fingers of the god hate idleness. He then goes on to mention Khnemu, the local god of the First Cataract, wherein the sources of the Nile were at one time believed to be situated, and styles him "the bringer of "food and provisions, the creator of all good things, the lord of all "choice and pleasant meats, who maketh the herb to grow for the "use of the cattle, who filleth the storehouses and heapeth up high "[corn] in the granaries, who payeth heed to the poor and needy, "who maketh to grow crops which are sufficient for the desires of "all men and yet is not diminished thereby, and whose strength is "a shield." Now the author of the hymn goes on to declare that the true Ḥāpi, or god of the Nile, "cannot be figured in stone, he "is not to be seen in the images on which are set the crowns of the "south and the north with their uraei, offerings cannot be made to "him, he cannot be brought forth from his secret places, his dwelling-place is not to be found out, he is not to be found in the "shrines which are inscribed with texts, there is no habitation "which is sufficiently large for him to dwell in, and the heart [of "man] is unable to depict him."[1]

The being here referred to is a physical and not an ethical god, and the simplest and, from this point of view, most natural explanation of these remarkable statements is that they are intended to describe the inaccessibility both of the Nile-god and of his shrine. The fact, however, remains that the declaration of the almighty strength and inscrutability, and invisibility, and the impossibility of a description of the power which moves the Nile-god being made by man in writing, or in drawing, or in sculpture, proves the existence in the minds of the Egyptian writers of a lofty conception of the attributes of God.

But side by side with the fundamental ideas of Horus and Rā and the conceptions which were at the root of the worship of these gods, there existed in the minds of the Egyptians a firm and continuous belief in the god Osiris, who held a position in the Egyptian religion which was quite distinct from that held by any other god. About his origin nothing can be said, but there is no reason for doubting that he was a god of the indigenous inhabitants of Egypt, and that his worship was firmly established in the country before the dynastic period. He was from the earliest times associated with the doctrine of immortality, and was, the writer believes, the symbol of monotheism in Egypt. It is impossible to say, or even to suggest, what was the original form of his worship, but we know that in the archaic period one great centre of his cult was at Abydos, and from the fact that he was included in the *paut*, or company of gods of Heliopolis, we may conclude that he was a very important god of Ṭaṭṭu, or of Busiris, in the Delta, and that his sanctuary was much visited by the peoples thereof. Under the Vth Dynasty, as we have already seen, he was regarded as the judge of the dead, and it is clear that he was also the god of the dead *par excellence*; but it must be noted that the priests of Rā formed at that time the predominant priesthood of Egypt, and therefore care was taken to assign to Osiris a position inferior to that of Rā in heaven. When the VIth Dynasty of kings came to an end the power of the priesthood of Rā was greatly diminished, and the worship of Osiris grew and prospered. It is unnecessary to trace here step by step the growth of the cult of the god until the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and it will be sufficient to say that between the VIth and the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty nearly all the attributes of the Sun-god Rā were transferred to Osiris, and the name of Rā is joined to that of Osiris, just as in much earlier times it was joined to Tem and Ḥeru-khuti to indicate the compound gods Rā-Tem and Rā-Ḥeru-khuti. Thus in Chapter cxxx. of the *Book of the Dead*[1] the deceased says, "I shall not be turned back in the "horizon, for I am Rā-Osiris," and this passage is a proof that quite early in the XVIIIth Dynasty Osiris was considered to be a solar god. In Chapter xvii. (l. 110 ff.) the deceased is made to say, "I am the God-Soul which dwelleth in the Twin-gods, "." On this the question follows, "What does this "mean?" to which we have the answer, "It hath reference to "Osiris when he goeth into Ṭaṭṭu[2] and findeth there the soul of "Rā; there one god embraceth the other, and the divine Souls "spring into being within the Twin-gods." These lines of text are illustrated by a very interesting vignette in the Papyrus of Ani (see sheets 7-10), wherein we see a pylon-shaped building between the double , which represents Ṭaṭṭu, and upon it stand the god Rā, in the form of a hawk with a solar disk upon his head, and Osiris in the form of a human-headed hawk, wearing the White Crown. The two gods face each other in Ṭaṭṭu, and, according to the text, were absorbed or merged each in the other; thus Osiris obtained the attributes and characteristics of the Sun-god Rā, but was supposed at the same time to retain all his own peculiar attributes.

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[1] A transcript of this text will be found in my *First Steps in Egyptian*, p. 208.

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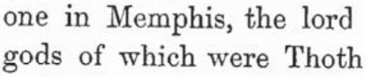
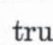
[1] Papyrus of Nu, Chap. cxxx., l. 18.

[2] Either Mendes in the Delta, or the heavenly Mendes.

The view here given is that which was favoured by the priests of Thebes who, however, only reproduced that which they had borrowed from the priests of Heliopolis, and having gained currency in the theological colleges of the South, it spread among the people to such an extent that almost every great city possessed a sanctuary dedicated to Osiris. A very important hymn to Osiris, which is certainly as old as the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty, shows us how this god assimilated to himself the old solar gods, and how he became Rā. His holy double (*ka*) was said to live in Mendes, he was the god who dwelt in Sekhem (i.e., Horus), the lord of Qerert (i.e., the Underworld), the holy one in Memphis, the lord of the temple of Hermopolis, the local gods of which were Thoth and his *paut*, or company, and he was declared to be the "soul of Rā" and the very body of this god, . His essence was that of the primeval god Nu, and he was the great spirit and divine body in heaven. He was supposed to fight and to vanquish the traditional fiend Sebȧ, who dared to wage war against Rā, and he was the stablisher of right and truth,  *maāt*, throughout the world. He made the earth with his own hands, and its winds, and its vegetation, and feathered fowl, and fish, and cattle and other quadrupeds, and to him belonged by right the mountains and the desert land throughout the world. The lands of Egypt rejoiced[1] to crown him upon his throne like his father Rā. The Great and the Little Companies of the gods loved him, he was the leader of every god, and the brother of the stars. Finally, as a proof of the absolute identity of Rā and Osiris may be quoted the opening lines of Chapter clxxxi. of the *Book of the Dead*, which read:—"Homage "to thee, O governor of Ȧmentet, Un-nefer, the lord of Ta-tchesert, "O thou who risest like Rā! Verily I come to see thee and to "rejoice at thy beauties. His disk is thy disk; his rays are thy "rays; his crown is thy crown; his majesty is thy majesty; his "risings are thy risings: his beauty is thy beauty; the awe which "is his is the awe which is thine; his odour is thy odour; his hall

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[1] See the text, with a transliteration and translation, in my *First Steps in Egyptian*, p. 179 ff.

"is thy hall; his seat is thy seat; his throne is thy throne; his "heir is thy heir; his ornaments are thy ornaments; his command "is thy command; his mystery is thy mystery; his things are "thy things; his knowledge is thy knowledge; his attributes of "majesty are thy attributes of majesty; his magical powers are "thy magical powers; he died not and thou shalt not die; he was "not vanquished by his enemies and thou shalt not be vanquished "by thine enemies; no evil thing befell him, and no evil thing "shall befall thee for ever and for ever."

In such terms did the Egyptians extol the greatness and power of Osiris, but they make no mention of the aspect of the god which endeared him to countless generations of Egyptians. From hundreds of funeral and other texts we learn that Osiris was held to be partly divine and partly human, that is to say, unlike any other Egyptian god he possessed two natures, and two bodies, the one divine and the other human, and two doubles, the one divine and the other human, and two souls, the one divine and the other human, and two spirits, the one divine and the other human. The human body, according to the Egyptian tradition recorded by Plutarch,[1] once lived upon earth and was put to death in a cruel manner, and was mutilated by his brother; but his feminine counterpart, Isis, succeeded in obtaining from Thoth the knowledge of certain words and ceremonies, and having learnt from him the proper manner of reciting these words, and how to perform these ceremonies, by means of them she raised up to life the dead body of Osiris. The god Thoth was the personification of the intelligence of the whole company of the gods, and thus the words which he taught Isis were divine, and they were, presumably, names by the utterance of which the gods themselves maintained their existence. Now when Osiris had been raised from the dead he did not continue his life upon earth, but passed into the region of the Underworld, where he became the judge and god of the dead and, as we have seen, was made the possessor of all the attributes of the Sun-god Rā and of the great One God. But, the Egyptians in the early ages thought, Since Osiris was raised to life by the words and ceremonies which Thoth taught Isis, and since Osiris has gained immortality by means of them, these same words and ceremonies will raise us to life and give us immortality also. Their priests therefore invented a number of magical ceremonies, which they led the people to believe were identical with those which Isis had performed at the bidding of Thoth, and they strung together magical words which they declared to be those which had raised Osiris to life, and the words were recited and the ceremonies performed by priests who appear to have dressed themselves in such a way as to resemble the divine beings who were concerned with the resurrection of Osiris.

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[1] *De Iside et Osiride*, ed. Didot (Scripta Moralia, t. iii., pp. 429–469), § xii. ff.

At a later period, however, the Egyptians put their trust in Osiris himself, and addressed their prayers directly to him as the Being, partly divine and partly human, who had raised himself from the dead without having seen corruption, and who had bestowed upon his own earthly body, by means of his divine nature, the gift of an everlasting life which it enjoyed in an incorruptible and glorified form in heaven. The Egyptians "loved life "and hated death," and they worshipped Osiris as the Great God who not only possessed the power of maintaining his own life indefinitely—which was supposed to be the chief distinguishing characteristic of a god—but also of giving mortals the power to live after death in this world. What Osiris had effected for himself he could effect for man; hence Thothmes III. is made to address the god in these words, "Homage to thee, O my divine "father Osiris, thou hast thy being with thy members. Thou "didst not decay, thou didst not turn into worms, thou didst not "rot away, thou didst not become corruption, thou didst not "putrefy. . . . I shall not decay, I shall not rot, I shall not "putrefy. . . . I shall have my being, I shall live, I shall germinate, "I shall wake up in peace. . . . My body shall be stablished, and "it shall neither fall into ruin nor be destroyed off this earth."[1] Because the human body of Osiris rose from the dead, the body of every man could rise from the dead also, but man lacked what Osiris possessed, i.e., the divine body, soul, spirit, and nature, which had brought about the resurrection of his human body, soul, spirit, and nature. In the earliest times of the worship of the god the Egyptians, as we have seen, invented magical words and ceremonies with the object of supplying the human body with the power necessary to raise itself from the dead, but as time went on they realized that both words and ceremonies were incapable of giving eternal life to the dead, and that only Osiris himself could give them that which they so earnestly desired, i.e., everlasting life, by supplying to their dead earthly bodies the power to rise again, a power which he himself possessed. Beyond all doubt the Egyptians realized that Osiris was the only God who could make them to inherit life everlasting, and that he alone had the power of making "men and women to ~~be born~~ again."[1]

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[1] *Book of the Dead*, Chap. cliv.

We have already seen how the attributes of the great God who created all things were ascribed to him, and we now see that he was regarded as the god who had the power to vanquish death by raising up the bodies of the dead in glorified forms, and to reunite to them their ~~souls and~~ their spirits, and to give them eternal life in his dominions. These things were declared of no other god, and no other god united in his person the attributes of an ethical god, and an almighty, creative god, and a god who was the vivifier of the dead. The conception of Osiris included the conceptions of every other god, but the conception of no other god included that of Osiris during the period of the highest thought and civilization of Egypt. The Sun-god Rā was called "One," a few other gods who were made to usurp his attributes were also each called "One;" this in the earliest times was natural enough, because the Egyptians were only acquainted with one Sun, and whether the physical body of the sun as a symbol of the power which moved it or that power itself is referred to in the hymns matters little, for "One" was a suitable epithet both for the sun and its god. In connexion with this matter it is important to remember the unique position which Osiris occupies in the *Book of the Dead* and in funeral texts generally. In the texts of the Vth Dynasty we find that Osiris was believed "to weigh words," i.e., to inquire into the various words and deeds of the lives of

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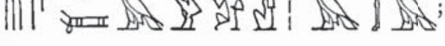
[1] ; see *Book of the Dead*, Chap. clxxxii., l. 15.

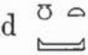
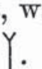
men when their souls left their bodies, in order that he might reward them according to their merits.

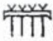
In later times this idea was illustrated by the vignette in which the heart of the deceased was seen being weighed in the Great Scales against the symbol of Maāt, or the Law and right and truth; at a still later period, when the heart was the symbol of the conscience, this scene became associated with the examination of the words and deeds of the dead which took place in the Hall of Maāti. In the large scenes of the weighing of the heart which were prefixed to the finest papyri of the *Book of the Dead* of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, and which were accompanied by suitable hymns and texts, the ceremony takes place in the presence of the gods of the Great and Little companies, but in the Hall of Maāti the Forty-Two Assessors are substituted for the gods. In both cases, however, the great judge of all is Osiris, and it was to him that all Egyptians returned after death. Why the Assessors were forty-two in number cannot be said, but it is very probable, as has been before suggested, that each of them represented a district in Egypt in the earliest dynastic times, and that the Hall of Maāti thus became a meeting place for the Assessors of the whole country when Osiris sat to judge the dead. It is, moreover, impossible to say why certain assessors were supposed to hear confessions about the non-committal of certain sins, and we have no knowledge of the circumstances which gave rise to their selection and to their admission into the Hall of Judgment. Some of them appear to have been originally the gods of cities, and others gods of nomes, but, on the other hand, a few of them are deities who, in the earliest times, were apparently hostile to the dead. Failing full information on the subject, the chief interest which attaches to the Assessors and the Hall of Maāti, in which they sit, consists in the fact that the vignette proves how completely Osiris had gained the ascendancy over all the gods of Egypt.

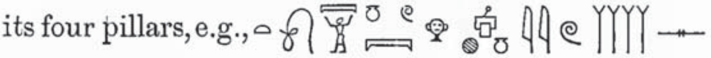
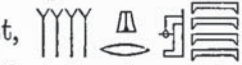
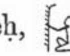
In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to trace the development of the conception of a supreme being in Egypt, from the earliest times to the period when Osiris became endowed with many of the attributes now ascribed to God Almighty. There is no doubt that in predynastic times the Egyptians worshipped stocks, and stones, and animals, and plants, and trees, and that they only arrived at the idea of gods which were partly animal and partly man at the end of a long period of what is called in modern times "gross idolatry." From the idea of animal-man gods they advanced to the idea of a man-god, and finally their minds developed the conception of monotheism. When we first gain any definite knowledge of them we find that as a people they had put away the worship of stocks and stones, and most of the things which that worship implies, but that certain animals were held to be sacred in certain cities, and that the literature contained allusions to savage habits and practices, as we have already seen. As time went on, many changes took place in the minds of the Egyptians concerning their gods, but little variation was made in their worship and ceremonial in the temples; in other words, the spirit of the religion changed whilst the observance of the letter remained unchanged. Thus the forms of worship and the literature preserved a great deal which no one believed in except the commonest folk, and in this way traces of the lowest forms of religion were preserved and handed down to posterity. The Egyptians, after the period of the IVth Dynasty, were the victims of conservatism and conventionality, and, we might almost add, of the priesthoods of Heliopolis and Thebes; but for these powerful and wealthy confraternities the history of the religion of Egypt would have been very different. The conception of monotheism, which is so clearly expressed in the moral precepts of the Early Empire, would have developed rapidly, and in its growth it would have obliterated the remains of the old and obsolete faiths which had crystallized, and which existed in layers side by side with the higher doctrine. But the decay which set in after the IVth Dynasty, and which stifled the development of painting and sculpture, also attacked the religion of the country, and the noble conception of monotheism, with its cult of the unseen, was unable to compete with the worship of symbols, which could be seen and handled, until the time when Osiris was recognized as the One God, who was also the giver of eternal life. The Egyptians were unlike other nations, and similarly their religion and their gods were unlike the religion and the gods of other nations; and as they must not be judged by the standard of any one foreign nation belonging to any one period, so their religion and their gods must not be judged by the standard of the religion and gods of any later civilized nation. We can only know what the Egyptians thought and believed by reading and studying the texts which they wrote, and a final opinion on their beliefs cannot be obtained until all their religious literature has been published; the general outline, however, of their religion is clear enough, and it shows us that they possessed a good, practical form of monotheism and a belief in immortality which were already extremely ancient even in the days when the Pyramids were built.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMPANIONS OF THE GODS IN HEAVEN

IN the preceding chapters, which are devoted to the consideration of general questions concerning God and the gods, no mention is made of the habitation of these divine beings or of their companions. The texts of all periods are silent as to the exact position of heaven, but it is certain that the Egyptians assigned to it a place above the sky, and that they called it *pet* ; we must distinguish between the meanings of *pet* and *nut* , for the former means "heaven," and the latter "sky." We may also note that two skies are mentioned in the texts, i.e., , the day sky, and , the night sky. The hieroglyphic for heaven and sky represents a slab, each end of which rests on a support, and we may assume that the primitive Egyptians believed that each end of heaven rested upon a support (i.e., two mountains); out of one mountain came the sun every morning, and into the other he entered every night. The mountain of Sunrise was called Bakhau, , and the mountain of Sunset Manu, . In the earliest times the sky was divided into two parts only, the East and the West, but later another division was made, and heaven was split up into four parts, and each was placed under the care of a god. The latter division was made long before the Pyramid Texts were written, for in them it is always assumed that the flat slab of iron which formed the sky, and therefore the floor of the abode of the gods, was rectangular, and that each corner of it rested upon a pillar, . That this is a very ancient view concerning the sky is proved by the hieroglyphic

, which is used in texts to determine words for rain, storm, and the like; here we have a picture of the sky falling and being pierced by the four pillars of heaven.

At a later period, the four quarters of heaven were believed to be under the direction of four gods, and the four pillars of the sky were poetically described as the four sceptres which they held in their hands. Thus in the text of Tetȧ (l. 233) it is said, "As "Tetȧ goeth towards them they bring unto him the four gods "who stand with the sceptres of heaven, and they repeat the name "of Tetȧ to Rā, and they take up his name to Horus of the two "horizons."[1] In several texts[2] allusion is made to the lifting up of heaven upon its four pillars, e.g., , and in one place the four pillars are said to support that on which the four heavens rest, ; at a comparatively late period the idea arose that the sky needed support in the middle as well as at the corners, and the god who acted as the prop was called Ḥeḥ, . According to one myth which represented the heavens in the form of the head of a man, and which made the sun and the moon to be his eyes, the supports of heaven were supposed to be formed of his long flowing hair, and thus we have in the text of Unȧs (l. 473) an allusion to the "four elder spirits who dwell "in the locks of hair of Horus, who stand in the eastern part of "heaven grasping their sceptres."[3] The gods who grasped as sceptres the four pillars of heaven, which eventually became the

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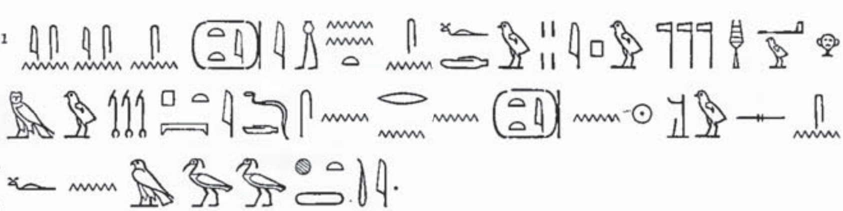
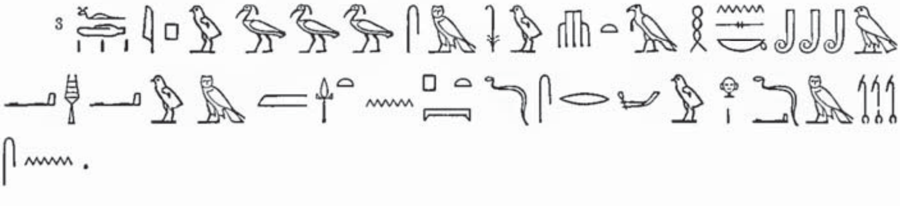
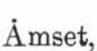
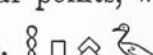
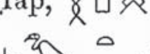
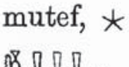
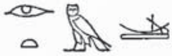
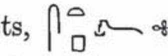
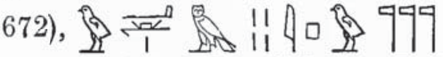
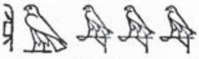
[1] 

[2] See Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 1351.

[3] 

four cardinal points, were Åmset, , god of the southern point, Ḥāp, , the god of the northern point, Ṭuamutef, , the god of the eastern point, and Qebḥsennuf, , the god of the western point. These four gods played a prominent part in connexion with the deceased in the Pyramid Texts, where they are called the "children of Horus,"[1] for at one time they are called upon to bring him the boat of the Eye of Tem, , which is on the Lake of Kha, and at another they are exhorted to protect his life by their magical power and amulets, ,[2] and finally the deceased is said to become one of these four gods (Pepi I. l. 672), .
The duties which are assigned to them as funereal gods in the *Book of the Dead* will be described later on.

Chief among the dwellers in heaven was the god Rā, who is said to sit upon an iron throne [the sides of which were ornamented] with the faces of lions and feet which resembled the hoofs of bulls.[3] Round about Rā, whether walking or sitting, were the gods who were "in his train," and these formed the nucleus of the inhabitants of heaven. Next to these came certain companies of the gods, and as the whole universe was divided into three portions, namely, heaven, earth, and the Ṭuat, or Underworld, and each portion had its own gods, we may assume that a place was reserved for them in the heaven of the Egyptians. But this heaven also contained several classes of beings, first and foremost among whom may be mentioned the SHESU-ḤERU, or SHEMSU-ḤERU, a name which appears in the Pyramid Texts under the form  (Pepi I., l. 166), and may be translated "Followers of Horus." They are, in fact, beings who followed Horus, the son of Isis, in heaven, where they waited upon him, and performed his behests,

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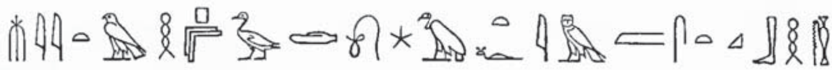
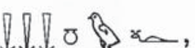
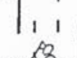
[1]  , Pepi I., l. 593.

[2] Pepi I., l. 444.

[3] *Ibid.*, ll. 309, 310.

and when necessary defended and protected him. They occupied a position of great importance among the celestial hosts, and are mentioned in such a way as to suggest that they were almost equal to the gods; thus Pepi I. (l. 166) is said to "pacify them," but on the other hand it was they who "washed him, and who recited on "his behalf the Chapter of those who come forth, and [the Chapter "of those who] rise up."[1] Next may be mentioned the ĀSHEMU, , a class of beings whose characteristics are not known, and who in the text of Tetȧ (l. 327) are referred to in connexion with the *sekhemu*. The word *āshem* is usually supposed to mean the "form in which a god is visible," but it must have another and an older meaning. The ḤENMEMET, ,[2] or HAMEMET, appear to have been a class of beings who either were to become, or had already been, human beings, but the Egyptians themselves seem to have had no very clear idea about their attributes, and the passages in the Theban *Book of the Dead* in which they are mentioned have been understood in different ways by different scholars.

In a hymn it is said of Rā, "when he riseth the *rekhit* (i.e., "rational beings) live, and the *hamemet*, , exult in "him"; Osiris is called "[lord of] the *hamemet*, , in "Kher-āḥa"; and the deceased says in Chapter xlii. of the *Book of the Dead*, "And shall do me hurt neither men, nor gods, , "nor spirits, , nor the dead (or damned), , "nor the *pāt*, , nor the *rekhit* (i.e., rational beings), nor "the *hamemet*." Elsewhere the deceased prays "that the com"pany of the gods may hold their peace whilst the *hamemet* talk "with me";[3] and it seems from a passage in an inscription of

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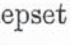
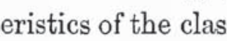
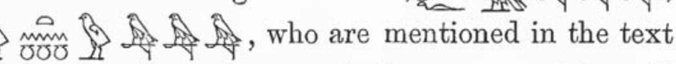
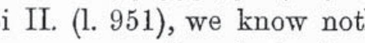
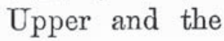
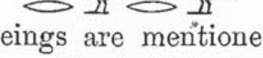
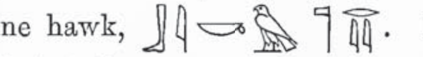
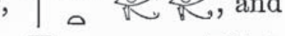
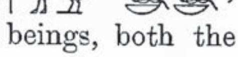
[1] Compare the variant .

[2] Tetȧ, l. 95.

[3] See the list of passages given in my *Vocabulary* to the *Book of the Dead*, p. 205.

Ḥātshepset[1] as if in the latter part of the dynastic period the word had come to mean a class of men and women, especially as it is determined by the signs , which usually indicate a number of human beings. Thus Rameses III. speaks of "all the gods and "goddesses of the South and the North, and all men, and all the "*pāt*, and all the *rekhit*, and all the *hamemet*"; finally, that the *hamemet* were believed to live upon grain is proved by the passage in a hymn to Åmen-Rā wherein this god is said to be the "maker "of the green herb which giveth life to the beasts and cattle, and "of the plant of life, , of the *hamemet*."[2] Of the characteristics of the classes of beings called Āfa, , and Utennu, , who are mentioned in the text of Pepi II. (l. 951), we know nothing, and the same must be said of the Set beings, , who were, however, divided into two classes, the Upper and the Lower, . The following extract will show how these beings are mentioned:—"O great heaven, stretch out thy hand to Pepi Nefer-ka-Rā! "O mighty heaven, stretch out thy hand to Pepi Nefer-ka-Rā, for "Pepi is thy divine hawk, . Pepi hath come "having come forth into heaven, and he hath penetrated Qebḥu; "Pepi hath paid homage to his father, and he riseth like Horus. "Pepi hath come to the place where he is, and he (his father) "granteth to him to rise like the sun, and he stablisheth for him his "two divine *utchats*, , and when Pepi cometh forth "with him, great like Horus, son of Nut, and like the child with "the lock of hair (i.e., Harpocrates), and smiting the crowns, and "giving orders to the gods Utennu, the Āfa gods follow Pepi, and "those who are in the heavens and on the earth come to him pay-"ing homage, together with the two uraei guides, , "and the jackals, and the spirits, and the Set beings, both the

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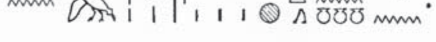
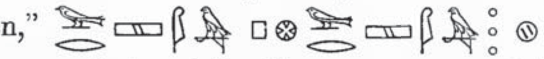
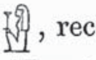
[1] .

[2] Ed. Grébaut, section vi.

"Upper and the Lower." It is possible that the SET beings may have been of like nature to the god Set, who was the brother and associate of Horus in the earliest times, but who in later times lost his position as a god and became the type and symbol of all evil.

In addition to these the text of Pepi II. (line 849) mentions the "Watchers of the city of Pe," and the "Watchers of the city of Nekhen," , from which we may assume that certain cities were supposed to enjoy the protection of a number of gods whose duty it was to look after their interests in heaven. We know from several passages in the *Book of the Dead* that groups of gods were called the "souls" of such and such cities, and it is clear from the inscriptions that each city and town possessed a soul which had, like the soul of a man after death, the power to wander about at will. Thus on a wall in the temple which Cleopatra VII. built at Erment (now destroyed), was a scene in which the great queen was depicted in the act of giving birth to her son Caesarion. The goddess Neith holds up the queen's arms, and the midwife Netchemtchemt, , receives the boy in the presence of several gods and goddesses. Now in the upper part of the relief were two groups of souls of cities, seven on the right hand and seven on the left, who were supposed to have been present at the birth of the child, and to have taken him under their protection. Among the cities represented are Thebes, Ȧnt, , Het, , Qeset, Unt, Ȧhet, Ḥetep, Uauaā, , etc.[1] Each soul is in the form of a human-headed hawk, and each has on its head horns and a disk, , in the front of which is a uraeus.

Want of space does not allow of the mention of many obscure beings who are called gods, and who are practically innumerable, and we therefore pass on to refer to the spirits and souls, etc., of the righteous men and women who once lived upon this earth. To these, as well as to the divine beings, was given the name "living ones," , as may be seen from the passage in Unȧs (line 206), which reads, "Hail, Unȧs, behold thou hast not departed dead

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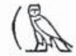
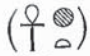
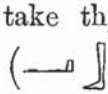
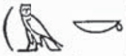
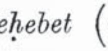
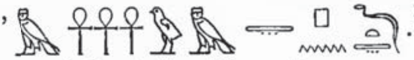
[1] See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. pl. 60.

"(), but as one living () thou hast gone to "take thy seat upon the throne of Osiris. Thy sceptre *āb* "() is in thy hand, and thou givest commands unto the "living ones; thy sceptre *mekes* (), and thy sceptre "*Neḥebet* () are in thy hands, and thou givest thine "orders to those whose habitations are hidden." When king Tetȧ is in heaven the seat of his heart is declared to "be among the "living ones on this earth for ever," .[1] We have in this latter passage a proof that the Egyptians conceived it possible for a man to attain to all the attributes of a divine being, or, let us say, of an angel, and at the same time to enjoy an existence upon earth as well as in heaven. This idea probably arose because they wished to provide a future for the dead body just as they provided a habitation in heaven for the spirits and souls of the righteous. Heaven and earth were complements each of the other, the gods of heaven were the complements of the gods of earth, and *vice versâ,* and the existence of the spiritual and mental attributes of man with the gods in heaven was a complement of his continued life after death in some region on this earth. The Pyramid Texts show that the opinion of the Egyptians about the number and functions of the constituent parts of his economy, both physical and spiritual, changed as time went on and as they ascended the various grades which led up to the high platform of their civilization, and the result of the change, or rather changes, made itself manifest in their religious compositions. In the early predynastic period they thought that the life after death was a mere continuation of the life in this world, and when they had placed some food in or on the graves of their dead they were satisfied.

But they knew that the body of a man in the new life could

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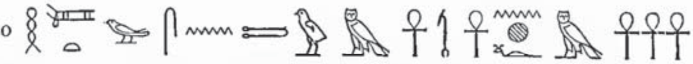
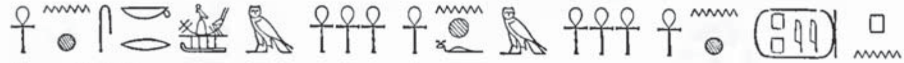
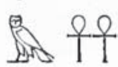
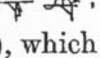
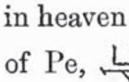
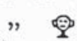
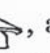
[1] Compare also   , Pepi I., ll. 545, 546.

not be like that which he possessed on earth, although its form might be similar, and they therefore assumed the existence of another body. In his dreams the Egyptian saw a figure of himself or a duplicate, engaged in various occupations, and to this figure he gave the name *ka*, ; it was born with a man, it remained within him, usually inoperative, and survived him at death. It never left the body in the grave or tomb, and the offerings which were made in the halls of the tombs in all periods were intended to maintain its existence. Nevertheless the *ka* of Horus, , is in heaven (Tetá, line 88), and also the *ka* of Tetá (line 94), which is adjured to bring that which the king might eat with it; and as the *kau* of men and gods lived in heaven so there lived there also the *kau* of cities, e.g., of the city of Pe,  (Tetá, line 88), and the "lords of *kau* praised Rā both in the dominions of Horus "and in the dominions of Set."[1] King Unȧs is declared to be the "chief of the doubles," , and he is said to "gather together "hearts for the great wise chief" (Unȧs, line 395). Men and gods alike possessed shadows, and they also had an existence in heaven after the death of the bodies to which they belonged. When Unȧs had eaten the bodies of the gods, and had absorbed all their souls and spirits, it is said that the "flame of Unȧs is in their bones, for "their soul is with Unȧs, and their shadows are with their forms" (Unȧs, line 523, Tetá, line 330). The souls and the spirits of men had their abode in heaven with the gods, and the religious texts of all periods are so full of allusions to this fact that it is unnecessary to quote examples; the soul, *ba*, , is usually depicted in the form of a hawk with a human head, and the spirit, *khu*, , as a heron. Related intimately to the body, but with undefined functions, so far as we can discover, was the *sekhem*, , a word which has been translated "power," and "form," and even "vital force;" and finally the glorified body, to which had been

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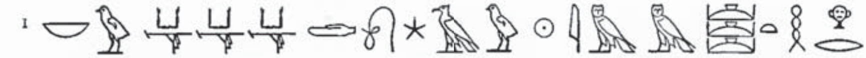
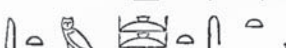
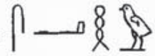
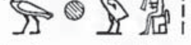
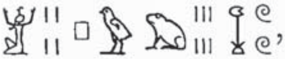
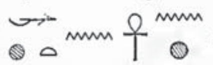
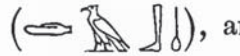
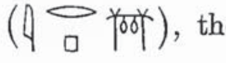
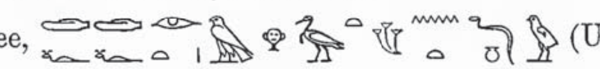
[1] 
, Tetá, l. 192.

united the soul, and spirit, and power, and name of the deceased, had its abode in heaven. This new body of the deceased in heaven was called *sāḥu*, , and may for all practical purposes be termed the spiritual body; it grew out of the dead body and was called into existence by the ceremonies which were performed, and the words which were recited by the priests on the day when the mummified body was laid in the tomb.

Thus we see that the denizens of heaven consisted of the Great, and the Little, and the other companies of the gods; and of a large number of beings, who may for convenience be called the "inferior gods," and of several orders of beings who possessed some characteristic which caused the Egyptians to assume that they were divine; and of the shadows, doubles, souls, spirits, powers, hearts, and spiritual bodies of those who had lived upon this earth. In Chapter lxiv. of the *Book of the Dead* (line 21) is a curious statement to the effect that the "spirits are four million, "six hundred and one thousand, two hundred,"  , in number, but whether this is intended to be an enumeration of the spirits of heaven, or of the spirits which once inhabited human bodies, cannot be said. Of the occupations of the denizens of heaven little is known, but to some of them was assigned the task of directing the affairs of this world, others directed the operations of the celestial bodies, and others were attached to the trains of the great gods, and accompanied them in their triumphant courses through the heavens. All these sang praises to Rā as the king and chief of the gods, and they sang hymns to him describing his greatness and glory just as men sang songs of joy to the sun when he rose and set. The gods nourished themselves with celestial food which was supplied to them by the Eye of Horus, that is to say, they supported their existence on the rays of light which fell from the sun which lit up heaven, and they became beings whose bodies were wholly of light. According to one myth the gods themselves lived upon a "wood, or plant of life,"  (Pepi I., line 430), which seems to have grown near the great lake in Sekhet-ḥetep, round which they were wont to sit,[1] but this idea belongs to the group of views which held that the beatified dead lived in a beautiful, fertile region, where white wheat and red barley grew luxuriantly to a great height, and where canals were numerous and full of water, and where material enjoyments of every kind could be found. In other places we read of "bread of eternity," and "beer of eternity," i.e., bread and beer which was supposed never to grow stale or to become spoiled,[2] and we also have mention of a heavenly fig-tree (), and a heavenly vine (), the fruit of which is eaten by the beatified. The bread upon which the blessed fed themselves was that bread which the Eye of Horus shed upon the branches of the olive-tree,  (Unȧs, line 200). Finally, the blessed were arrayed in apparel similar to that which was worn by the gods, but they also had white linen garments on their bodies, and white sandals on their feet.

All these details show the simple character of the heaven which the primitive Egyptian imagined, and prove that it was at first intended to be nothing but the celestial complement of a terrestrial farm or estate. He wished for a vine, and a fig-tree, and an olive tree, for wheat wherewith to make bread, and for barley wherewith to brew beer; he also desired clean white garments and white sandals. His celestial homestead he expected to be intersected with numerous canals, which would do away with the necessity of laboriously drawing water from the celestial Nile by means of some mechanical contrivance similar to the modern *shadûf;* the tillage would, of course, be provided for in the next world by the gods, who would take care that the crops did not fail. This simple material heaven is very different from the

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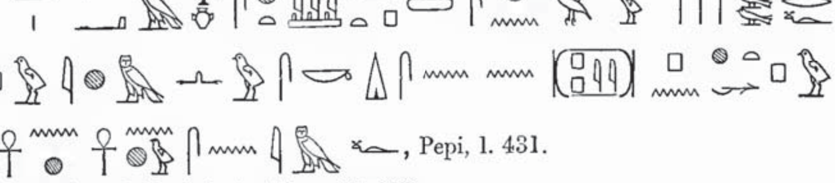
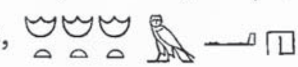
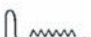
[1] , Pepi, l. 431.

[2] Tetȧ, l. 288, Pepi I., l. 442 and l. 390.

heaven of the Hebrew and Muḥammadan writers, with its sensual and sensuous joys of every kind, and its luxurious meats, and drinks, and delights. We know from one or two passages in the Pyramid Texts that there were women in heaven just as there were goddesses, but they are not spoken of as are the *Ḥur al-'uyûn* (houris), i.e., the women with large, black pupils of the eye set in large whites, who are mentioned in Arabic descriptions of Paradise, and they are not made to be one of the chief attractions of heaven. As far as can be seen, the heaven of the Egyptians had no musical instrument in it, and the only sounds heard in it must have been the songs of the ministering gods and of the beatified when they hymned the Great God. What the Egyptian gentleman who lives on his own land in places remote from towns is now, the Egyptian gentleman everywhere was then; he loved to wash and anoint himself, and having put on clean linen to sit in the sun in the morning, and to bear himself with dignity, and to be treated with respect by his neighbours and inferiors. He loved to have corn, and wine, and oil in abundance, and a sufficient number of slaves to minister to his wants and to maintain his dignity when he moved about from village to village. He honoured his mother, and usually married a very limited number of wives, among whom might be a sister, or half-sister, or cousin, and he took great interest in his male offspring; we note in the Pyramid Texts that the families of the deceased kings are never mentioned, and that nothing is said about their wives, although Unȧs (lines 628, 629) is said to carry off women from their husbands,  , wheresoever he pleaseth, whensoever he pleaseth. On the other hand, Isis is said to come to king Tetȧ, who unites with her, and the goddess having conceived like the star Sepṭ gives birth to Horus Sepṭ,[1] and in another passage Unȧs is said to have

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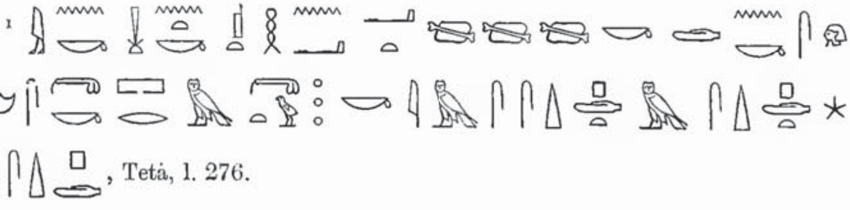
[1] , Tetȧ, l. 276.

become the husband of the goddess Māuit, and also of the young woman who brought bread to him.[1]

But these beings were, after all, only the celestial waters described under the forms of a goddess and a woman, and the sensual idea conveyed by a literal interpretation of the text therefore disappears. The life of the primitive Egyptians in heaven was as simple as their life upon earth, and their chief wish was to enjoy a state of comfortable and dignified peace, without war and without tumult or strife. We hear nothing of a heaven with a floor of white flour or musk, with pearls for stones, and trees with trunks of gold, and houses covered with gold and silver, and rivers of milk, and honey, and wine, and innumerable maidens with bodies made of pure musk, who live in pavilions made of hollow pearls and are free from all defects of their sex. The idea of the means to be employed for reaching the heaven of the Egyptians was as primitive as that of the heaven itself, for the Egyptians thought that they could climb on to the iron floor of heaven by going to the mountains, the tops of which it touched in some places. At a later period it was thought that a ladder was necessary, certainly for those who did not live near the mountains whose tops touched heaven's floor, and in many tombs models of ladders were placed so that the deceased might make use of them at the proper time. The god Osiris even was believed to have needed a ladder, and to have been helped to ascend it by Rā and Horus, or by Horus and Set. The idea of the need of a ladder was deeply seated in the Egyptian mind, for when the custom of placing models of ladders in the tombs ceased, they drew

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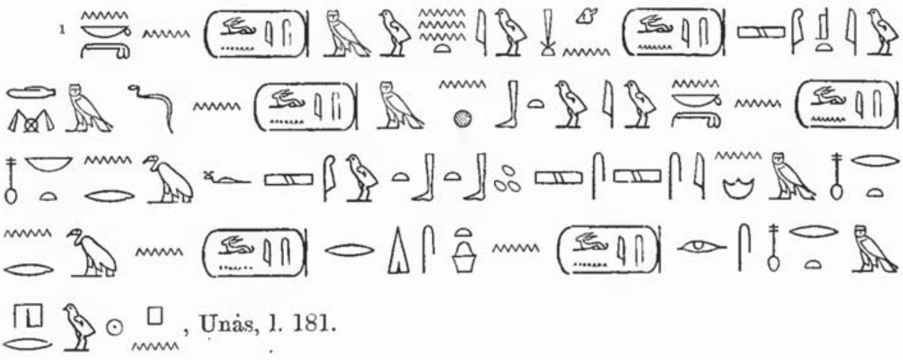
[1] 
, Unȧs, l. 181.

pictures of them in the papyri of the *Book of the Dead* which were placed in tombs.[1] The model of the ladder, , *maqet*, could be made as long as the deceased wished by reciting certain words of power over it, and by similar means the picture of the ladders given in the papyri could be turned into real ladders.

The above mentioned facts will show that in his conception of heaven the Egyptian never succeeded in freeing himself wholly from material ideas and the wish to make sure of eternal life and happiness by means of his own acts. In the latter part of the dynastic period the conception of heaven became more material, and at length, if we may judge by the texts, the belief in the resurrection of the actual physical body prevailed, and the life after death was regarded as nothing but a continuation of the life upon earth. Thus the title of Chapter cx. of the *Book of the Dead* declares that the text which follows will give a man the power of "doing everything even as a man doeth upon earth." As a result of this view the deceased prays thus:—"May I become a *khu* "(spirit) therein, i.e., in the Sekhet-ḥetep or Elysian Fields, may I "eat therein, may I drink therein, may I plough therein, may I "reap therein, may I fight therein, may I make love therein, may "my words be mighty therein, may I never be in a state of "servitude therein, but may I be in authority therein." He also wishes that he may have with him in Sekhet-ḥetep his father and mother, and presumably his wife and children, and also the god or gods of his city, but in these materialistic passages we find no mention of his desire to worship and praise the gods of heaven, or even the Great God who is said to "grow" therein. Thus in another place in the same chapter he says, "O Uakh, I have "entered into thee, I have eaten my bread, I have gotten the "mastery over choice pieces of the flesh of oxen and of feathered "fowl, and the birds of Shu have been given to me. I have "plunged into the lakes of Tchesert; behold me, for all filth hath "departed from me. The Great God groweth therein, and behold, "I have found [food therein]; I have snared feathered fowl and "I feed upon the best of them. . . . I have seen the Osiris [my

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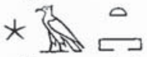
[1] See the *Papyrus of Ani*, 2nd edition, pl. 22.

"father], and I have gazed upon my mother, and I have made "love." In every division of the Elysian Fields the deceased, in the later period of dynastic history, found some fresh material pleasure, but, in spite of all its inconsistencies and his materialism, the heaven of the Egyptians was better and purer than that of many more modern nations which are credited with higher intelligence and better civilization.

CHAPTER V

THE UNDERWORLD

IN the chapters on God and the gods it has already been said that the Egyptians in the earliest times believed that the gods were moved by the same passions as men and grew old and died like men; later, however, they believed that it was only the bodies of the gods which died, and they therefore provided in their religious system a place for the souls of dead gods, just as they provided a place for the souls of dead men and women. The writers of the religious texts were not all agreed as to the exact position of this place, but from first to last, whatever might be the conceptions entertained about it, it was called ṬUAT, . This word is commonly rendered "underworld," but it must be distinctly understood that the Egyptian word does not imply that it was situated under our world, and that this rendering is only adopted because the exact signification of the name Ṭuat is unknown. The word is a very old one, and expresses a conception which was originated by the primitive Egyptians, and was probably unknown to their later descendants, who used the word without troubling to define its exact meaning. To render Ṭuat by "hell" is also incorrect, because "hell" conveys to modern peoples ideas which were foreign to the Egyptians of most schools of religious thought. Whatever may be the moral ideas of the Ṭuat as a place of punishment for the wicked in later times, it is clear that at the outset it was regarded as the place through which the dead Sun-god Rā passed after his setting or death each evening on his journey to that portion of the sky in which he rose anew each morning. In the XIXth Dynasty we know that the Ṭuat was believed to be situated not below our earth, but away beyond the earth, probably in the sky, and certainly near the heaven wherein the gods dwelt; it was the realm of Osiris who, according to many texts, judged the dead there, and reigned over the gods of the dead as well as over the dead themselves.

The Ṭuat was separated from this world by a chain or range of mountains, and consisted of a great valley, which was shut in closely on each side by mountains; the mountains on one side divided the valley from this earth, and those on the other divided it from heaven. We may note in passing that the Hebrews separated the blessed from the damned by a wall,[1] and that Lazarus was separated from Dives in hell by a "great gulf,"[2] and that the Muḥammadans divide heaven from hell by the mountain Al-A'râf, الاعراف,[3] which, however, cannot be of any great breadth because those who stand upon it are supposed to be able to hold converse both with the blessed and the damned. It is pretty certain that both Hebrews and Muḥammadans borrowed their ideas of the partition between heaven and hell from the Egyptian Ṭuat, but there is no authority in the texts for the Muḥammadan view that it is a sort of limbo or purgatory for those who are too good for earth but not good enough for heaven. Those who stand on Al-A'râf are said to be angels in the form of men, patriarchs, prophets, and saints, and those whose good deeds on earth were exactly counterbalanced by their evil deeds, and who therefore merit neither heaven nor hell. Through the valley of the Ṭuat runs a river, which is the counterpart of the Nile in Egypt and of the celestial Nile in heaven, and on each bank of this river lived a vast number of monstrous beasts, and devils, and fiends of every imaginable kind and size, and among them were large numbers of evil spirits which were hostile to any being that invaded the valley.

On the sarcophagus of Seti I. is a representation of the Creation, which is reproduced on p. 204, and from it we see that the Ṭuat is likened to the body of Osiris, which is bent round like a hoop in such a way that his toes touch the back of his head.

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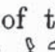
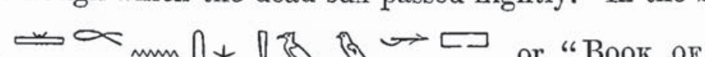
[1] See Eisenmenger, "Was die Juden von der Höllen lehren" (*Entdecktes Judenthum*, tom. ii., p. 322 ff.

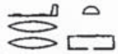
[2] St. Luke xvi. 26.

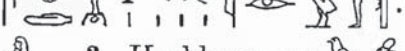
[3] See Ḳur'ân, Sura vii.

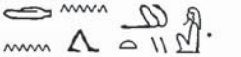
On the top of his head stands the goddess Nut, who supports with both hands the disk of the sun. From this we may conclude both that Osiris is the personification of the Ṭuat, and that the Ṭuat is a narrow circular valley which begins where the sun sets in the west, and ends where he rises in the east. The Ṭuat was a terrible place by reason of the monsters and devils with which it was filled, and its horrors were increased by the entire absence of light from it, and the beings therein groped about in the darkness of deep night. That the Ṭuat should be a place of blackness and gloom is quite natural when once we have realized that it was the path of the dead sun between the sunset of one day and the sunrise of the following day. The ideas about this region, which we find reproduced in papyri of the New Empire, belong to different periods, and we can see that the Theban writers who described it and drew pictures of the beings which lived in it, collected a mass of legends and myths from every great religious centre of Egypt, wishing to make them all form part of their doctrine concerning the great god of Thebes, Àmen-Rā. As the priests of Heliopolis succeeded in promulgating their theological system throughout the length and breadth of Egypt by identifying the older gods with their gods, and by proving that their views included those of all the priesthoods of the great cities of Egypt, so the priests of Thebes endeavoured to convince the priests of other great cities of the superiority and greatness of their God Àmen-Rā, and probably succeeded in so doing. The Theban writers and scribes knew perfectly well that originally every nome or great city possessed its own underworld just as it possessed its own company of gods, and that each underworld was designated by a special name; they, therefore, made the Ṭuat to include all these underworlds and all the various gods with whom they were peopled, and they gave it the most important of the names of the local underworlds. The best known of these was Àmentet, , i.e., the "hidden place," which appears to have been originally the place where Àn-ḥer, the local god of Abydos, ruled as god of the dead, under the title of "Khenti Àmentet," that is to say, "he who is the chief of the unseen land." When the importance of Àn-ḥer was eclipsed by the new-comer Osiris, the title of the former was assigned to Osiris, who, henceforth, was always called "Khenti Ȧmentet." But this usurpation of Ȧn-ḥer's title as god of the dead by Osiris must have taken place in very early times, for Ȧmentet was a common name for the underworld throughout Egypt, and is found in texts of all periods, even in those of the Vth and VIth Dynasties.

Yet long before even this remote period the priesthoods of certain nomes or cities must have developed the idea that the life of a man resembled the course of the sun during the day, and that setting was to the sun what death was to a man; the sun, however, reappeared each morning in apparently a new body, and as man wished to live again in a renewed, or new, body, the Egyptian theologians set to work to form a system of theology in which the souls of the blessed dead, i.e., those who had been buried with all the ceremonies prescribed by the religion of the period, were made to accompany the sun in his boat as he passed through the portion of the Ṭuat which had been assigned to them. As the sun passed through the Ṭuat large numbers of souls made their way into his boat, and although it was only the dead sun that was their guide and protector, and his passage was through the realms of the dead which were under the sovereignty of Osiris, the god of the dead, they were brought forth at length to renewed life and light as soon as the boat passed out from the eastern end of the Ṭuat into the day. This view was a very popular and widespread one, especially as it made Rā and Osiris work together, each after his own method, to secure eternal life and happiness for the souls of the dead. As soon as the priests had made up their minds that the Ṭuat existed, they began to people it with imaginary beings which were supposed to be hostile to the souls of the dead, and to invent descriptions of the various regions into which they declared it was divided; such descriptions were at length committed to writing, at first in a very simple form, and after the manner of every group of texts which were composed for the benefit of the dead, but finally they became more elaborate, and attempts were made to represent pictorially the creatures which were found in the Ṭuat. In fact, it was intended to compile a book which should contain such accurate descriptions of the Ṭuat, and such true pictures of the foes which the dead soul would have to meet there, together with lists of their names, that when a soul was once provided with a copy of it he would find it impossible to lose his way, or to be overcome by any monster which attempted to bar his way or to prevent his access to the boat of Rā.

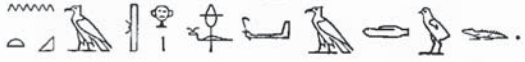
The great work which the Egyptians called "Coming Forth by Day," , supplied the soul with a great many words of power, and prayers, and incantations, as well as hymns, but even in the Early Empire, about B.C. 3500, many of its doctrines were antiquated, and the priests found it necessary to add new chapters and to modify old ones in order to make it a funeral work suitable for the requirements of newer generations of men. Owing to the extreme antiquity of the "Book of Coming Forth by Day," the views expressed in many of its chapters were contrary to those held by Theban priests of the New Empire, about B.C. 1650, and as a result, whilst preserving, and holding in great reverence this work which they had borrowed from the ancient priesthood of Heliopolis, they compiled two works, which may be called "The Book of that which is in the Ṭuat," and the "Book of the Pylons." In the first of these, the Shāt àm Ṭuat," , were gathered together all the views held by the Heliopolitan priesthood on the life of man's soul after death, and though it contained all the doctrines as to the supremacy of Rā, their great Sun-god, these were so skilfully manipulated by the Theban priests, that the compilation actually became a work which magnified the grade and influence of Àmen-Rā, the great god of Thebes, and raised him to the position which the Thebans claimed for him, namely, "king of the gods, and lord of the thrones of the two lands." The thrones here referred to are not those of kings, but the shrines of all the gods on all the land on each side of the river Nile. In the Heliopolitan system of theology the god Osiris held a comparatively subordinate position in the *paut*, or company of the gods, and was in fact only the greatest of the gods of the dead who were worshipped in the Delta; in the "Book of that which is in the Underworld" he also holds a position subordinate to Rā, and his underworld is made to be a portion of the Ṭuat through which the dead sun passed nightly. In the Shāt en Sbau, , or "Book of the Pylons," the greatest god of all is the god Osiris, and the whole work is devoted to a description of the various sections of the region over which he presides, and is intended to form a guide to it whereby the souls of the dead may be enabled to make their way through it successfully and in comfort. The Shāt ȧm Ṭuat and the Shāt en sbau were, in fact, the outcome of two distinct schools of theology; the latter, in its most primitive form, was the older of the two, and described the life of man after death more as a continuation of his existence on this earth than as an entirely new life, while the former made the future life to be passed entirely with the Sun-god. The latter maintained the views about the Elysian Fields and their material delights, which found utterance in the "Book of Coming Forth by Day," and was to all intents and purposes an amplification of, and a companion volume to it, but it also contained doctrines which were inserted in it with the view of making it harmonize with the theories in the former which related to the absolute supremacy of Rā. The Theban priests had no wish, when once they had established the mastery of Ȧmen-Rā, but to bring all the doctrines of the various schools of religious thought into harmony with their own, for such a course could do nothing but contribute to the material prosperity of the great brotherhood of Ȧmen-Rā. They were tolerably sure of the offerings of the faithful of Thebes, but they were anxious to obtain a share of those of the devotees of Osiris who flocked to Abydos, which was, rightly or wrongly, celebrated as the burial-place of the god. The history of Egypt shows that the fight between the kings of the South and the kings of the North for the supremacy of the whole country was always going on, but as the fortunes of war had given victory to the kings of the South, who were the lords of all Egypt under the New Empire, the priests of the god of these kings determined that Ȧmen-Rā should be the king of the gods. Religious ambition was helped by the success of the great warrior kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and thus Ȧmen-Rā became the overlord of Osiris.

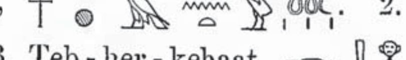
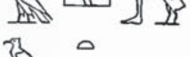
Both the "Book of that which is in the Underworld" and the "Book of the Pylons" divide the Ṭuat into twelve parts, each of which corresponds to one of the hours of the night, and the divisions are called "Field," , *sekhet*, or "City," , *nut*, or "Hall,"  *ārret*, or "Circle," *qerert*. In Chapter cxliv. of the *Book of the Dead*, according to the Papyrus of Nu (Brit. Mus., No. 10,477), the *Ārrets* are seven in number, and each is guarded by a doorkeeper, a watcher, and a herald with the following names:—

ĀRRET I. 1. Sekheṭ-ḥrȧ-āsht-ȧru, . 2. Semetu, . 3. Hu-kheru, .

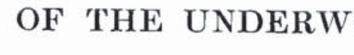
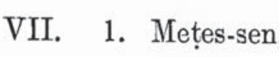
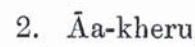
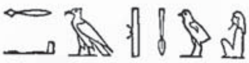
ĀRRET II. 1. Ṭun-peḥti, . 2. Seqeṭ-ḥrȧ, . 3. Sabes, .

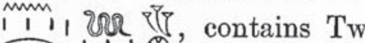
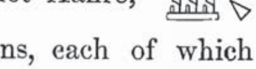
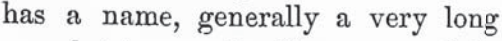
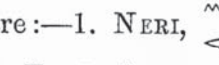
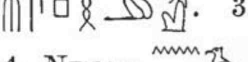
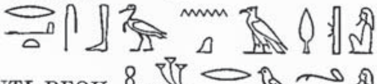
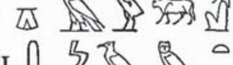
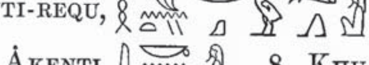
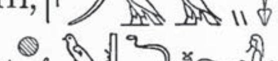
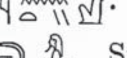
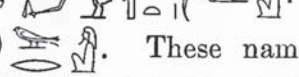
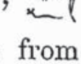
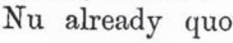
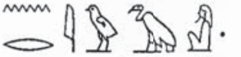
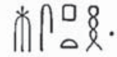
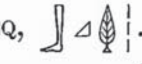
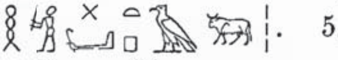
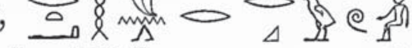
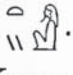
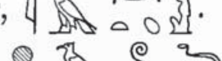
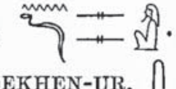
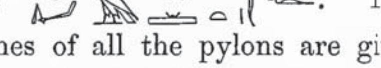
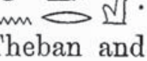
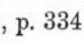
ĀRRET III. 1. Am-ḥuat-ent-peḥ-fi, . 2. Res-ḥrȧ, . 3. Uāau, .

ĀRRET IV. 1. Khesef-ḥrȧ-āsh-kheru, . 2. Res-ȧb, . 3. Neteqa-ḥrȧ-khesef-aṭu, .

ĀRRET V. 1. Ānkh-em-fentu, . 2. Ashebu, . 3. Ṭeb-ḥer-kehaat, .

ĀRRET VI. 1. Ȧken-tau-k-ha-kheru, . 2. Ȧn-ḥer, . 3. Meṭes-ḥrȧ-ȧri-she, .

ARRET VII. 1. Meṭes-sen, . 2. Āa-kheru, . 3. Khesef-ḥrȧ-khemiu,  .

In Chapter cxlv. of the *Book of the Dead* according to the Theban and Saïte Recensions the domain of Osiris, i.e., Sekhet-Ȧarru, , or Sekhet-Ȧanre,  , contains Twenty-one pylons, each of which has a name, generally a very long one, and each of which is guarded by a god. The names of the gods who guard the first ten of these pylons are:—1. NERI, . 2. MES-PEḤ, . 3. ERṬĀT-SEBANQA, . 4. NEḲAU, . 5. ḤENTI-REQU, . 6. SEMAMTI, . 7. ȦKENTI, . 8. KHU-TCHET-F, . 9. TCHESEF, . SEKHEN-UR, . These names are taken from the Papyrus of Nu already quoted (sheet 25), but the following come from the Turin Papyrus, which was edited by Lepsius so far back as 1842, and they illustrate the changes which have taken place in the names. 1. NERȦU, . 2. MES-PTAḤ, . 3. BEQ, . 4. ḤU-TEPA, . 5. ERṬĀ-ḤEN-ER-REQAU, . 6. SAMTI, . 7. ȦM-NIT, . 8. NETCHSES, . 9. KHAU-TCHET-F, . 10. SEKHEN-UR, . The names of all the pylons are given in both the Theban and Saïte Recensions,[1] but the names of the gods who guard pylons XI.—XXI. are given in neither. The domain of Osiris, or Sekhet-Ȧarru, was, according to Chapters cxlix. and cl., divided into fifteen Ȧats, which are thus enumerated:—ȦAT () I. Sekhet Ȧarru;

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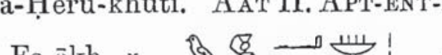
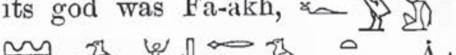
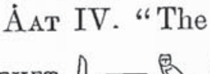
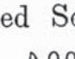
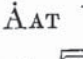
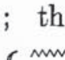
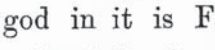
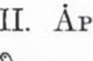
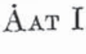
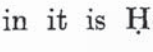
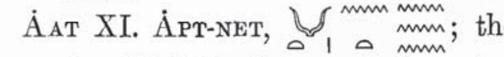
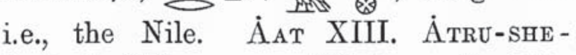
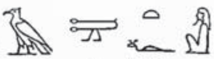
[1] See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* (Text), p. 334 ff.

its god was Rā-Ḥeru-khuti. ÅAT II. ÅPT-ENT-KHET, ; its god was Fa-ākh, . ÅAT III. ṬU-QA-ĀAT, . ÅAT IV. "The Åat of the spirits," . ÅAT V. ÅMMEḤET, ; the god in it is called Sekher-remu, . ÅAT VI. ÅSSET, . ÅAT VII. HA-SERT, ; the god in it is Fa-pet, . ÅAT VIII. ÅPT-ENT-QAḤU,  . ÅAT IX. ÅṬU, ; the god in it is Sepṭ, . ÅAT X. UNT, ; the god in it is Ḥetemet-baiu, . ÅAT XI. ÅPT-NET, ; the god in it is Āa-sekhemu, . ÅAT XII. KHER-ĀḤA, ; the god in it is Ḥāp, , i.e., the Nile. ÅAT XIII. ÅTRU-SHE-EN-NESERT-F-EM-SHET, . ÅAT XIV. ÅKESI, ; the god in it is Maa-thet-f, . ÅAT XV. ÅMENTET-NEFERT, "Beautiful Åmentet, ," wherein the gods live upon cakes and ale.

In connexion with these various divisions of the realm of Osiris here will follow naturally a brief description of the BOOK OF PYLONS. An excellent copy of its text, with illustrations, is to be found on the famous alabaster sarcophagus[1] of Seti I., now preserved in Sir John Soane's Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and variants of several of the passages are given on the walls of the tombs of several kings of the XXth Dynasty, who were buried in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. Curiously enough, the work, as M. Jéquier has remarked,[2] seems never to have become popular, and copies of it are only found in royal tombs; it is generally admitted that it represents an attempt on the part of the Theban priests to adjust the cult of Rā to that of Osiris, and if this be so there is little to wonder at if it failed. According to the BOOK OF PYLONS the Ṭuat is a long, narrow valley, with sandy slopes, and is divided into two equal strips by the river on which the boat of the sun sails; it is made to contain twelve nomes or divisions, which correspond to the twelve hours of the night.

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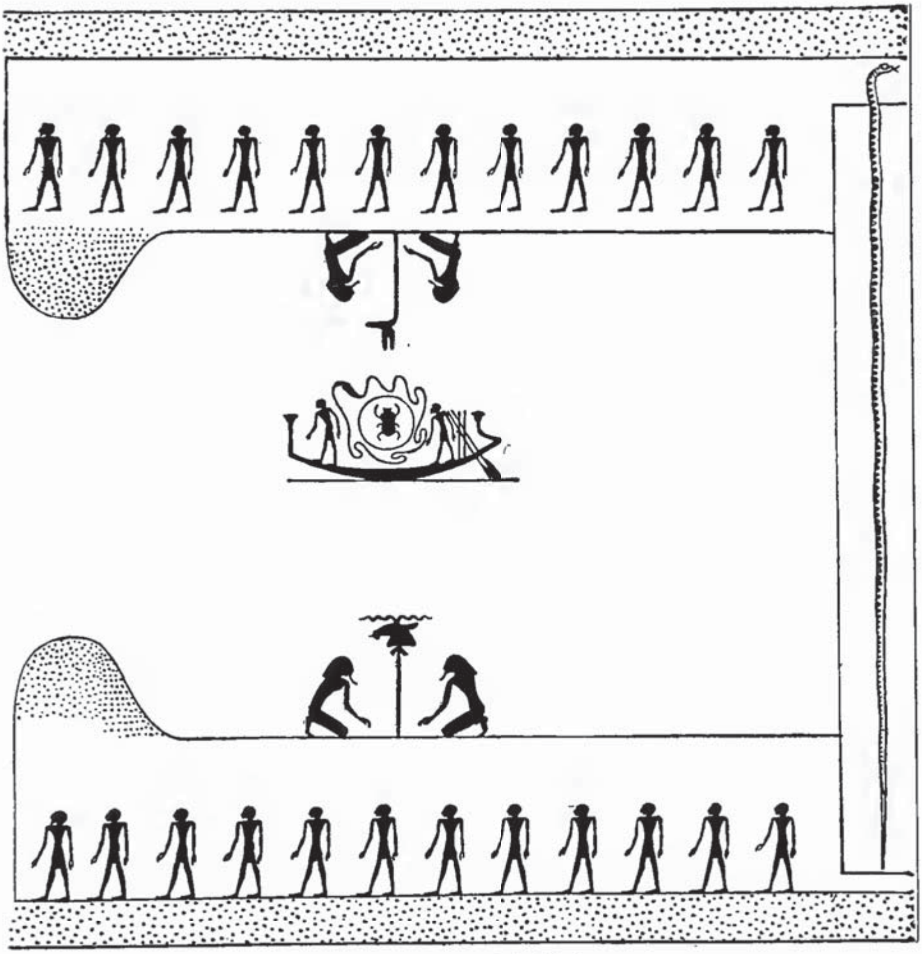
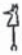
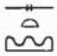
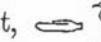
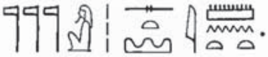
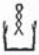
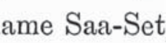
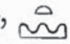
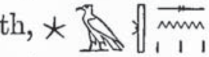
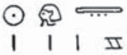
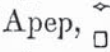
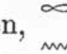
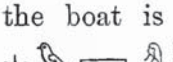
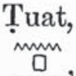
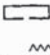
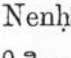
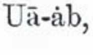
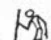
[1] See Bonomi and Sharpe, *The alabaster Sarcophagus of Oimenephtah I., King of Egypt*, London, 1864.

[2] *Le Livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'Hades*, Paris, 1894, p. 13.



The First Hour of the Night.

In the FIRST DIVISION, i.e., the FIRST HOUR, we have the Mountain of the West, ⌓, divided into two portions, and along its lowest part is a path which forms the entrance from this world to the Ṭuat. On the right-hand side is a jackal-headed standard,

, and on the left a ram-headed standard, ; each of these is adored by the god of the mountain, Set, , and the god of the Ṭuat, . On the right are the twelve gods of the mountain, and on the left the twelve gods of Set-Ȧmentet, . In the centre is the boat of the sun, and we see in it a disk containing a beetle; the disk is encircled by a huge serpent in folds, which holds its tail in its mouth. In the bows of the boat stands the god Sa, , and in the stern, Ḥeka, , the god of magical words. The boat, having moved on, approaches a pylon with closed doors, guarded by a huge serpent which stands on his tail and bears the name Saa-Set, . This pylon forms the entrance to the SECOND DIVISION, or SECOND HOUR, and when the god has passed through it "those who dwell in "their Set, , cry out."[1] On the right are twenty-four human forms, which represent those who praised Rā upon earth,  , and who directed their words of power against the arch-fiend Apep, . In the centre is the boat of the sun, in which the god stands in a shrine; he is ram-headed, and holds in his hand a sceptre. The shrine is protected by the serpent Meḥen, , and a serpent stands upright on its tail before him; the boat is being towed along by four beings of the Ṭuat, , and is met by the seven gods called Nepmeḥ, , Nenḥā, , Ba (?), Horus, Uā-ȧb, , Khnemu, and Setchet, , and by six gods of the āqet, , and a god with a staff. On the left hand of the divine boat are :—(1) The god Tem, leaning on a staff, , (2) four dead men lying on their backs, and twenty men standing with their arms tied together behind their backs. These last are, according to M. Lefébure's rendering[2] of the text, "the criminals in Rā's great hall (the world), those "who have insulted Rā on the earth, those who have cursed that

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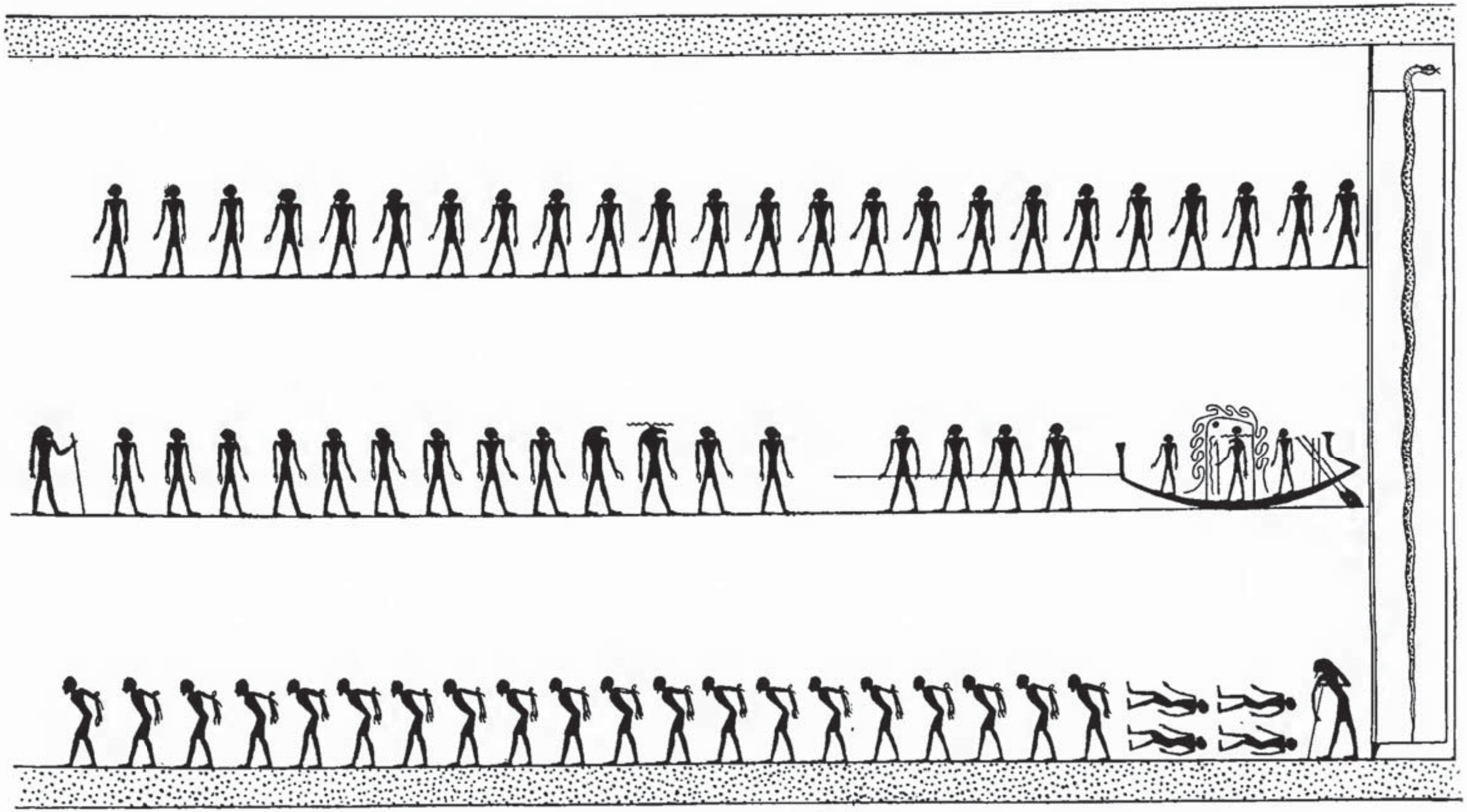
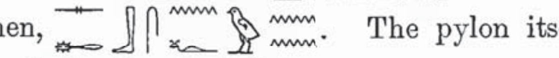
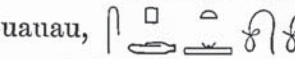
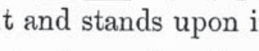
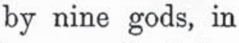
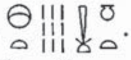
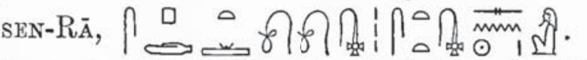
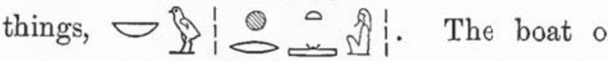
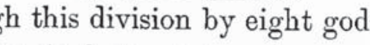
[1] Bonomi and Sharpe, op. cit., pll. 5 and 4.

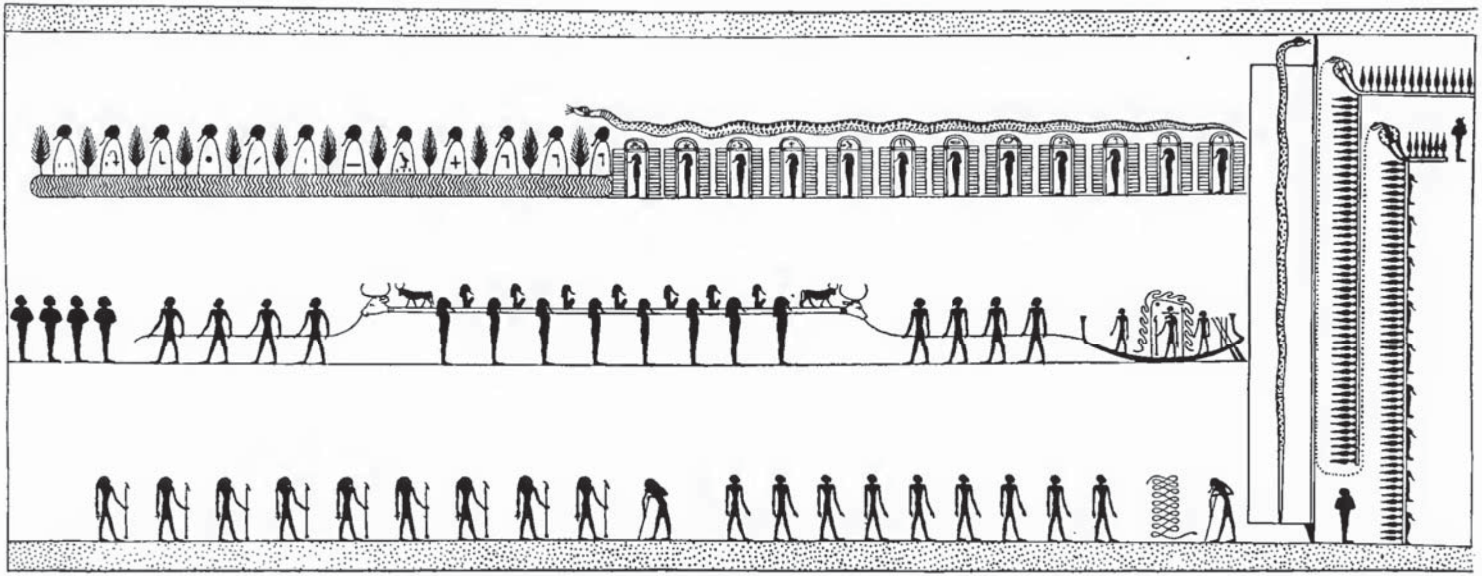
[2] See *Records of the Past*, vol. x., p. 85 ff.



The Second Hour of the Night.

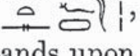
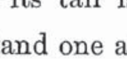
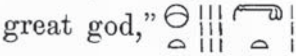
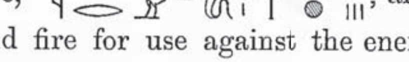
"which is in the Egg, those who have frustrated justice, those who "have uttered blasphemies against Khuti." The pylon which the god now approaches is quite different from the first, but it resembles all the others which have to be passed through. The opening is protected like a fortress by some advanced work, and through the wall is an entrance to a corridor which runs between two walls crowned with a series of spear heads. This corridor bends at right angles, and in each angle is a uraeus, from the mouth of which drop balls of fire that fill the whole length of it; at each end of the corridor is a god in the form of a mummy, one is called Ām-āua-qāḥ-f, , and the other, Sekhabsenfunen, . The pylon itself is called Sepṭet-uauau, , and the name of the snake which guards it and stands upon its tail is Aqebi, . The entrance to the pylon is also protected by nine gods, in mummied form, who represent the "Second Company" of the gods, .

The door of the pylon is opened towards the THIRD DIVISION OF THE ṬUAT, or the THIRD HOUR. The gate is called SEPṬET UAUAU SETET-SEN-RĀ, . On the right hand of the boat of the god are twelve holy gods of the Ṭuat, each in his shrine, with the doors open, and twelve gods of the lakes of fire; a huge snake lies along the tops of all the shrines, and before each god of the basins of fire is an ear of corn. On the left hand are:—1. The god Tem; 2. the serpent Āpep; 3. the nine gods who are called the "chiefs who drive back Āpepi," ; and 4. Tem and the nine gods of things, . The boat of the sun is towed through this division by eight gods of the Ṭuat, and the middle of the rope is fastened to a long pole or beam, each end of which terminates in the head of a bull. This pole is supported by eight gods in mummied form, and upon it are seated seven gods; in front and behind these stands a bull, and at the end of the division stand four shrouded mummy forms. The gods who are



The Third Hour of the Night.

on the left hand of the boat of the sun, and are under the direction of Tem, form two companies, whose special duty it was to carry out the commands of this god in respect of the slaughter of the arch-fiend Åpepi. This monster was first of all to be enchanted by the incantations which were recited over him, and then his head was to be cut off, and his body to be hacked in pieces at the joints. As the god passes out of the Third Division and the door closes, all the beings who are fated to remain in it lift up their voices and weep.

The pylon of the FOURTH DIVISION or FOURTH HOUR is called Nebt-s-tchefau, , and the name of the serpent which guards it and stands upon its tail is Tcheṭbi, ; the gods in mummied forms who stand one at the beginning and one at the end of the corridor are called Nenuerbesta, , and Seṭa-ta, , respectively. The nine gods who guard the wall are the "the third company of the great god,"  . On the right side of the boat of the god are twelve gods, who are described as the "bringers of their doubles," , and twelve jackal-headed figures, who are walking on the Lake of Life,[1] and ten uraei, who rise out of the Lake of uraei;[2] to all these the Sun-god addresses words of comfort, and they respond suitably. The uraei, who are called "those who live," , are ordered to preserve their flames and fire for use against the enemies of Rā, and they answer the god, saying, "Come to us, unite thyself to Tanen," . On the left side of the boat of the god is Horus the Aged, who follows eleven human forms as they march behind the uraeus called Flame, , to a shrine in which the god Osiris, wearing the crown of the South, stands upon a serpent. Behind Osiris are the twelve gods, "who are behind the shrine," and four gods, who preside over pits in the earth, and the "prince of destruction," who holds a sceptre in his left

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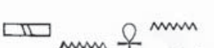
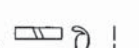
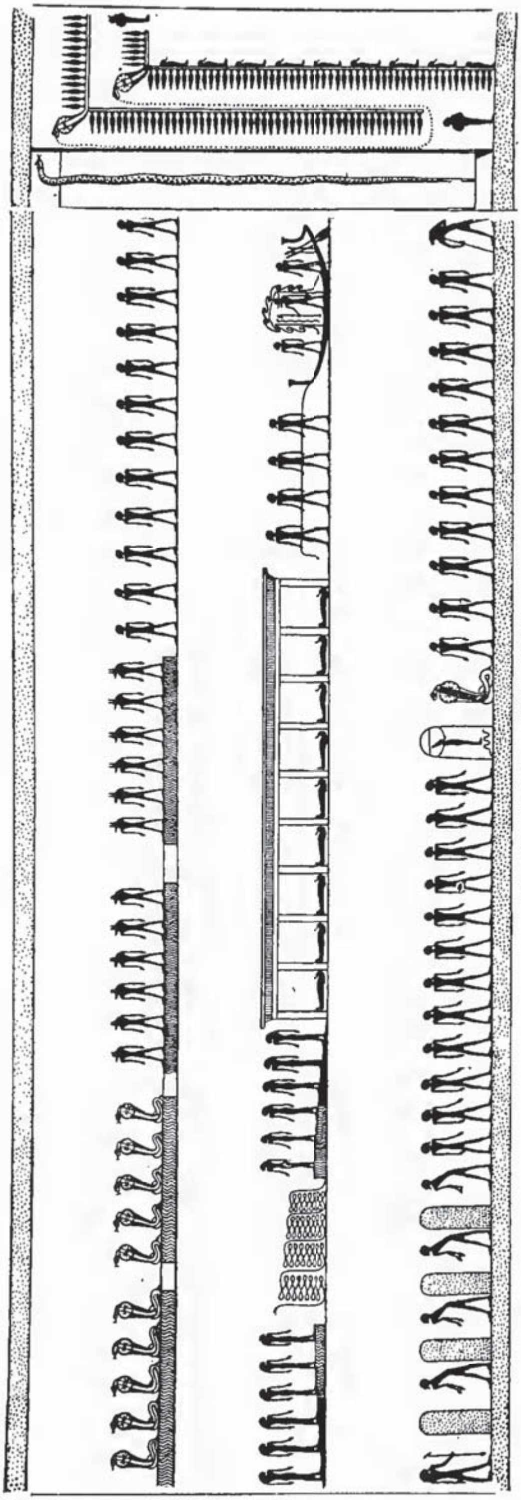
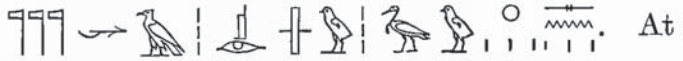
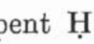
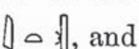
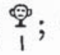
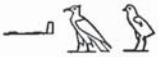
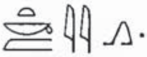
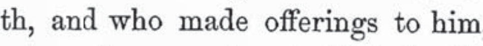
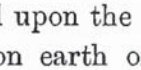
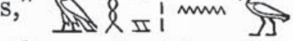
[1] .

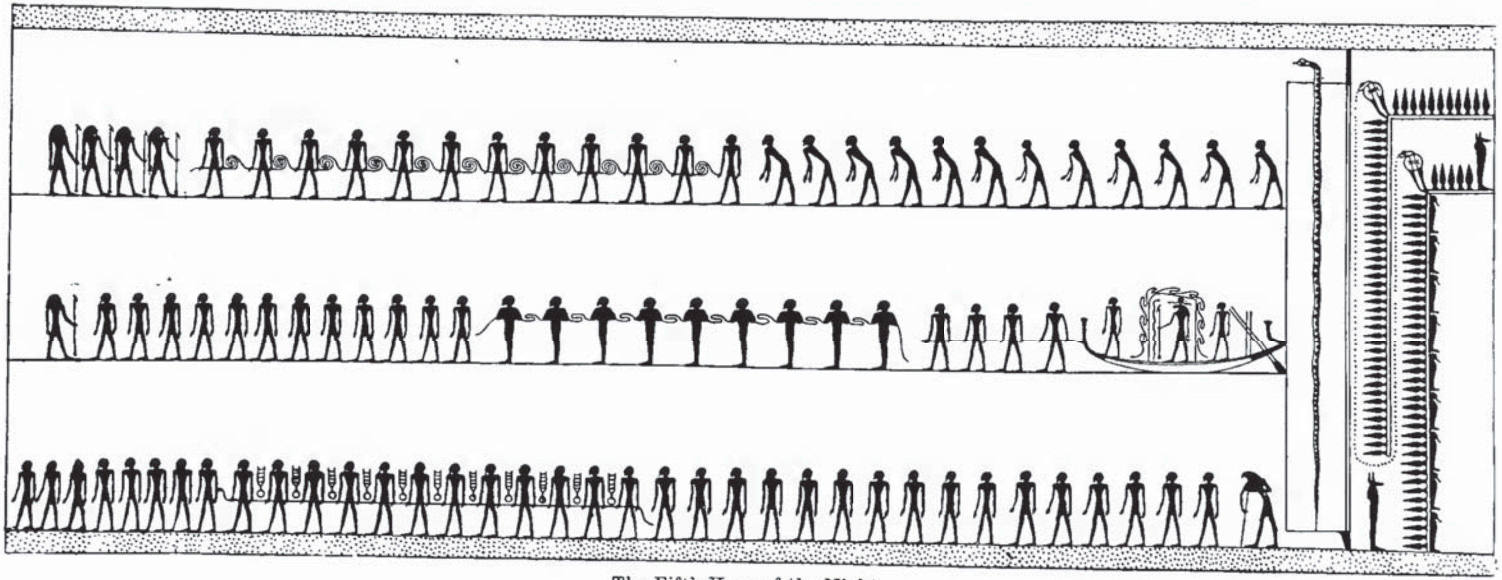
[2] .



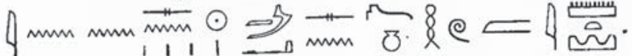
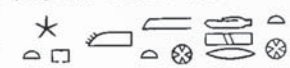
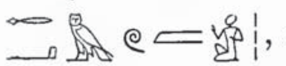
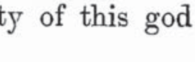
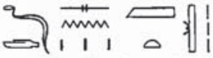
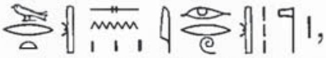
The Fourth Hour of the Night.

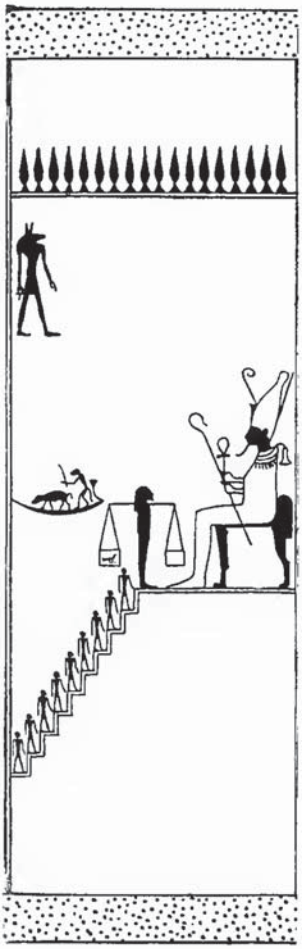
hand and in his right. In the middle is the boat of the sun being towed along the river of the Ṭuat by four gods as usual, and it is made to approach a long low sepulchral building in which are nine chapels, each containing a mummied god lying flat on his back; these are called "the gods who are in the train of Osiris in their caves," . At the end of this building are two groups, each containing six women, who are the personifications of the twelve hours in the Ṭuat; between them is the serpent Ḥerert, , with multitudinous coils and windings, and he is said to give birth to twelve young ones to devour the hours. In this division, as in the others, Rā addresses the beings who are in it, and makes arrangements for their supply of food, and reminds them of their duties to him their creator.

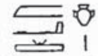
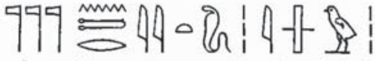
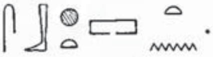
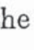
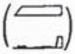
The pylon of the FIFTH DIVISION or FIFTH HOUR is called Ȧrit, , and the serpent who guards it bears the name of Teka-ḥrȧ, ; the jackal-headed mummy at one end of the corridor is Āau, , and he at the other is Tekemi, . Along the front of the wall are nine gods in mummied forms who represent the fourth company of the gods. On the right hand of the boat of the god are:—1. The twelve worshippers in the Ṭuat; 2. Twelve bearers of cord, ; and 3. Four gods with sceptres. These beings are said to be those who knew Rā upon earth, and who made offerings to him, and in return for this Rā awarded them meat and drink in the most holy place in Ȧmentet, and said to them, "I am satisfied "with what you did for me, whether I was shining in the Eastern "heaven, or whether I was in the temple, , of my eye." Therefore they feed upon the food which Rā eats, and offerings are made to them upon earth on account of the praise which they ascribe to Rā in Ȧmenti. The beings who carry the cords are supposed to measure the "fields of the spirits," , and their cords are supposed to represent the cord of law, i.e.,



The Fifth Hour of the Night.

the measuring cord by which law and justice are represented, and "Rā says to them, Their law is the cord in Ȧmentet," . On the left side of the boat of the sun are:—1. Horus the Elder leaning upon a stick; 2. Sixteen men, four of whom are , i.e., Egyptians, four are Āamu, , four are Negroes, , and four are Libyans, ; 3. Twelve men, called "those who bear ladders (?) in Ȧment, , and who are holding a long serpent; and 4. Eight divine sovereign chiefs in Ȧment. To these four classes of men, whom Horus describes as being in the Ṭuat of Egypt and the Red Land, , it is said by the god, "Ye are the "tears from my Eye," , "in your name of 'men,'" . He then tells the Āamu, , and the Negroes and the Libyans that he has created them, and that it is the goddess Sekhet, , who redeems their souls, . Finally, the god addresses those who hold the ladder (?), and bids them take measurements of the souls that are appointed for destruction, and destroy the souls that have to be destroyed; in the hands of these beings was the power of determining the length of the period which had to be passed by souls in Ȧmentet, and it is undoubtedly passages like these which have given rise to the idea that the Egyptians believed in purgatory. In the centre of this Division the boat of the sun is being drawn along by four gods belonging to it as before. Before these are nine gods with projecting elbows and covered shoulders called "holders of Ennutchi," ; they are joined together by a rope; these gods follow twelve men who are described as the "souls of the men who are in the Ṭuat," and both groups of beings proceed towards a god who holds a sceptre, and is called Ḥer-qenbet-f, . The duty of this god was to call the souls of the righteous and put them in their dwellings, by the corner of those who lived near him. Rā addresses the gods who tow his boat along, and bids them to pull with vigour, and to be strong of arm and firm of limb, and swift of foot, and bold of soul to make a prosperous way for him to the hidden circles, . Next he addresses the figures with draped shoulders who bear the serpent Ennutchi, and bids them to draw him along; and then praises those who have spoken truth, , upon earth, and have magnified the forms of God, , and decrees for them cakes for their souls, wind for their nostrils, green herbs from Sekhet-Åaru, and a place among the gods of right and truth, , in the corner of the abode of Rā where the companions of the god pass sentences of doom. The doctrine here preached is essentially that of Osiris, and there is no wonder that the Book of Pylons was not popular with the priests of Åmen.



The name of the pylon of the SIXTH DIVISION[1] or the SIXTH HOUR is Nebt-āḥa, , the guardian at the entrance to the corridor is Maā-åb, , "Right of heart," and he who is at the end is Sheta-åb, , "Secret Heart." The wall is guarded by twelve gods in mummied forms, who are called "the gods and "goddesses who are in this Pylon,"  . Behind the wall is a chamber, the wall of which has upon it a row of spear heads, and inside we see the god Osiris seated upon the top of a flight of nine steps, on each of which stands a god; thus the whole company of the gods of Osiris are here represented. Osiris wears a double crown, , and holds in his hands the sceptre, , and the emblem of "life." Before him stands a mummied figure who forms the pillar of a pair of scales, and who may be regarded as the personification of the Great Balance with which we are familiar in the Judgment Scene as depicted in papyri. In the pan of the scales is the bird of evil, . Near the scales is a boat in which are an ape and a pig; the ape is urging the pig along with a stick. In the upper part of the scene are the heads of four oryxes and a figure of the god Anubis. The difficult texts which accompany this scene tell us that the "enemies of Osiris are beneath his feet, the gods and the spirits "are before him; he is the foe of the damned, he repulses the "enemies, and he destroys them, and effects their slaughter. "The bearer of the hatchet, and the supporter of the scales "protect him who is in Àmenti, who resteth in the Ṭuat, and who "passeth through darkness and shadow. Above is Joy, and below "are Right and Truth (). The god resteth and giveth forth "the light of Maāt which he hath made." The ape in the boat is said to hand over the pig to punishment "when the god riseth," and Anubis says, "O ye who bring words true or false to me "[remember] that it is Thoth who weigheth them." Concerning Osiris we read, "When the weighing of words taketh place he "smiteth evil; he hath a right heart, and he holdeth the words in "the Scales in the holy place wherein the trial of the secret things "of the secrets of the spirits taketh place. It is the god who riseth "who hath made all the beings who are in the Ṭuat." The text which relates to the four inverted heads of oryxes is not clear in its meaning, but it says that their dwelling-place is the Àmeḥet, a district in the Elysian Fields, and that they hide or protect the spirits. We must note in passing the position of the Sixth Division of the Ṭuat. Assuming that the Ṭuat was regarded as a nearly circular valley which curved round from the West, where the sun set, to the North, and curved round from the North to the East, where the sun rose, it follows if all the twelve divisions of the Ṭuat be equal in length, that the Sixth Division would be very near the most northerly part of the Ṭuat. And this is exactly where it was intended to be, for the most northerly part of the Ṭuat would include the greater part of the Delta, where the principal shrines of Osiris, i.e., Mendes and Busiris, were situated, and it was only right to make the position of the kingdom of Osiris on earth to correspond with that of his domain in the Ṭuat. Unlike the other divisions of the Ṭuat, the Sixth Division contains no representation of the god Rā, and the texts belonging to it do not even mention his name; the BOOK OF PYLONS made Osiris absolutely supreme in his own dominions, and the exclusion of Rā, or Ȧmen-Rā, from them was clearly the cause which made the work unpopular with all the worshippers of the great god of Thebes. The position of Osiris on the top of a flight of steps explains the allusions to the "god who is on his staircase" in the BOOK OF THE DEAD, and it proves that it is this god who is represented on the wooden plaque of Semti,[1] and before whom the king is dancing. The Sun-god Rā, having arrived at the north of the Ṭuat, must now make his way towards the East.

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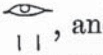
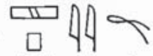
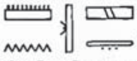
[1] The scene of the Sixth Division is so mutilated on the sarcophagus of Seti I. that it is not reproduced here.

The serpent who guards the pylon of the SEVENTH DIVISION or the SEVENTH HOUR[2] is called Ākhan-maati, , and the guardian at the end of the corridor is called Shepi, ; but the mutilated state of the scene renders it impossible to give the name of the pylon or of the guardian of the entrance to the corridor. On the right side of the boat of the god are a number of beings bearing a rope, which is usually made to resemble a serpent, and on the left side are:—1. A god bending over a staff; his name is Men-sheta, , "Stablisher of what is secret." 2. A number of mummied forms extended on couches, who are described as the "mighty spirits." These beings are commanded by Rā to uncover themselves and to drive away darkness. In the centre is the boat of the Sun-god being towed along, presumably by four gods of the Ṭuat as before. Marching in front of those who tow the boat are twelve gods with sceptres, and four mummied forms who cry out to the inhabitants of this Division of the Ṭuat to praise Rā, for he will weigh words and will destroy their enemy.

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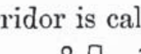
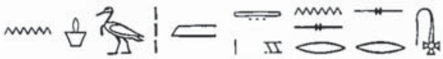
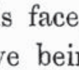
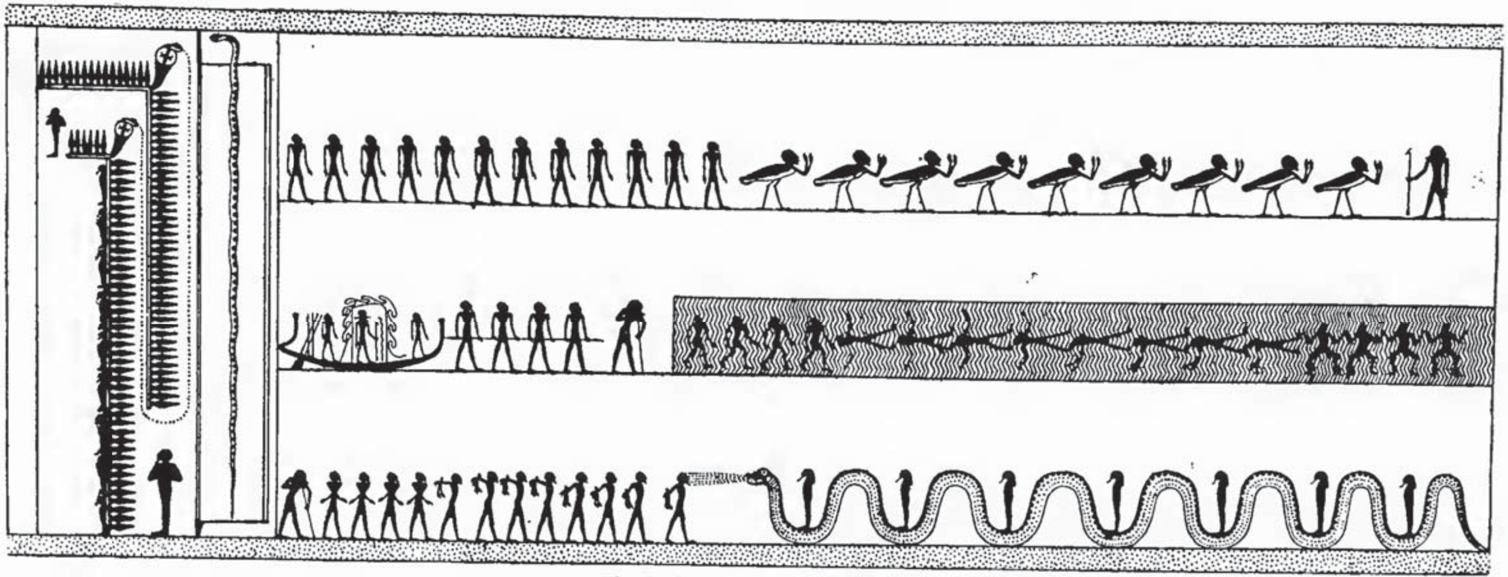
[1] See *British Museum*, No. 32,650.

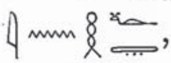
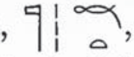
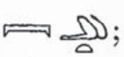
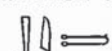
[2] The scene of the Seventh Division is so mutilated on the sarcophagus of Seti I. that it is not reproduced here.

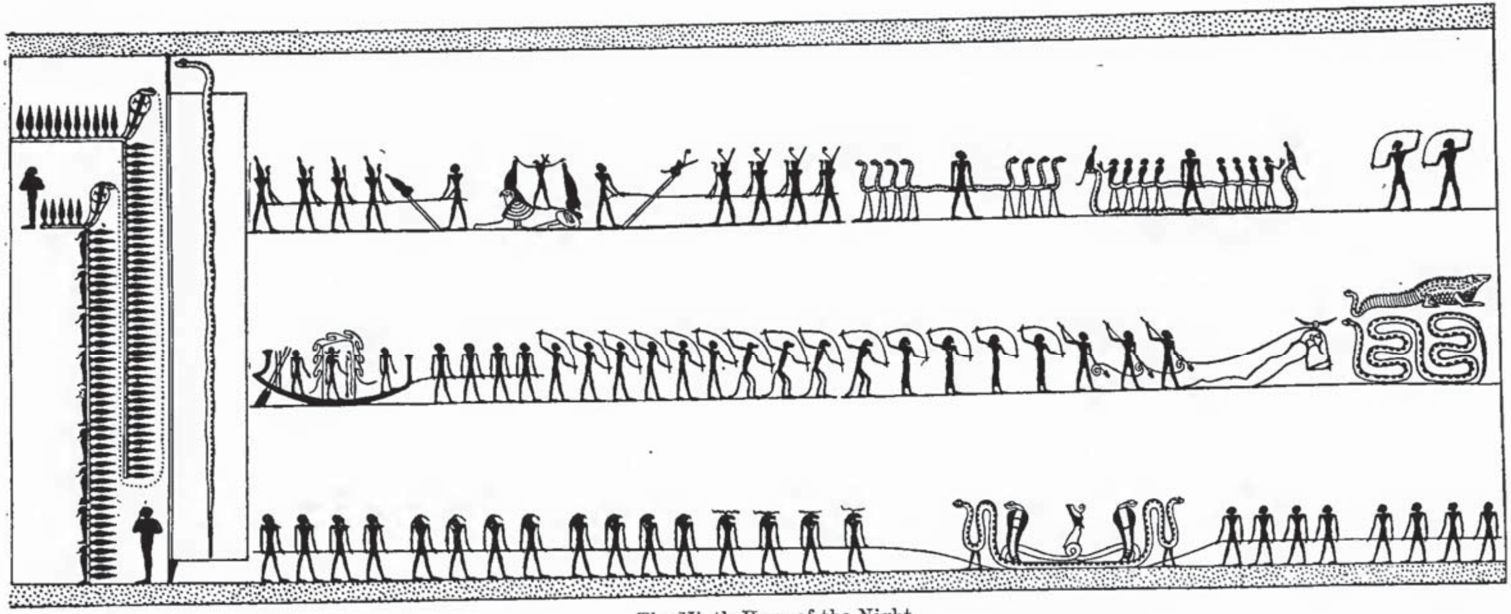
The pylon of the EIGHTH DIVISION or the EIGHTH HOUR is called Bekhkhi, , and the name of the snake-god, its guardian, is Set-ḥrá, ; the guardian of the entrance to the corridor is called Benen, , and the guardian at its end is Ḥept-ta, . The wall is protected by nine gods in mummied forms, . On the right side of the boat of the god are:—1. Twelve beings in human form, who are described as the "sovereign chiefs who give bread, Maāt, and green herbs to "the souls of Ta-neserser," . 2. Nine souls, in the form of bearded human-headed hawks, with their hands raised in adoration; these are the "souls of Ta-neserser," which are fed with bread and green herbs by the command of the god Rā. On the left hand side of the boat of Rā are:—1. Horus leaning on a staff. 2. Twelve men, who represent the enemies of Osiris that have been burnt in the fire, with their arms tied together behind their backs, each group of four in a different way. Opposite the first of these is a huge serpent called Kheti, , which belches forth a stream of fire into his face; on the back of the serpent stand seven gods. The twelve beings are those on whom punishment has been inflicted by Horus at the command of Rā, who has decreed the death both of their bodies and of their souls because of what they did against Osiris, whose mysteries they despised, and whose image they tore from the sanctuary. The serpent Kheti, which is commanded by Horus to consume the foes of his father Osiris, is adjured to burn up both the souls and the bodies of these wicked ones. In the centre of this division are:—1. The boat of the sun being towed by four gods as before. 2. "The dweller in Nu" leaning on a staff. 3. A rectangular lake in which



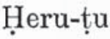
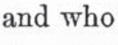
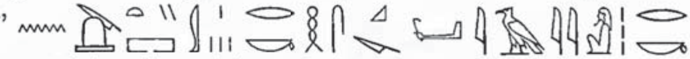
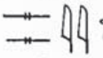
The Eighth Hour of the Night.

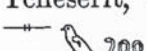
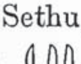
are sixteen men, four of whom bathe, , four float, , four swim, , and four dive, . The gods who tow the boat say, "Let there be praise to the soul of "Rā in heaven, and adoration to his body upon earth; for heaven "is made new by his soul, and earth is made new by his body. "Hail! We open for thee heaven, we make straight for thee the "ways of Åḳert. Rest thyself, O Rā, upon thy hidden things; "the hidden ones are adored in thy forms." He who dwelleth in Nu also addresses those who are in the lake.

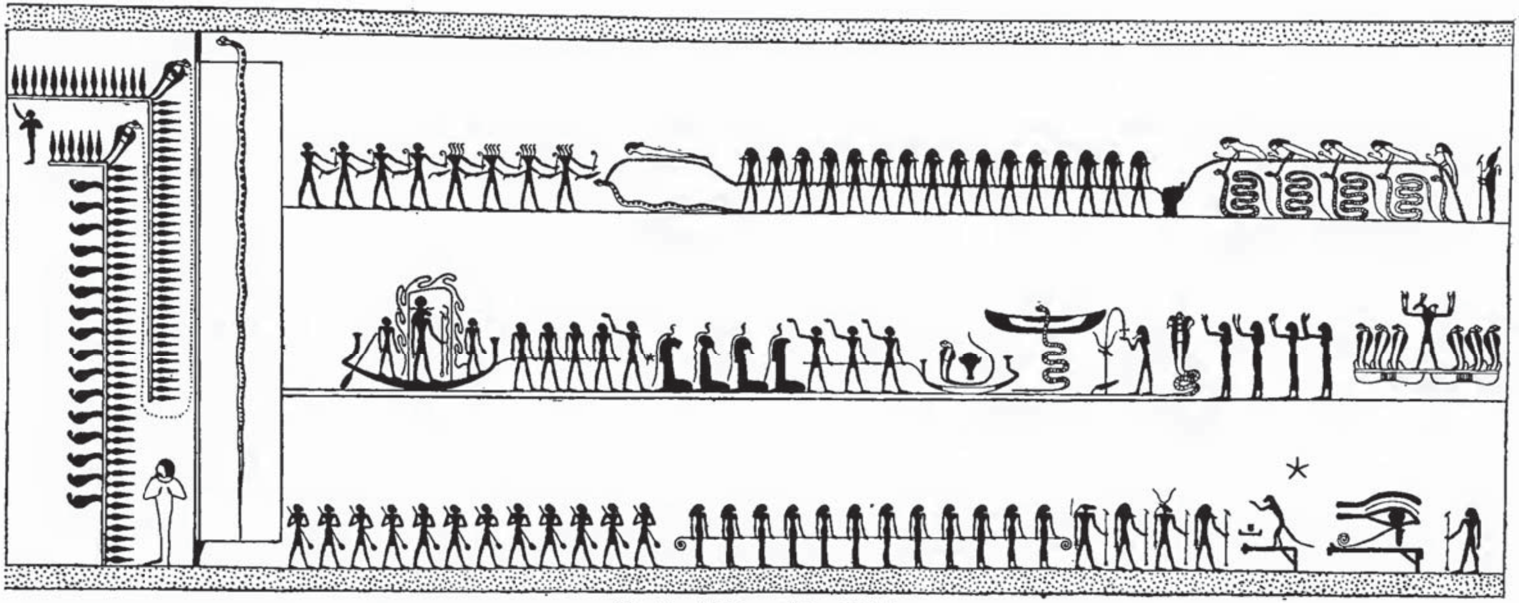
The pylon of the NINTH DIVISION or NINTH HOUR, is called Āāt-shefsheft, ; the serpent which guards it is Āb-ta, ; and the guardians of the corridor are Ånḥefta, , and Ermen-ta, . The wall is guarded by nine gods in mummied forms, . On the right hand side of the boat of the Sun-god are:—1. Four gods of the South, , each wearing the white crown, and grasping a rope which is also held by a man who is called "the master of the front," , between the man and these four gods is a pillar surmounted by a bearded head, with a white crown on it, which is being raised by means of the rope. 2. A hawk-headed sphinx with the white crown on his head, and a bearded head, with a white crown on it, resting on his hind quarters. Standing on his back is a human figure which is surmounted by the heads of Horus and Set. 3. Four gods of the North, , each wearing the red crown, and grasping a rope which is also held by a man who is called "the master of the back," ; between the man and these four gods is a pillar, surmounted by a bearded head with a red crown on it, which is being raised by means of the rope. 4. A personage called Åpu, , holding the serpent Shemti, , which has four heads at each end of his body. 5. A personage holding the serpent Båth, , with a head at each end of his body; on his back stands a serpent which is called Ṭepi, , and which is provided



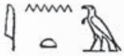
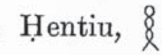
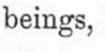
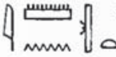
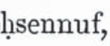
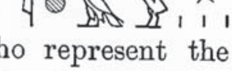
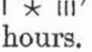
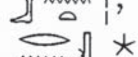
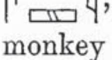
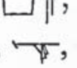
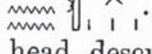
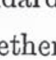
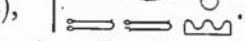
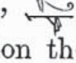
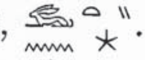
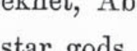
The Ninth Hour of the Night.

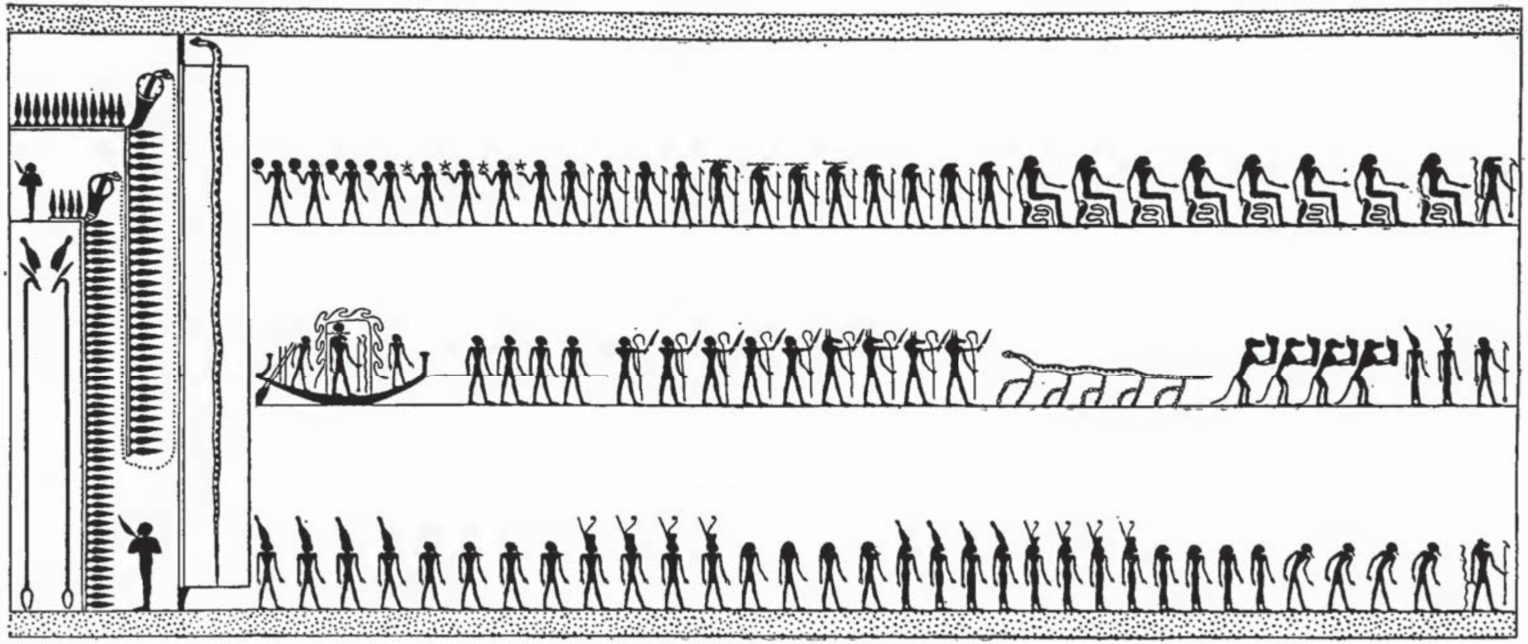
at each end of his body with four human heads, breasts, and arms, and four pairs of human legs. 6. Two men holding a rope (?). On the left hand of the boat of the god are:—Sixteen human forms which represent the (*a*) souls of Amentet, (*b*) the followers of Thoth, (*c*) the followers of Horus, (*d*) the followers of Osiris; the first four have the heads of men, the second four the heads of ibises, the third four the heads of hawks, and the fourth four the heads of rams. These sixteen beings draw a rope to which is attached a double serpent with four heads, two at each end of his body, and one pair of legs at each end which support the larger serpent. The serpent is called Khepri, , and on one of his folds is perched the hawk Ḥeru-ṭuati, . At the other end of the rope are eight human forms called Ȧkhmiu, . In the centre of this Division the boat of the god is being towed along as before. Before him march:—1. Six human forms, four apes, and four women, each holding a rope (?); and 2. Three men holding a rope which is thrown over the head and held in the hands by a prostrate man who has the ears of an ass, and who is called Ȧai, , i.e., "Ass." Each man holds a pike which he is about to drive into the prostrate body. In front of the man are:—1. The serpent Āpep, and 2. The crocodile, with a tail which terminates in a serpent's head, called Shesshes, . The beings here described are those who work magic for Rā on the arch-fiend Āpep, and they bid him come to the place of slaughter that he may be slain; they say, "the "slaughtering places are against thee, and the Ȧai gods are "against thee," . The three beings with pikes drive their weapons into Āpep, and destroy utterly the serpent Sesi, ; and they keep fast hold of the rope of Ai, , and do not let that serpent rise up towards the boat of the god.

The pylon of the TENTH DIVISION or the TENTH HOUR is called Tcheserit, ; the serpent-god who guards it is Sethu, ; and the guardians of the corridor are Nemi, ,

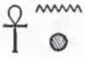
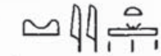


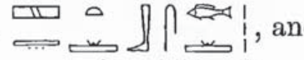
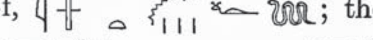
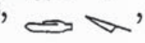
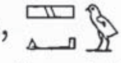
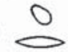
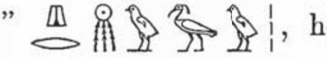
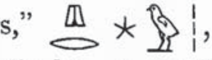
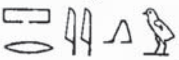
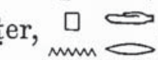
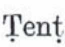
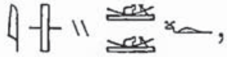
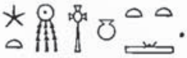
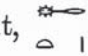
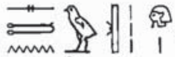
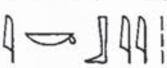
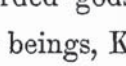
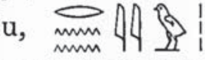
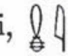
The Tenth Hour of the Night.

and Kefi, . The wall is guarded by sixteen uraei. On the right hand of the boat of the god are:—1. Four beings, each holding a knife and a rope (?). 2. Four beings, similarly armed, but each having four serpents' heads; these are called Ȧntiu, , and Ḥentiu, , respectively. 3. The serpent Āpep, "whose voice goeth round about in the Ṭuat," held by a chain which is grasped by four beings, Sṭefiu, , and twelve gods, and a mighty hand called the "hidden body," . On the chain, near Āpep's head, is stretched out the scorpion-goddess Serqet. Behind the hand, and growing out of the chain are:—(*a*) Seb, , who grasps a small chain to which is attached the serpent Uamemti, . (*b*) Mest, , Ḥāpi, , Ṭuamutef, , and Qebḥsennuf, . At the end stands Khenti-Ȧmenti, or Osiris. The beings on this side of the Ṭuat are engaged in destroying Āpep and the foes of the sun-god so that they may not attack the boat of the sun when it comes to a narrow passage. On the left hand side of the boat of Rā are:—1. The twelve Ȧkhmu-seku gods, , , holding paddles. 2. Twelve women, who represent the hours. 3. Four gods with sceptres, Bānt, , Seshshȧ, , Ka-Ȧment, , and Renen-sebu, . 4. A monkey on a standard, , with a star over his head, described as the "god of Rethenu" (Syria), . 5. An eye (utchat) on a standard, . 6. A god with a sceptre. Along the middle of this division the boat of the god is towed as usual by four gods. Before it are:—1. The star god Unti, . 2. Four deities, Sekhet, Ābesh, , Serq, , and Horus. 3. Three star gods, who tow a small boat in which are the "face of the disk," , and a uraeus. 4. A winged uraeus called Semi, , standing upon its tail. 5. A god called Besi, , pouring flame upon a standard surmounted



The Eleventh Hour of the Night.

by the head of a horned animal. 6. A serpent caled Ānkhi, , with a bearded god in mummied form growing out from each side of its body. 7. Four women, with hands raised in adoration, who are called "the adorers," . 8. The double god Horus-Set, with two heads and two pairs of arms and hands on one body, standing upon a platform which rests on two bows; from each end of the platform spring three uraei. All these beings are supposed to be employed in helping Rā to continue his course through the Tenth Division, and to make his way to the region of the sunrise; it is evident that most of them are personifications of the stars which herald the approach of the dawn.

The pylon of the ELEVENTH DIVISION or the ELEVENTH HOUR is called Shetat-besu, , and the serpent which guards it is called Àm-net-f, ; the guardians of the corridor are Meṭes, , and Sheṭāu, . Before the wall are two large sceptres surmounted by the white crown; one of these is called Sar, , i.e., Osiris, and the other Horus. On the right hand of the boat of Rā are:—1. Four gods, called "bearers of light," , holding disks on their right hands. 2. Four gods, called "bearers of stars," , holding stars in their right hands. 3. Four gods "who go out," . 4. The gods Ba, , Khnemu, , Penṭer, , and Ṭenṭ, , ram-headed. 5. Four gods, Horus, Horus-Sepṭ, Sepṭ, and "he who is in his double boat," , hawk-headed. 6. Eight women, the Hours, seated on coiled up serpents and each holding a star in her hand; these are the "protecting hours," . 7. The god Sebek-Rā, crocodile-headed. All these are personifications of stars which bear along the boat of Rā towards the day-break, for they wish to see it floating once more on the bosom of Nut, ; and when "the arms of the "sky-god Nu receive Rā they shout praises with the stars which "they carry, and go to him in the heights of heaven in the bosom of Nut."[1] In connexion with the idea of the stars praising Rā at sunrise we may note its similarity to that expressed in Job xxxviii. 7, "When the morning stars sang together, and all the "sons of God shouted for joy." On the left of the boat of Rā are :—1. Four beings, Setheniu-ṭep, , wearing white crowns. 2. Four bearded gods called Åkebiu, i.e., "wailers," . 3. Four beings, Khnemiu, , wearing red crowns. 4. Four bearded gods called Renniu, . 5. Twelve goddesses, the female counterparts of the first three groups of gods. 6. Four gods, with bowed bodies, and 7. The cat-headed goddess Måti, . These beings were supposed to place white crowns on the heads of the gods in the train of Rā, and though their souls rose up, they were never able to leave this Division of the Ṭuat or pass out of the pylon. Their duty was to weep for Osiris after Rā had passed out of Åment,[2] and to be with him, as far as their souls were concerned, but their bodies had to stay in their places; they also had to raise up Maāt and to stablish it in the shrine of Rā.[3] It was they who "fixed the period of the "years which those who were decreed for the Ṭuat should pass "there, and the period of those who were to live in heaven;"[4] but they "tore their hair in grief before the great god in Åmentet, "for although they drove away Set from the pylon they themselves

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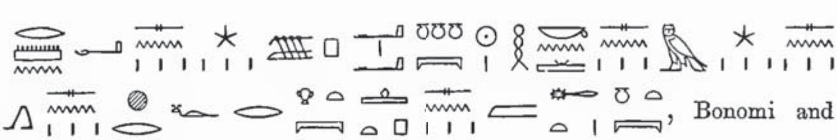
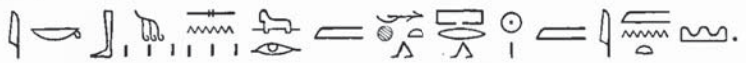
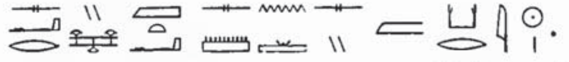
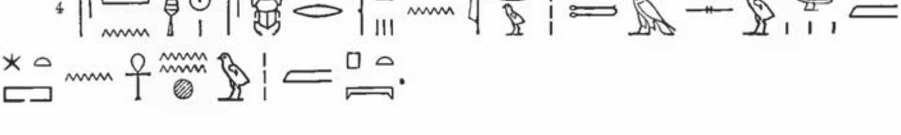
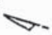
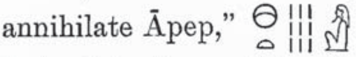
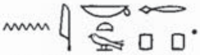
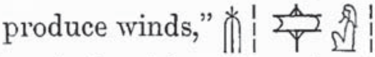
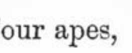
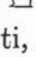
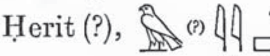
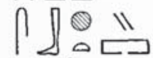
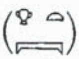
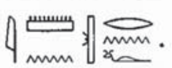
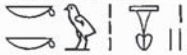
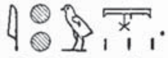
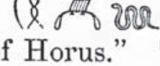
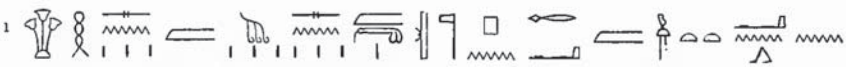
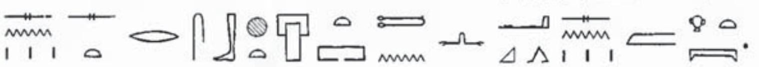
[1] , Bonomi and Sharpe, op. cit., pl. 10.

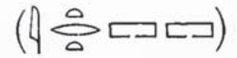
[2] 

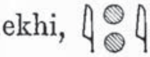
[3] 

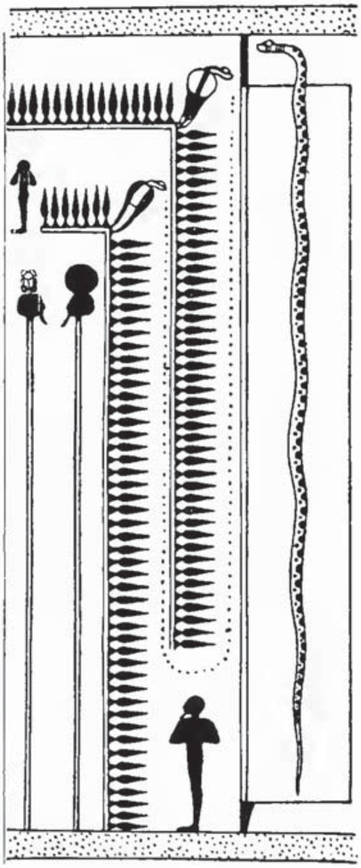
[4] 

" were not allowed to enter into the heights of heaven."[1] In the centre of this division we have the boat of Rā being drawn along by four of its gods as usual. Preceding these are :—1. A group of nine gods, each of whom holds a knife, , in the right hand, and a sceptre, , in the left; the first four are jackal-headed. They are described as the "nine gods who annihilate Āpep,"  . 2. The serpent Āpep chained to the earth by five chains which are called the "gods who produce winds," . 3. Four apes, , each holding before him a large hand. 4. The god of Ȧmenti, , wearing the crown of the South. 5. The goddess of the North, Ḥerit (?), , wearing the crown of the North. 6. The god Sebekhti, . These gods of the Ṭuat say, "[This is] the exit from Ȧment, and the " place for rest in the two divisions of Nu, and [the god] maketh " his transformations in the hands of Nu. This god doth not enter " heaven , but he openeth the Ṭuat upwards in his trans" formations [which take place] in Nu. What openeth the Ṭuat " into heaven are the two hands of the god whose name is hidden, " . He existeth in the darkness which is a solid thing, " , and Rā cometh forth [in] it from the night, " . Those who are in this portion take their knives in " their hands, and grasp their weapons, and smite Āpep, and effect " his slaughter, and smash his joints which are in heaven. The " chains of this fiend are in the hands of the children of Horus, " they advance to the god with their fetters in their fingers. The " god counteth his members after the hidden one hath opened his " [arms] to the Eye of Horus. The Worm  who is " in this scene is fettered by the children of Horus." The other gods " acclaim Rā in the Eastern horizon of heaven, and the four

[1] 


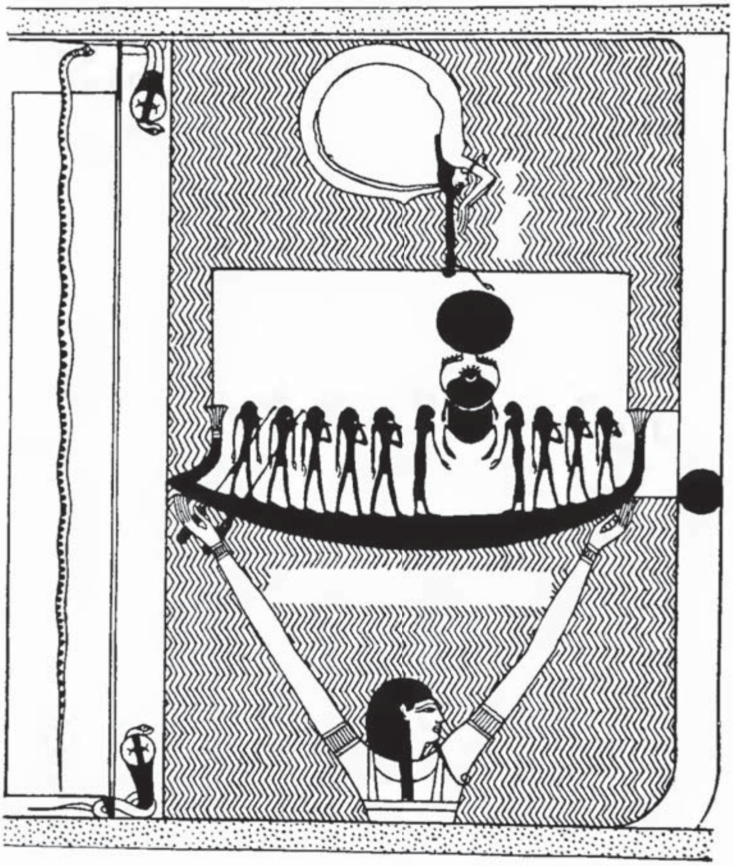
"apes guide him who created them, two on the right hand, and "two on the left, to the double *àtert*  of this god."

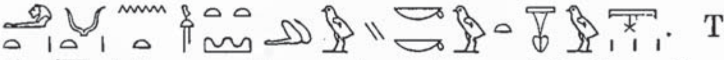
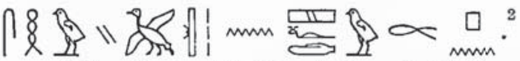
The pylon of the TWELFTH DIVISION or TWELFTH HOUR is called Ṭesert-baiu, , i.e., "Red-Souls," and its serpent god is Sebi, ; the two guardians of the corridor are Pai, , and Àkhekhi, . In front of the wall are two poles, each of which is surmounted by a bearded head; on one head is the disk of the god Tem, and on the other the beetle of the god Kheperà, i.e., two forms of the Sun-god. Close to the pylon "Red-Souls" was the pylon of the serpent god Reri, , each side of which was guarded by the two uraei of Isis and Nephthys, one on each side. When Rā had passed through these doors he emerged triumphantly from the Ṭuat, and his boat floated on the waters of Nu, i.e., in the sky. In the scene in which this is depicted we see the boat containing the beetle of Kheperà and the disk of Rā, with the five gods Seb, Shu, Ḥek (for Ḥeka), Ḥu, and Sa, and the two goddesses Isis and Nephthys, and three gods of pylons. The god Nu, , is seen holding up the boat with his hands, which "come forth from the water, and bear up this god."



A little distance away from the boat is a sort of island which is formed by Osiris, the body of the god being bent round in such a way as to cause the tips of his toes to touch the back of his head; the text says that it is Osiris himself who forms the encircling border of the Ṭuat. On the head of the god stands the goddess

Nut, 𓏌𓏏𓇯, with arms outstretched ready to receive Rā. Thus the god reaches the end of the Ṭuat and passes by an opening through its border, which is painted black, dotted everywhere with red spots. We have seen that Rā was omnipotent in all divisions of the underworld, except one, which was sacred to Osiris; in this neither Rā nor his name appears.



We may now pass on to the consideration of the contents of the "BOOK OF THAT WHICH IS IN THE UNDERWORLD." The authorities for the text and vignettes of this work are numerous,[1] and from the copies of both which have come down to us it is clear that the book was one of considerable length. But long before the end of the XXIst Dynasty (about B.C. 1100) the Egyptians found it impossible to obtain or to pay for complete copies with all the vignettes, and a shortened form of it consequently came into general use. This shortened form, which is called an "Abrégé" by M. Maspero, and a "Résumé" by M. Lefebure, was supposed to contain all that was absolutely necessary for the dead, and it became very popular throughout Egypt. In the tomb of Seti I.[1] we find a copy of the full text, with vignettes, of the first eleven hours, and also a copy of the "Abridgment." The space at our disposal will not admit of a detailed description of the longer work, and therefore a notice of the "Abridgment" only is given here. The complete work is entitled, "The beginning "of the horn of the West, the remote boundary of thick darkness," . The "horn of the West" means the most westerly point where the sun sets, and *keku samu*, i.e., "thick darkness," or "solid darkness," refers to the extreme end of the Ṭuat, which is painted to resemble a black wall, dotted everywhere with red spots, and which contains an opening through which the boat of Rā emerges every morning. The shorter work is entitled "Abridgment of this book," .[2]

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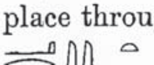
[1] See Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, 1st series, pll. 28-32; 2nd series, pll. 1-21; Pierret, *Recueil*, tom. v., pp. 103 ff; Lanzone, *Domicile des Esprits*, Paris, 1879; Birch, *Papyrus of Naskhem*, London, 1863; Mariette, *Papyrus Égyptiens*, tom. ii., Cairo, 1878.

The FIRST HOUR of the night is called USHEMET ḤĀTU KHEFTI RĀ,[3] i.e., "Crusher of the forehead of the enemies of Rā," and the place through which the god passes in it is described as an *ārrit*, , i.e., a hall, or a sort of ante-chamber of the Ṭuat. It is quite unlike any part of the Ṭuat, for when Rā is in this hall he

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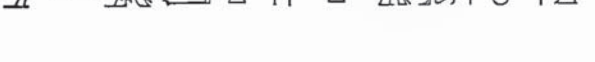
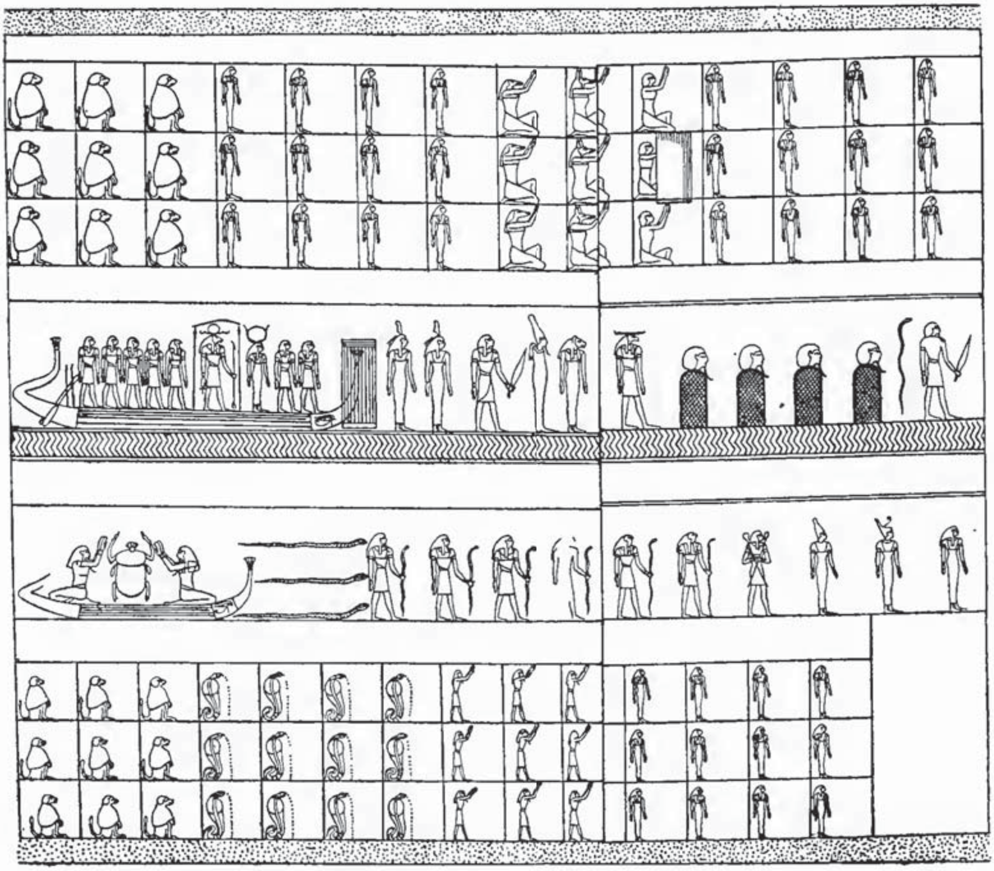
[1] See "Le Tombeau de Seti Ier," in *Mémoires de la Miss. Arch. Française*, Paris, 1886; First Hour, part iv., pll. 24-26; Second Hour, part iv., pll. 29-32; Third Hour, part iv., pll. 32-35; Fourth Hour, part i., pll. 23-25; Fifth Hour, part i., pll. 26-29; Sixth Hour, part iv., pll. 39-42; Seventh Hour, part iv., pll. 43-46; Eighth Hour, part iv., pll. 47-49; Ninth Hour, part ii., pll. 15-18; Tenth Hour, part ii., pll. 19-22; Eleventh Hour, part ii., pll. 23-26; and see Maspero, *Les Hypogées Royaux de Thèbes*, p. 29.

[2] See the edition of the hieroglyphic text, with a French translation, by Jéquier, op. cit., pp. 37 ff.

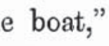
[3] .

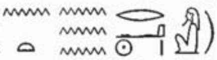
has not yet arrived in that dismal valley. But even when here he is an entirely different being from what he was in the day-time, for instead of being the sun of day, he is the sun of night, i.e., a dead god, in fact a mere dead body which is called Åf, , i.e., "Flesh," and is represented with the head of a ram surmounted by a solar disk. In the day time he travelled in the Āṭet boat,

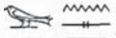
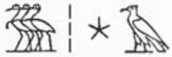
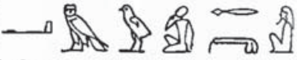
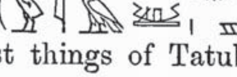
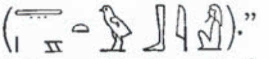


The First Hour of the Night.

, but at night he made his journey along the river of the Ṭuat in the Sektet boat, , in fact, in the same boat in which he sailed over the sky from noon to sunset. In the boat with the dead Sun-god Åf are Åp-uat, , "The Opener of the ways," Sa, , Ḥeru-Ḥekenu, , Nehes, , Ḥu, , the double of Shu, , the captain of the boat,

, and the "lady of the boat," . The last-named celestial personage changed every hour, for she represented the local goddess of one hour who was supposed to be the appointed guide of the god through one portion of the Ṭuat only; knowing the way through her own district, she was able to instruct the captain of the boat how and where to sail over difficult reaches of the river.

The dwellers in the First Hour of the night appear to have been the apes who opened the doors of the *ārrit* to the god, and the beings who were necessary for the singing of songs of praise to Rā, and for piloting his boat through this hall to the Ṭuat, and a large number of celestial beings who are mentioned in the text, but who are otherwise unknown, and the souls of the dead who had passed from the earth to this intermediate place and who were waiting for the opportunity of entering into the boat of Rā, wherein they would fain continue their journey. Why the last-named were here cannot be said, but it is probable that such souls belonged to men and women who, when living upon earth, were unable to avail themselves of all the costly and complicated ceremonies prescribed by the priests, and the numerous amulets which were thought to be necessary for the welfare of the soul in the Ṭuat. The descriptive text of the First Hour reads:—"This "god entereth from the earth into the *ārrit* of the horizon of "the West, and he must travel one hundred and twenty *ȧtru* "( ) in this *ārrit* before he arriveth at the gods "of the Ṭuat. Net-Rā () is the name of this first "country of the Ṭuat. Rā giveth fields to the gods who are in his "following, and he beginneth to pass decrees and to give commands "concerning the things which are done in the Ṭuat by the gods of "this country. Whosoever shall do these things according to this "similitude of the hidden things of the Ṭuat, and shall recognize "that they are similitudes of the great god himself, shall find them "of benefit to him on the earth, and they shall do him good in the "great Ṭuat." The fact that this region is called "country" shows that it was regarded almost as a part of this world, and it is definitely stated that it is 120 *ȧtru* in length; now, the *ȧtru* is said to be the equivalent of the Greek σχοῖνος, i.e., about an English furlong, and thus the region of the sunset traversed by Rā in his first hour would be fifteen miles in length. It is probable, however, that 120 *ȧtru* were intended to be a greater distance than fifteen miles, for the second hour brought Rā into the domain of Osiris, which is more than fifteen miles from Thebes.

The name of the SECOND HOUR is SHESAT MĀKET NEB-S, i.e., "She who knoweth how to protect her lord."[1] The country passed through is called Ur-nes, , which the late Dr. Birch compared with, and believed to be equivalent to, the Greek οὐρανός; this name, however, seems to be that of the Nile in the second region of the Ṭuat, and in any case it is not applied to any other division or hour except by accident.[2] The descriptive text says, "This great god next arriveth in Ur-nes, which is three "hundred and nine *ȧtru* in length, and one hundred and twenty "*ȧtru* in width (i.e., this division measures about 50 miles by 15 "miles). The name of the gods who are in this country is 'Souls "of the Ṭuat,' , and he who knoweth their "name shall be with them. This great god will give to him fields, "the situation of which shall be in the country of Ur-nes; he shall "stand up with the gods who stand up, and he shall follow after "this great god. He shall make his way through the Ṭuat, he "shall see the tresses of the gods who wear long flowing hair, he "shall trample upon the Eater of the Ass (), "and after the division of the unoccupied land hath been made, "he shall eat bread in the Boat of the Earth (), "and there shall be given to him of the first things of Tatubȧ "()." The text adds that those who draw pictures of these Souls of the Ṭuat and make offerings to them upon earth will gain benefit therefrom a million fold after death; moreover, it will be extremely useful to them in the Ṭuat if they know what words are addressed by the gods to the great god.

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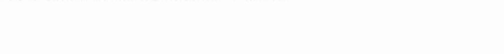
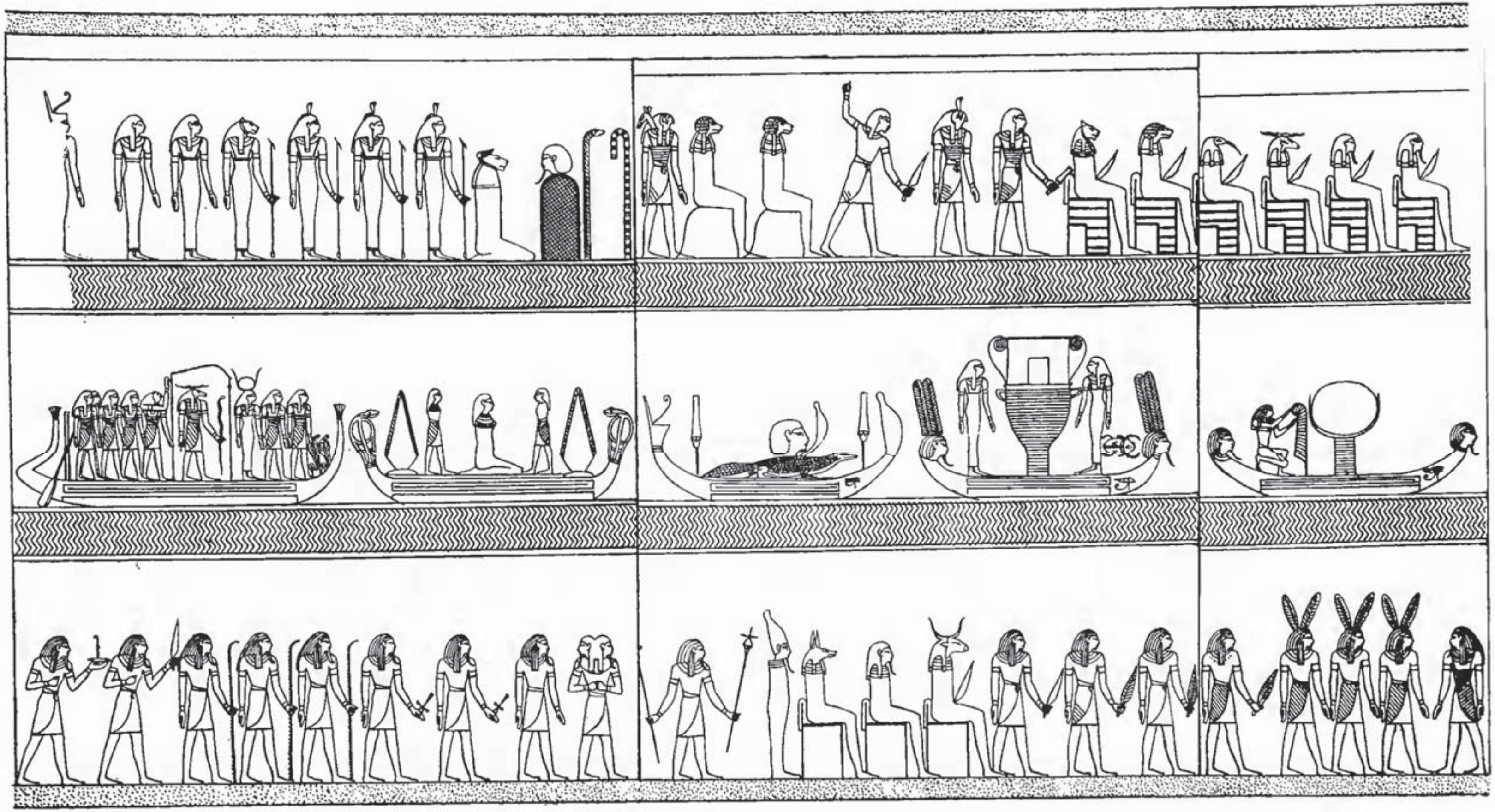
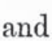
[1] .

[2] See Jéquier, op. cit., p. 49, note 2.



The Second Hour of the Night.

The gods with long flowing hair are the four children of Horus, Mesthȧ, Ḥāpi, Ṭuamutef and Qebḥsennuf, each of whom wore a lock or tress of hair, which became a pillar-sceptre, and supported one of the four corners of heaven; these four gods became at a later period the gods of the cardinal points and the lords of the four quarters of heaven. The Eater of the Ass is, of course, the great serpent of darkness, probably Āpepi, and the Ass is a form of the Sun-god, between whom and the serpent was continual war; the Ass was connected with the Sun-god by reason of his great virile powers. According to M. Maspero,[1] the Boat of the Earth is a name given to the Boat of Rā when it reaches the earth; Tatubȧ was probably an earth god.

The illustrated version of the SECOND HOUR shows that the boat of Rā was preceded by four boats. The first of these had a human head on each end, and on its side were the picture of heaven, , and the Utchat, . In the boat rests the moon on a pedestal, and behind it is the god who sets up the feather of Maāt. This is the boat of Osiris as the Moon, who is one of the Souls of the Ṭuat. The second boat has a human head surmounted by the plumes of Ȧmen, , on each end, and in it is a huge sistrum, the emblem of Hathor; on each side of it is a goddess. In the bows is a beetle, . This is the boat of Isis as Hathor, who is one of the Souls of the Ṭuat. The third boat has the white crown at the bows, and the red crown at the stern; in it, between the two standards, which are the symbols of the gods Ȧnpu (Anubis) and Ȧpuat, is a huge lizard, out of the back of which spring a human head and the white crown. This is the boat of the god who opens the ways, and who is one of the Souls of the Ṭuat. The fourth boat has a uraeus at the bows and stern. In the centre is a kneeling woman without arms, and on each side of her stands a woman also armless; at each end of the boat is a plant, or shrub. This is the boat of Nepr, , the god of grain and of vegetation, and a form of Osiris, and he is also one of the Souls of the Ṭuat. The gods who minister to

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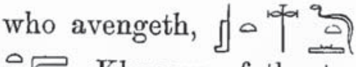
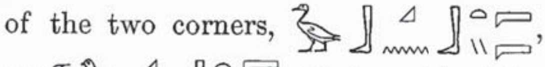
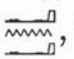
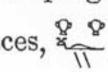
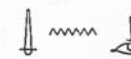
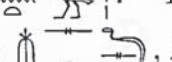
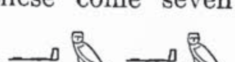
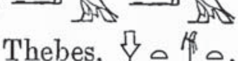
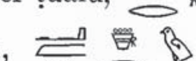
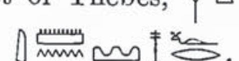
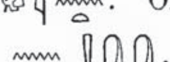
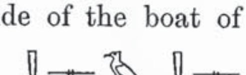
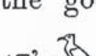
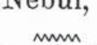
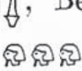
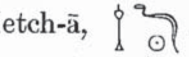
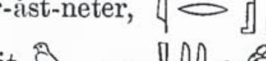
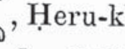
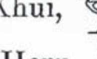
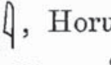
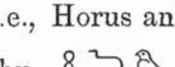
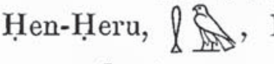
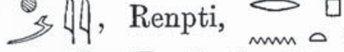
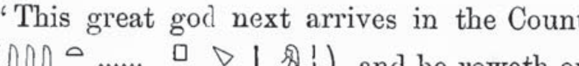
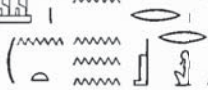
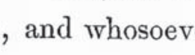
[1] *Les Hypogées*, p. 46.

Osiris in the Second Hour are:—Isis who avengeth, , Seb of the two corners, , Khnemu of the two corners, , Thoth on his stairs, , Åfu on his stairs, , Ketuit-ṭen-ba, , Kherp-ḥu-khefti, , Ḥeru-Ṭuat, , Seben-ḥesq-khaibit, , the two ape-gods Benth, , and Åānā, , the god with two faces, , Horus-Set, Mest-en-Åsår, , Meṭ-en-Åsår, , the term of Osiris, and a lion-headed goddess Sesenet-khu, . Behind all these come seven goddesses, Mest-tcheses, , Āmām-mitu,  , Ḥer-ṭuaiu, , Sekhet of Thebes, , Āmet-tcheru, , Åment-nefert, , and Nit-ṭep-Åment, . On the other side of the boat of the god are Nebui, , Besabes-uāa,  , Nepr, , Ṭepu, , Ḥetch-ā, , Āb, , Nepen, , År-åst-neter, , Āmu-āa, , Ḥeru-khabit, , Anubis, Osiris-Unnefer, Khui, , Horus of the two faces, i.e., Horus and Set, Ḥen-Ḥeru, , Ḥun, , Ḥatchetchu, , Neḥr, , Makhi, , Renpti, , Āfau, , and Fa-tråu, . All these gods worship the great god, and guide him on his way, and weep when he has left them; some of them bear to him the prayers of those who are upon earth, and also lead disembodied souls to the forms which belong to them; others apparently mark the seasons of the year. When Rā addressed the beings there, they came to life at the sound of his voice, and they breathed again; he gave them food in abundance, and the gods gave water to the spirits to drink at his command, and the hearts of the rebels of Rā were burnt in the fire. It is, however, clear from the texts that although Osiris was the Lord of the Second Hour Rā was the overlord of Osiris, and that it was he who, like Osiris, made gifts to the dead. On the other hand, the followers of Osiris had to perform service for Rā, and one of their chief duties consisted in keeping in check his enemies, who were always attempting to prevent the progress of his boat; in a way the service of these followers was unrewarded, for they were condemned to remain always in the same place, and to perform the same duty.

From the above paragraph the reader will gain some idea of the difference between the illustrated version of the Second Hour and the abstract of it which is found in the "Abridgment." As the short version makes no attempt to supply the souls which were supposed to make use of it with the names of the various gods and beings in it, we can only assume that they learnt them when on earth in the body. The larger version of the Second Hour is extremely interesting in showing what a subordinate place the priests of Àmen-Rā made Osiris occupy in respect of Rā when passing through the Ṭuat.

The descriptive text of the THIRD HOUR, which is called ṬENT-BAIU,[1] says:—"This great god next arrives in the Country "of those who slay (), and he roweth over "the Stream of Osiris (), a space three hundred and "nine *àtru* long,[2] and one hundred and twenty *àtru* wide (i.e., "this portion of the Ṭuat measured about 38½ miles long by 15 "miles wide). This great god giveth commands to the gods who "are in the following of Osiris concerning this city, and he assigns "to them estates from this country. The name of the gods who "are in this field is 'Hidden Souls' (), and whosoever "knoweth their name shall ascend to the place where Osiris is,

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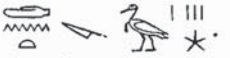
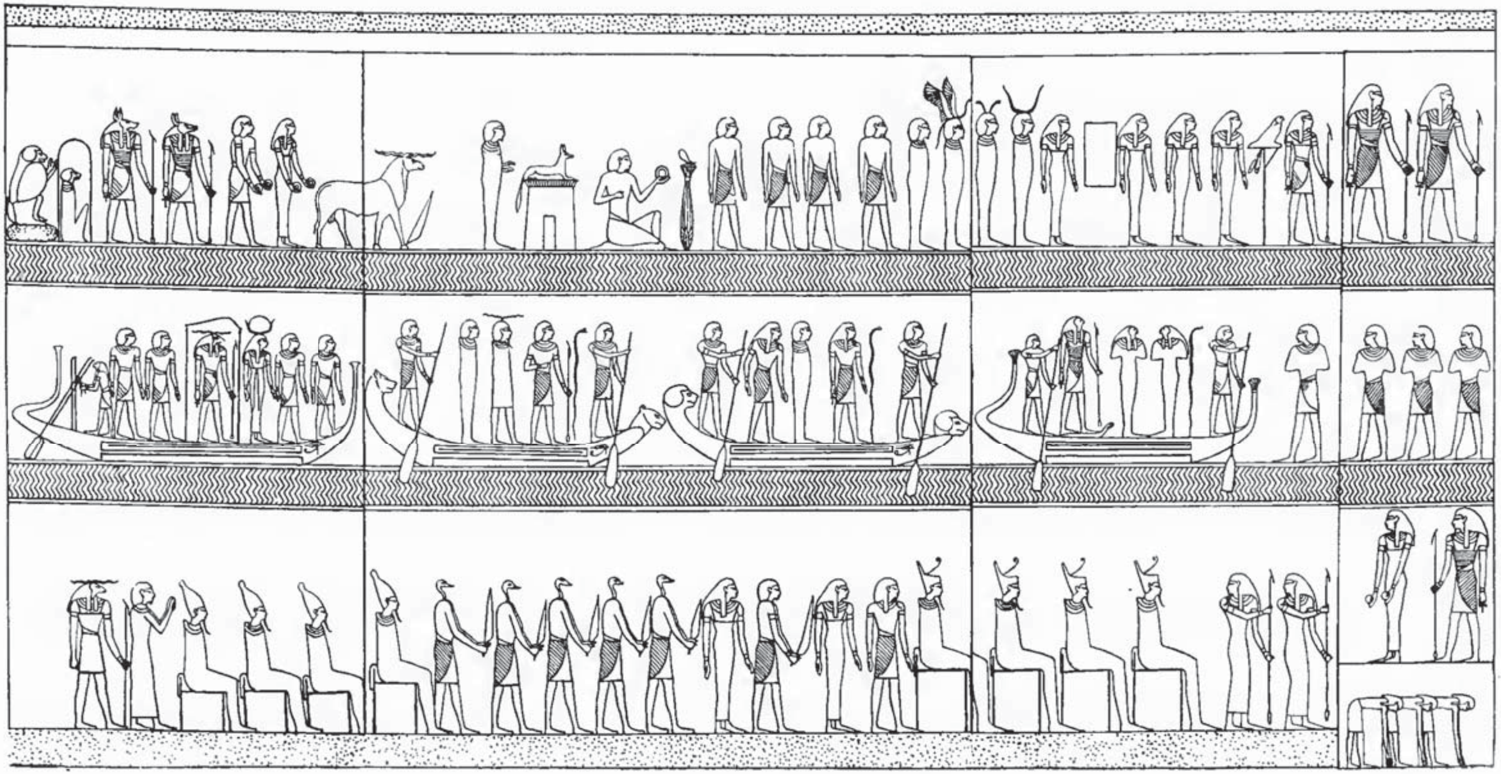
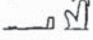
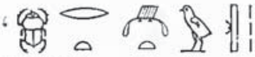
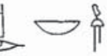
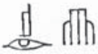
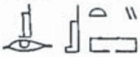
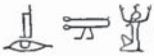
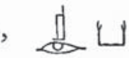
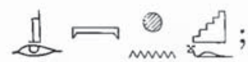
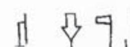
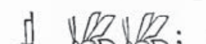
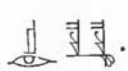
[1] .

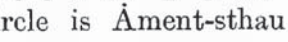
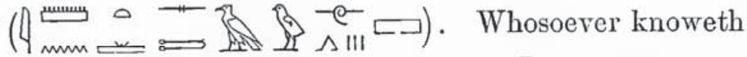
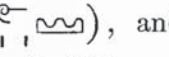
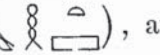
[2] A variant given by Jéquier gives 480 *àtru* as the length, i.e., about sixty miles.



The Third Hour of the Night.

"and water shall be given unto him for his Field. The name "of this Field is Net-neb-uā-kheper-āutu (
"). Whosoever shall make drawings of these "Hidden Souls together with a representation of the hidden "things of the Ṭuat—beginning the same from the West—it shall "be of great benefit not only to him upon earth, but in the Under- "world, and indeed always. Whosoever knoweth them shall pass "[unhurt] by them as they roar, and shall not fall into their "cauldrons. Whosoever knoweth these things, being attached to "his place, shall have his bread with Rā. Whosoever, being a "soul and a spirit, knoweth these things shall have the mastery "over his legs, and he shall never enter into the place of destruc- "tion, and he shall come forth in his forms and smell the air at his "appointed hour." The illustrated version of the Third Hour represents the boat of Rā sailing over the "Stream of Osiris" preceded by three boats, each of which is moved onwards by two men with paddles; the beings in these boats are all forms of the god Osiris, and the gods who stand on each side of the stream belong to his cycle, or company. These latter had their bodies of flesh, to which their shadows had been re-united, and their souls talked in them, as soon as Rā had spoken to them; they made answer to the god, and sang his praise whilst he was with them, but their cries of joy changed to lamentations when he left them. They could not go with him, because it was their duty to guard their district, and to destroy the enemies of Rā, and to support the life of Rā, and to make the Nile to flow.

Among the gods in this Hour were the nine forms of the god Osiris:—Osiris, lord of Ȧment, ; Osiris Khenti-Ȧment, ; Osiris the Throne, ; Osiris, conqueror of millions, ; Osiris the double of Ȧment, ; Osiris on his staircase, ; Osiris prince of the gods, ; Osiris king of Lower Egypt, ; and Osiris-Saḥu, . The duties of the beings who are grouped with these are clear from their names, for these refer to destruction in one form or another, and the explanatory text tells us that they are employed in "hacking and cutting souls, in shutting up the "shadows of the dead, and in dragging the occupants of tombs to "their place of slaughter;" moreover, they shoot out flames, they cause fires to come into being, and the heads of the enemies of Rā are cut off by their swords. The master of the region traversed in the Third Hour is called Khatrå, , and we learn from the speech of Rā that the inhabitants of the mythological district over which he presides were created by Rā specially to follow and to protect Osiris. To these he says, "O ye whom I have hidden, "whose souls I have put in a secret place, whom I have set in the "following of Osiris to defend him; to accompany his images, to "make an end of those who attack him (even as the god Ḥu is "behind thee, O Osiris, to defend thee, to accompany thy images, "to destroy those who attack thee, even as Ḥu is to thee, O Osiris, "and even as Sa is to thee, O Khenti Åmentet), ye souls whose "forms are stablished, ye souls whose magical powers make "certain your coming into being, who breathe the air [through "your nostrils, who look] with your faces, who listen with your "ears, who are apparelled in your raiment, who are clothed with "your swathings, who have offerings made to you at stated seasons "by the priests of God, who have estates set apart for your own "behoof and benefit, whose souls are not cast down, whose bodies "are not overthrown: [O Hidden Souls, I say] open ye your "circles, and set ye yourselves in your own places, for I have "come to see my bodies, and to look upon the similitudes of myself "which are in the Ṭuat, and it is you who have brought me along "and have given me the opportunity of coming to them. And "now I lead thy soul to heaven, O Osiris, and thy soul to earth, O "Khenti Åuḳert, with thy gods behind thee, and thy spirits before "thee, and thy being and thy forms [about thee]. And thy spirit "hath its word of power, O Osiris, and you, ye spirits who are in "the following of Osiris, have your words of power. I go up on "the earth and the day is behind me; I pass through the night, "and my soul rejoins itself to your forms during the day, and I "fulfil the ceremonies of the night which are needful for you. I "have created your souls for mine own use, so that they may be "behind me, and what I have done for them will preserve you "from falling down to the place of destruction."[1]

The FOURTH HOUR of the night, which is called SEKHEMUS,[2] conducts the boat of the Sun-god through a region of a very different character from the earlier divisions. The descriptive text says, "The majesty of this great god next arriveth in the hidden "Circle of Åmentet, and he performeth the designs of the gods "who are therein by means of his voice without seeing them. "The name of this Circle is Ānkhet-kheperu , "and the name of the pylon of this Circle is Åment-sthau ". Whosoever knoweth this plan "of the hidden paths of Re-stau , and of the "winding roads of the Åmmeḥet , and of the "hidden pylons which are in the Land of Seker, he who is on his "sand shall eat the bread which hath been prepared for the mouth "of the living gods who are in the temple of Tem. He who "knoweth these things shall [know] the paths rightly, and shall "have power to journey along the roads of Re-stau, and to see "the forms (or guides) in the Åmmeḥet." The Circle Åmmeḥet is, as we learn from Chapter cxlix of the *Book of the Dead*, the Sixth Åat, or district of the domain of Osiris which is presided over by the god Seker; the deceased addresses it thus:—"Hail, "thou Åmmeḥet which art holy unto the gods, and art hidden "for the spirits, and art baleful unto the dead; the name of the "god who dwelleth in thee is Sekher-Āṭ (?) [or Sekher-remu]. "Homage to thee, O Åmmeḥet, I have come to see the gods who "dwell in thee. Uncover your faces and put off your head-dresses "when ye meet me, for, behold, I am a mighty god among you, "and I have come to prepare provisions for you. Let not Sekher-"Āṭ (?) have dominion over me, let not the divine slaughterers

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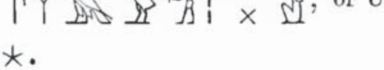
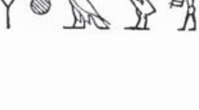
[1] See Maspero, *Les Hypogées*, p. 64.

[2] , or URT-SEKHEMU-S, 
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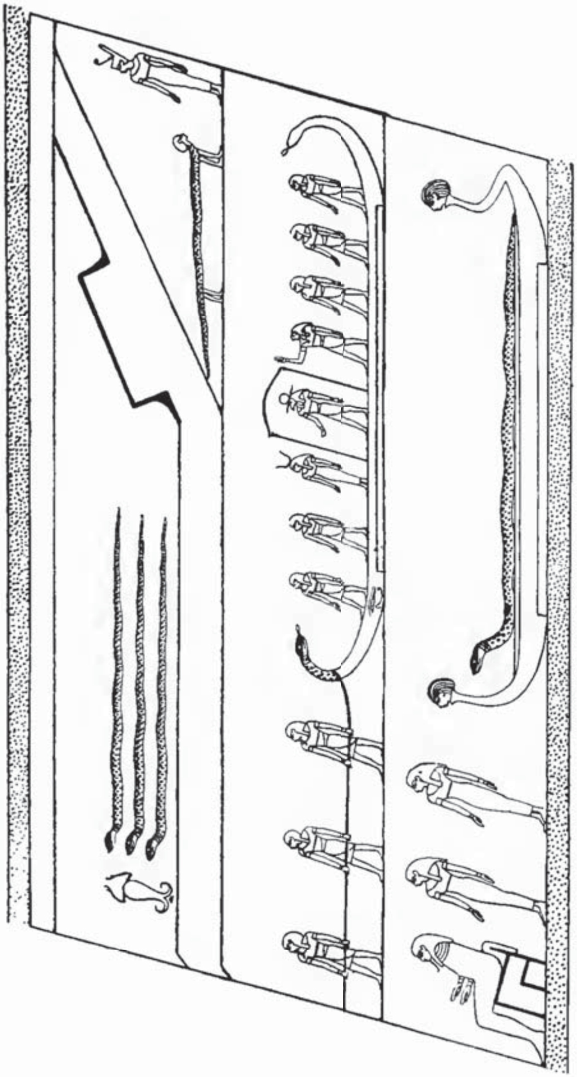
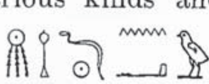
"come after me, let not the murderous fiends come after me, but "let me live upon sepulchral offerings among you."[1]

The illustrated edition of the Fourth Hour shows us the boat of Rā passing through an entirely new country, in fact a region



The Fourth Hour of the Night.

which is filled with huge and fearsome snakes, and represents the region over which the god Seker presides. Here there is no river with banks lined with the gods and the souls of the dead, and here there are no fields to be distributed by Rā among the faithful followers of himself and of Osiris; indeed there are so few beings to render him service that he is obliged to betake himself to another kind of boat, and the god of day is compelled to glide through the passages of the dark and gloomy land almost without a following of gods. Rā stands within a shrine in his boat as before, but the boat itself is formed of a serpent with a head at each end of his body; this boat is hauled over the sandy ground of the god "who is upon his sand" by gods of the company of Osiris, with whom, however, are mingled the gods of the company of Ptaḥ of Memphis, and Osiris himself is merged in Seker and becomes Osiris Seker. The narrow way, or road, of Re-stau has three doors, which are called Māṭes-sma-ta, , Meṭes-mau-āt, , and Meṭes-neḥeḥ, , and by these it is divided into three parts. Into one part the god Rā neither enters nor travels, but the door thereof obeys his voice; in another part is the body of Seker, who is on his sand, the hidden form which can be neither looked at nor seen; another part is that through which Seker passeth, but neither the gods, nor the spirits, nor the dead go through it, and it is filled with the souls which have been consumed by the fire that comes forth from the mouth of the goddess Ām-mit. The region through which the boat of Rā travels is full of thick darkness, and the light which the god usually emits is unable to penetrate it; in this difficulty he is helped upon his way by the light of the flames of fire which issue from the mouth of the serpent which forms the body of his boat. Among the gods who march in front of the boat are Thoth and Horus, who stand facing each other with outstretched hands in which they hold an Utchat, , which is here to be identified with the god Seker. The serpents which are passed by the god are of various kinds and of different sizes. The first, called Ḥetch-nāu, , lies at full length in a boat, each end of which terminates in a human head, and is the guardian of Seker; the second is three-headed, and he moves over the ground on four human legs and feet; the third is called Āmen,

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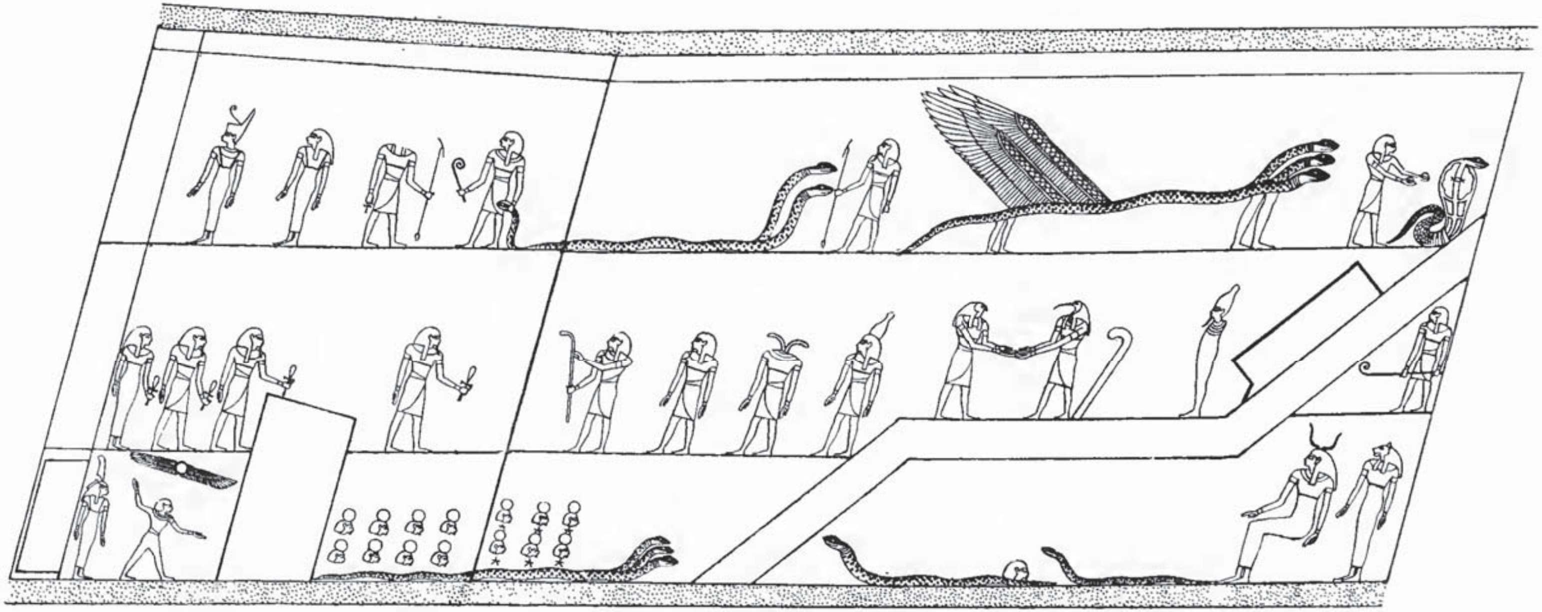
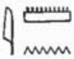
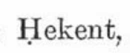
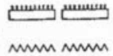
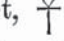
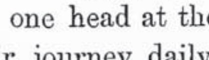
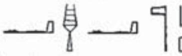
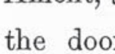
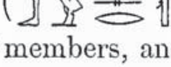
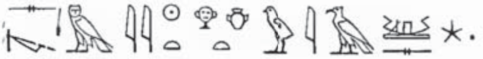
[1] See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* (Translation), p. 267.

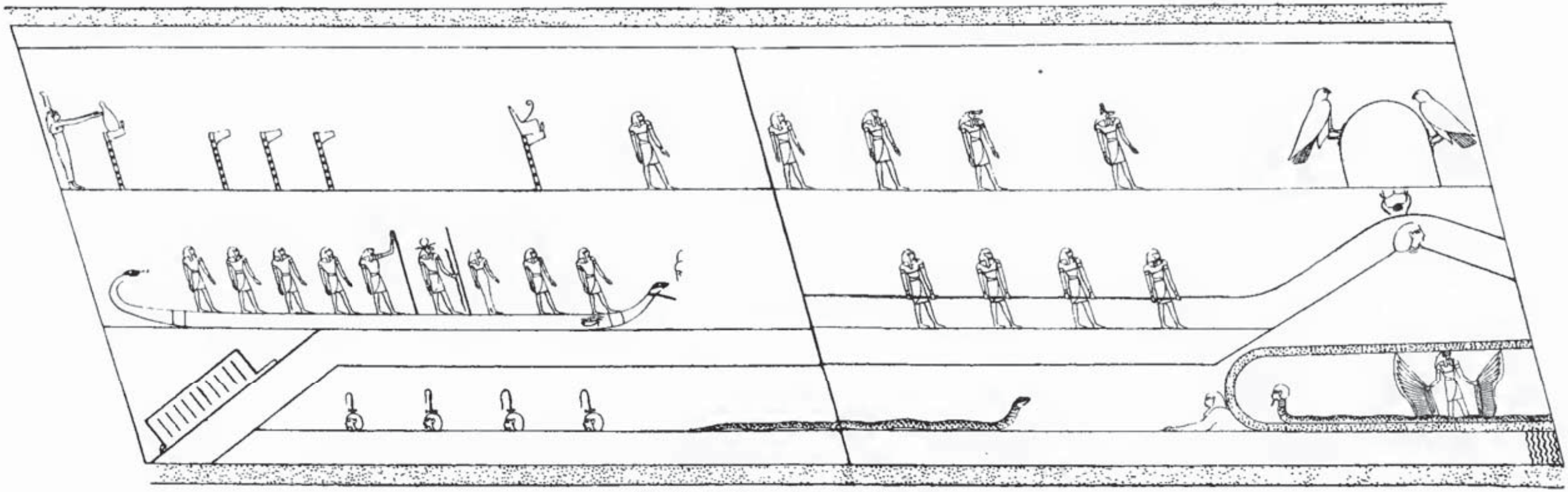


The Fourth Hour of the Night.

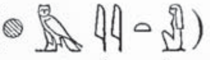
; the fourth is Ḥekent, . and has a human head growing out of its body just above the tail; and the fifth is Menmenu, , which has three heads, and bears on its back fourteen stars and fourteen human heads surmounted by disks. Next we have three huge serpents near the great scorpion Ankhet, , and a huge uraeus, to which libations are being poured out by a man; and a three-headed serpent, with wings, which moves along on four human feet and legs; and the serpent Neḥeb-kau, , which has two heads at one end of its body, and one head at the other. All these monsters are said to make their journey daily round about the region of the Fourth Hour, and they live upon what they find on their way.

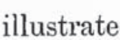
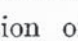
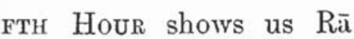
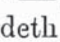
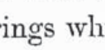
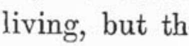
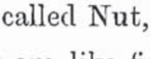
The last hour, as we have seen, is a part of the dominions of Seker, but the FIFTH HOUR, which is called SEMIT-ḤER-ÁBT-UÁA-S,[1] contains his capital city. The descriptive text says, "This great "god is drawn along over the actual roads of the Ṭuat, and over "the hidden Circle of Seker, the god who is on his sand, and he "neither seeth nor looketh upon the hidden figure of the land "which containeth the flesh of this god. The gods who are with "this god hear the voice of Rā-Ḥeru (?), and they adore him at "the seasons of this god. The name of the pylon of this city is "Āḥā-neteru, , and the name of this Circle is "Áment, . [Here are] the secret ways of Áment, and "the doors of the house of Áment, and the habitable house "() of the earth of Seker, and his flesh, and his "members, and his body, in their primeval forms. The name of "those who are in this Circle is 'Baiu ámu Ṭuat' (i.e., Souls in the "Ṭuat). The forms who are in their hours and their hidden beings "neither see nor look upon this form of Seker himself. Whosoever "maketh a picture of these things which are in Áment in the Ṭuat, "to the south of the hidden house, and whosoever knoweth these "things, his soul shall be at peace, and he shall be satisfied

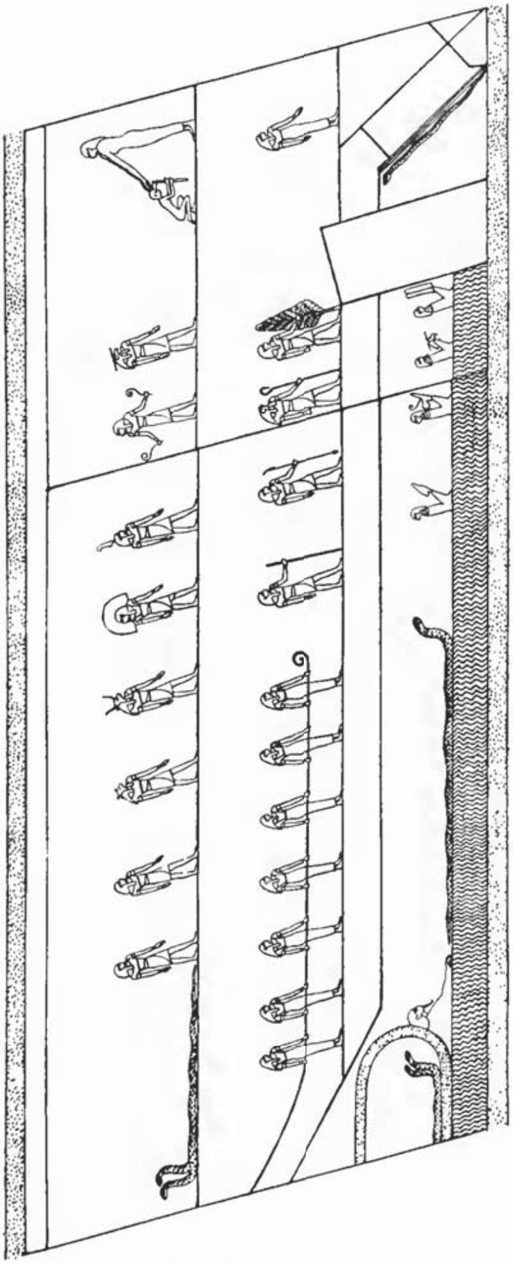
[1] 



The Fifth Hour of the Night.

"with the offerings of Seker. And Khemit () shall "not hack his body in pieces, and he shall go to her in peace. "Whosoever shall make offerings to these gods upon earth shall "[find] them of benefit to him in the Ṭuat."

The illustrated version of the FIFTH HOUR shows us Rā travelling in his serpent boat and being towed along by seven gods and seven goddesses, who represent the gods of fourteen days of the month; before these are the divine sovereign chiefs, i.e., Ḥer-khu, , Ȧn-ḥetep, , Ḥer-ḥequi, , and Ḥetch-met . Half way through the hour Rā comes to a mound of sand, the top of which is surmounted by the head of a woman, whereon rests the forepart of a beetle, only one half of which is visible, symbol of the god Kheperȧ; this head indicates the position of the hidden abode wherein is Seker, and when the beetle alights upon it the god Kheperȧ holds converse with that god. Immediately beneath the head is the "Land of Seker," which has the shape , and is described as the "hidden land of "Seker which guardeth the hidden flesh;" it is surrounded by a wall of sand, and at each end, outside the wall, is a sphinx with the head of a man and the body of a lion. Inside this land is a two-headed, winged serpent, with a tail which terminates in a human head; between the wings stands a figure of the hawk-headed god Seker; this serpent monster represents the god watching over his own image. The two sphinxes are watched by two serpents, Ṭepȧn, , and Ānkh-ȧapau, ; the first serpent enters into the presence of this god, and carries to him daily the offerings which are made by the living, but the second never leaves his place, and lives upon the flames which proceed from his own mouth. Before the second serpent are four seated gods, who bear on their knees the emblems of "hidden symbols" of Seker, i.e., , , , and , and rest by the side of a lake of water called Nut, ; for those who are in this lake its waters are like fire, and each of the heads of the four gods which rise above them bears upon it the symbol of fire. The lake is watched over by the company of gods of Rā, represented by nine axes, and five gods. But before Rā has passed through the Fifth Hour he arrives at a large vaulted chamber, filled with



The Fifth Hour of the Night.

sand, and called 𓇱, i.e., "Night," and on each side, clinging by its claws, is a hawk; from the lower part of it goes forth the beetle, only one half of which is visible. This beetle, or Kheperå, typified the germ of life, and when the boat of Rā was drawn on to the top of the mound of sand already described, it was supposed to stop on it as it passed, and having done so, it went to the dead god and raised him up to life. This chamber was guarded by a two-headed serpent called Ṭer, , and it had to be jealously watched in order to prevent the entrance of any one who would disturb or destroy the germ of life. A little beyond the chamber of sand is a group of seven gods, whose duty it was to inspect the slaughter of the dead in the Ṭuat, and to consume their bodies by the flames of their mouths in the course of each day; and a little further on is the goddess who "lives upon the blood of the dead," and who is occupied in slaying a man doomed to die by the gods. When the boat of Rā arrived at the end of the Fifth Hour he saw the star of the "living god, who journeyeth, "and journeyeth and passeth," . Dr. Brugsch, and following him M. Maspero, and others, have identified this star with the planet Venus, the star of the morning, and the identification is undoubtedly correct. This is an important fact, for, as M. Jéquier has pointed out,[1] coupled with the representation of the beetle going forth from the night to place itself in the boat of Rā, it shows us that the domain of Seker, although reduced to two hours which have been inserted in their proper geographical position in the Ṭuat, certainly at one time formed a complete hell, and that the rising of the sun was the final event which took place in it.

The Sixth Hour, which is called MESPERIT-ÅRĀT-MAĀTU,[2] brings us to the neighbourhood of the shrines of Osiris in the Delta. The descriptive text says, "When this great god arriveth "at the abyss of water, which is the lady of the gods of the Ṭuat, "he holdeth discourse with the gods who are there, and he giveth "the command for them to obtain the mastery over their offerings "( ) in this city. He saileth in this [Field] being

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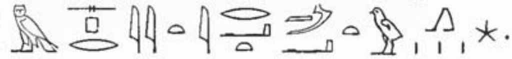
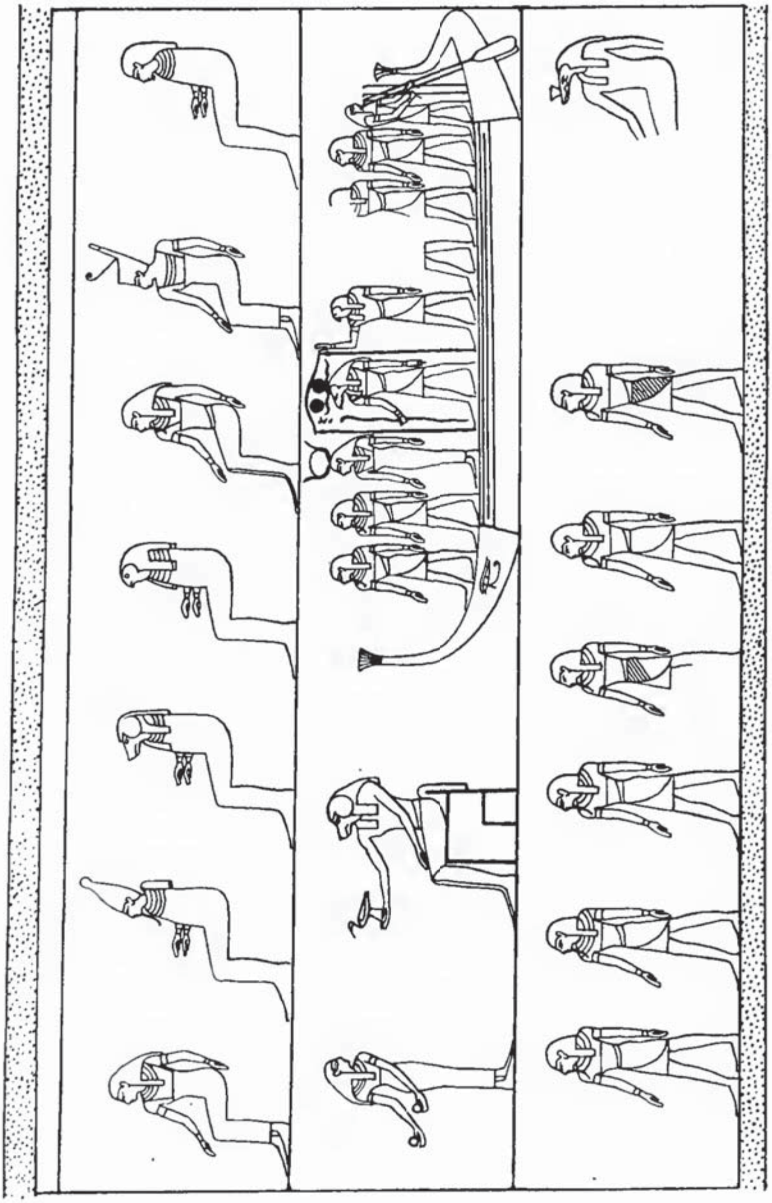
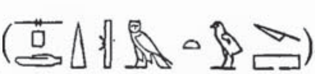
[1] *Le Livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'Hades*, p. 76.

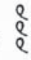
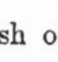
[2] 

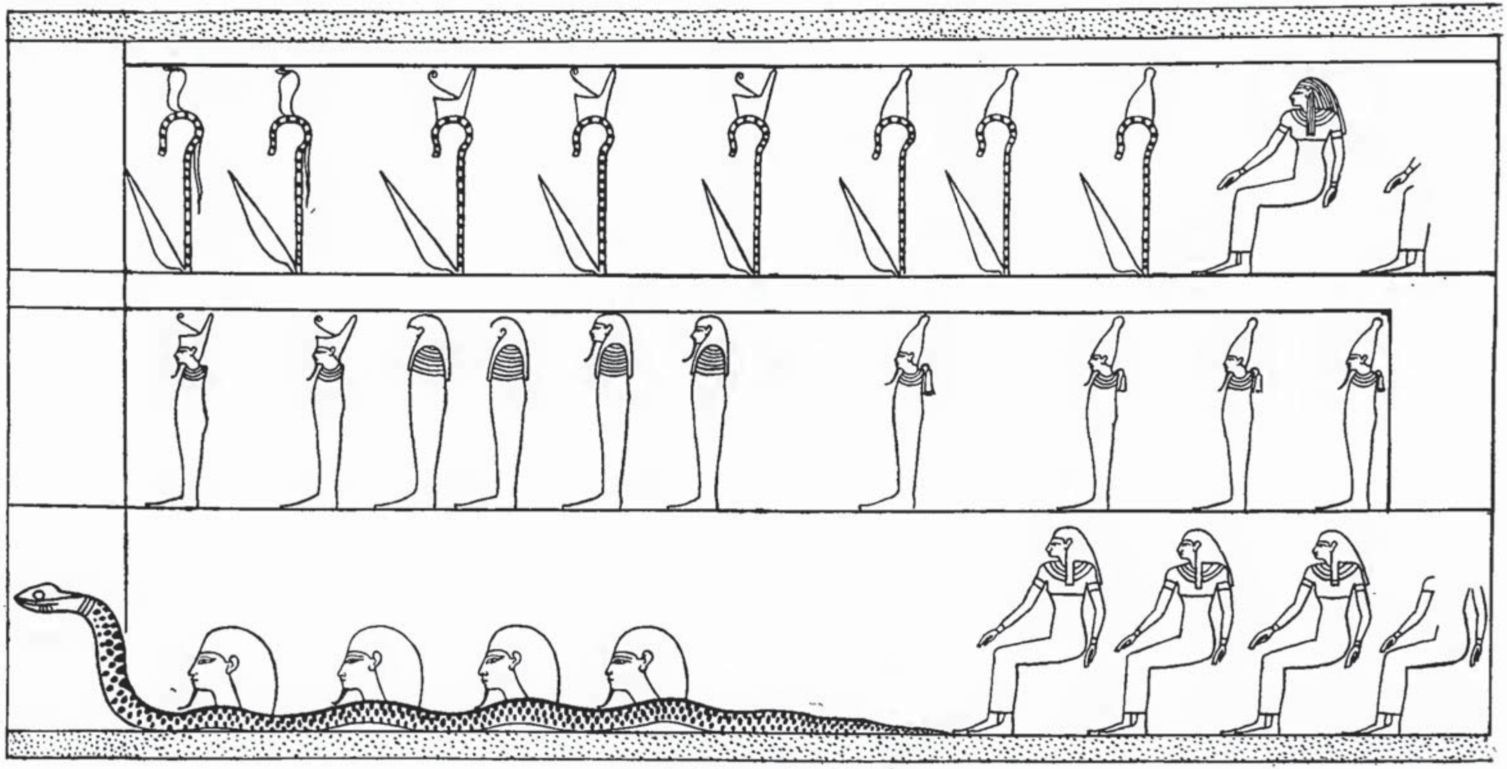
"provided with his boat, and he commandeth them [to have] their "fields for their offerings, and he giveth them water for their "streams as they go about the Ṭuat each day. The name of the



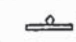
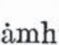
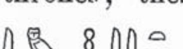
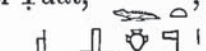
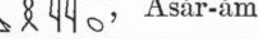
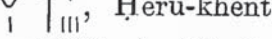
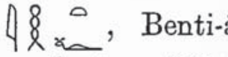
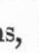
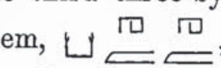
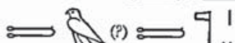
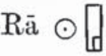
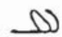
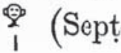
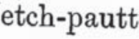
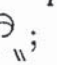
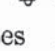
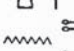
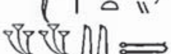
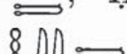
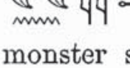
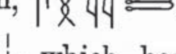
The Sixth Hour of the Night.

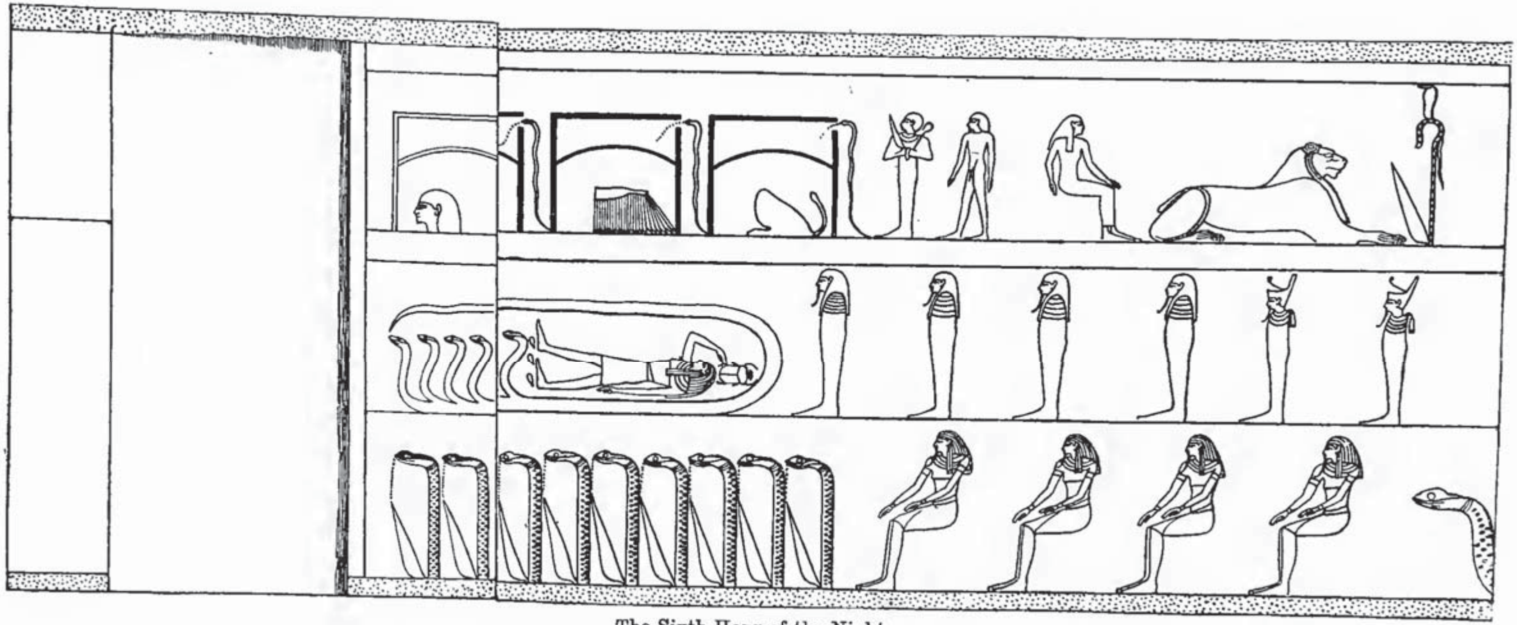
"pylon of this city is Sepṭ-metu (). The "hidden path of Åmentet, on the stream of which this great god 'journeyeth in his boat to perform the affairs of the gods of the "Ṭuat, and the collecting of their names, and the manner in which "their forms rest, and all that appertaineth to their hidden hours, "and the hidden similitude of the Ṭuat, are unknown . . . . The "majesty of this god uttereth words, and he giveth divine offerings "to the gods who are in the Ṭuat, and he standeth near them; "they see him, and they have the mastery over their fields and "over the gifts which are made to them, and they have their "beings through the command which this great god, who is "mighty of words, giveth unto them. The name of this district "is Metchet-nebt-Ṭuatiu ( )." The third paragraph of the text promises to those who make pictures of the Sixth Hour a participation in the offerings which have been made to the gods in the train of Osiris, and also that offerings shall be made to them by their kinsfolk on earth.

The illustrated edition of the Sixth Hour shows us that Rā has no longer any need of the boat which was made of the body of a serpent wherein he passed through the realm of Seker, and that he is once again in his old boat and sailing over the waters of the stream in the Ṭuat. In front of his boat are:—1. Thoth, who is called Khenti-Ṭuat, and who is represented by a dog-headed god holding an ibis on his out-stretched right hand; and 2. the goddess Ȧment-semu-set, . Beyond these is a large house with sixteen divisions, in each of which is a god in mummied form; these represent the mansions of Osiris, and four contain kings of the South, four contain kings of the North, four contain Ḥeteptiu, , and four contain Spirits. All these form the guardians of a huge five-headed serpent called Āsh-ḥrȧu, , the body of which is bent round into an irregular oval in such a way that his tail almost touches one of his heads. Lying on his back within this oval is a god who is called Āfu, , i.e., "Flesh," and as he is touching with his right hand the leg of a beetle which he holds on his head, we may assume that he represents the dead body of Kheperȧ, and is the opposite of the Sun-god in his boat, who is called "Flesh of Rā," . The sixteen gods mentioned

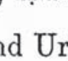
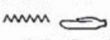
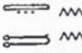


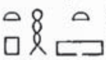
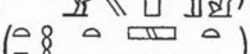
The Sixth Hour of the Night.

above are addressed by Rā, who commands them to be happy with their offerings, and to protect him, and to slay the serpent Āpepi; they hearken to his voice, and the text goes on to say that it is the voice of Rā which will make the god within the folds of the serpent Āsh-ḥrȧu and the beetle upon his head to move. With these must be mentioned the double company of the gods of Osiris, one company being depicted in human form sitting on invisible thrones; these are:—Ḥetep-Ḥenti-Ṭuat, , Ȧst-ȧmḥit,  , Ȧsȧr-ȧm-ȧb-neteru, , Ḥeru-khenti-ȧḥet-f, , Benti-ȧr-ȧḥt-f, , Maā-ȧb-ḳhenti-ȧḥt-f, , and three gods whose names are not given. The second company of nine gods is represented by nine sceptres, each of which has a knife fixed at its base, ; the first three are surmounted by the white crowns, , the second three by the red crowns, , and the third three by uraei, . Next we have the lion god Ka-hemhem, , with Isis, and Horus, and the mummied figure, , armed with , and, , who keep guard over the three houses of Rā, each of which is protected by a serpent god standing upon its tail and emitting fire from its mouth. The first house is called Ḥet-ṭua-Rā , and has for its symbol , and the sign ; the second is called Ḥet-stau-Kher-āḥa-Rā, , and has for its symbol, ; and the third is called Ḥet-ṭemṭet-Rā, , and has for its symbol, , the head of a man. On the left hand side of the boat of the Sun-god are two gods whose names are wanting, Ȧḥi, , Netch-ȧtef, , Ānkh-ḥrȧ, , Meṭ-ḥrȧ,  (Sepṭ-ḥrȧ ?), Netch-pautti, ; the goddesses Ȧntheth, , Ḥenḥenith, , Ḥemt, , and Seḥith, ; and the monster serpent Ām-khu, , which bears on its back the heads of the four Children of Horus, Mesthȧ, Ḥāpi,



The Sixth Hour of the Night.

Ṭuamutef, and Qebḥsennuf. The duty of this serpent is to devour the shadows and the spirits of the enemies of Rā, who are overthrown in the Ṭuat. The monster is followed by the four earthly forms of Osiris, Ḳai, , Meni-reṭ, , Enen-reṭui, , and Urṭ, , and nine fire-spitting serpents armed with knives, which are Ta-thenen, , Tem, Kheperȧ, Shu, Seb, Osiris, Horus, Ȧpu, , and Ḥetepui, . The duty of these gods consisted in destroying the enemies of Kheperȧ, and in cutting up their shadows; they lived in Nu and in the water of Ta-thenen, and Kheperȧ by means of his magical power daily made them to breathe through the word of Rā.

The Seventh Hour, which is called Khesef-ḥȧa-ḥeseq-Neḥa-ḥrȧ,[1] takes us into the region of the Ṭuat which contains the hidden abode of the god Osiris. The descriptive text says, "When the majesty of this great god arriveth in the hidden abode "(*Tepḥet* ) of Osiris, he addresseth to the gods who are "there [suitable] words. This god maketh to himself other forms "for this hidden abode, so that he may turn back the way for "Āpep by means of the magical words of Isis, and the magical "words of Ser, . The name of the pylon of this city through "which the god journeyeth is 'Gate of Osiris' ( ); "and the name of the city is Tepḥet-shetat (). "This great god passeth over the hidden way of Ȧmentet in his "boat which is endowed with magical powers, and he journeyeth "over it when there is no stream in it, and when there are none to "tow him. He performeth this by means of the words of power "of Isis and of Ser, and by means of the mighty words of power "which proceed from his own mouth, and in this region of the "Ṭuat he inflicteth with the knife wounds upon Āpep, whose "place is in heaven." The man who shall make a picture of the things which are to the north of the hidden house of the Ṭuat shall find it of great benefit to him both in heaven and on earth; and

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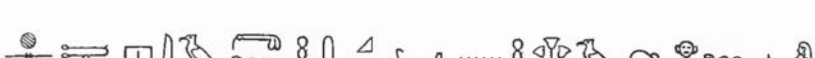
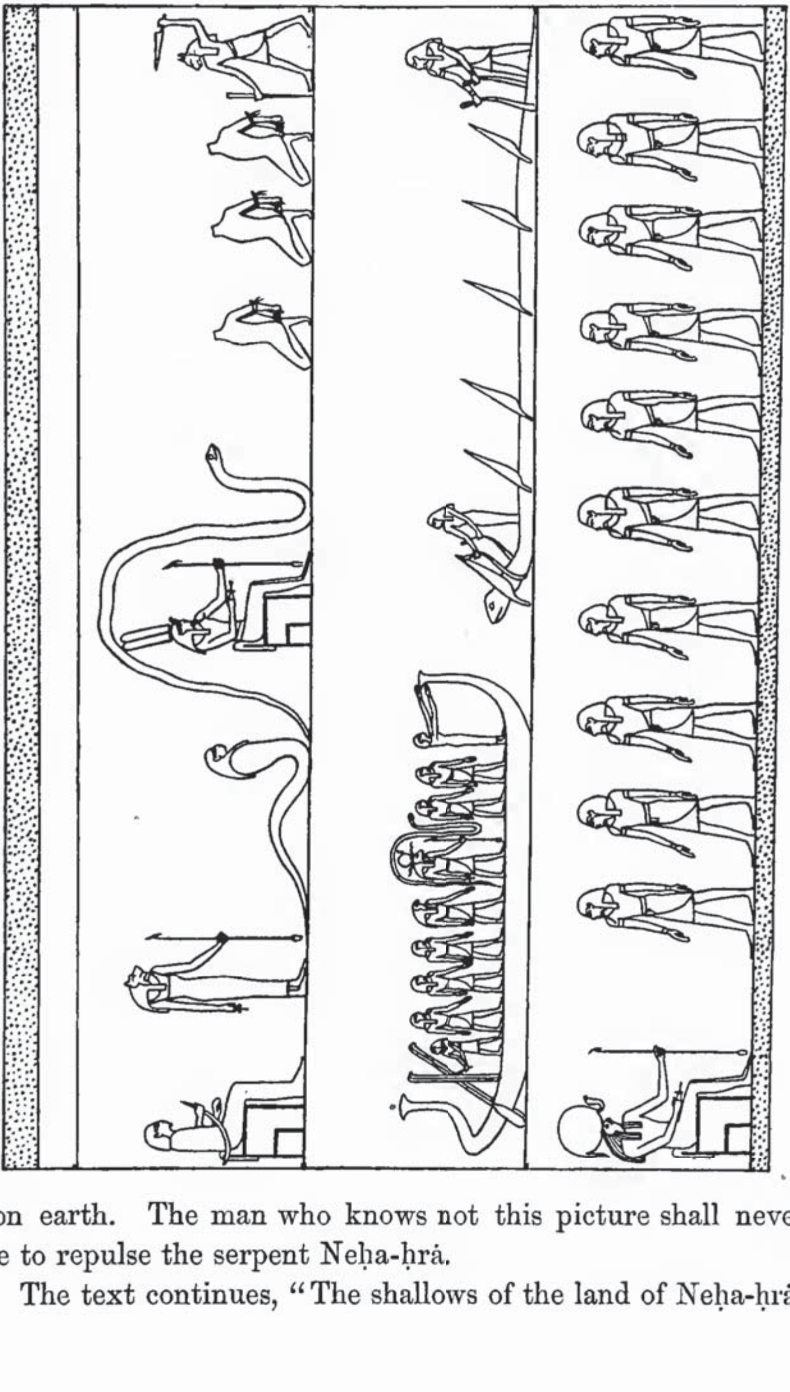
[1] .

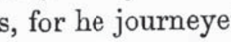
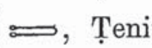
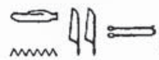
he who knows it shall be among the spirits near Rā, and he who recites the words of Isis and Ser shall repulse Āpep in Ȧmentet, and he shall have a place on the boat of Rā both in heaven and

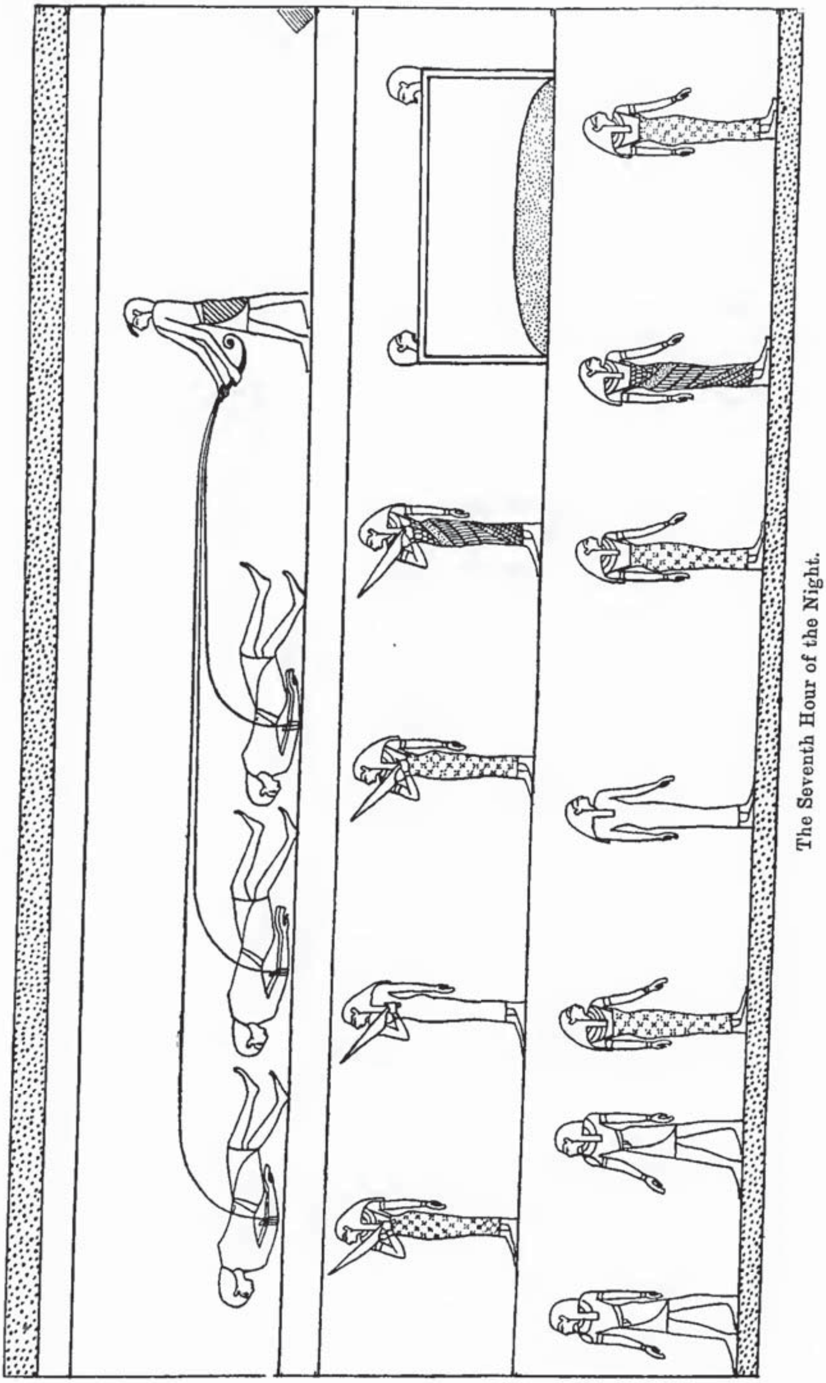


The Seventh Hour of the Night.

upon earth. The man who knows not this picture shall never be able to repulse the serpent Neḥa-ḥrȧ.

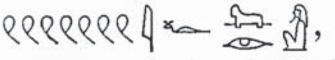
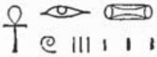
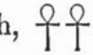
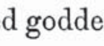
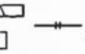
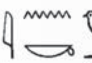
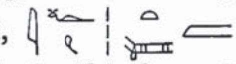
The text continues, "The shallows of the land of Neḥa-ḥrȧ are

"450 cubits long, and it is filled with his folds, but over one "portion thereof this great god journeyeth not when he travelleth "to the hidden abode of Osiris, for he journeyeth through this city "under the form of the god Meḥen, (). Neḥa-ḥrȧ shall "never drink the water of him that knoweth this, and the "soul which knoweth it shall never be given over to the violence "of the gods who are in this Circle; and the crocodile Āb-she "( ) shall never eat the soul of him that knoweth it." From what is said above we see that the boat of Rā has arrived at a shallow place in the celestial stream where there is not enough water to float the boat, or even to allow it to be towed; moreover, the serpent Neḥa-ḥrȧ opposes the advance of the god. In this difficulty Isis, the great enchantress, enters the boat, and standing in the bows utters the words which make it proceed on its way. Neḥa-ḥrȧ, as we see from the illustrated edition of the hour, is seized by Serqet and Ḥer-ṭesu-f, , and held in bonds, and is transfixed to the ground by six knives; thus Rā, with the serpent Meḥen over him in the form of a canopy, moves on without let or hindrance. Behind the monster serpent stand four goddesses, each armed with a huge knife, whose duty it is to guard the tombs of the four forms of Osiris; the names of the four goddesses are:—Ṭemṭith, , Ṭenith, , Nȧkith, , and Ḥetemitet, . Their duty was to drive away the enemies of Rā, and to hack in pieces with their awful knives the fiend Āpep every day. The four tombs of Osiris are rectangular buildings, and inside each is a bed or small mound of sand whereunder lie the dead souls of the god, which are known by the names Tem, Kheperȧ, Rā, and Osiris. At each end of each tomb is a human head, which is said to come forth from the tombs whenever it hears the voice of Rā, and after he has passed "they eat their own forms," i.e., the heads disappear from sight. It was, no doubt, a custom in predynastic times to slay slaves at the graves of kings and nobles, just as in many parts of the world it has been the custom to kill human beings and to lay their bodies beneath the foundations of buildings which were to



The Seventh Hour of the Night.

be erected in order that the souls of the slaughtered might protect them and keep away evil spirits. The human heads on the tombs of Osiris probably represent a tradition that, when Osiris was buried, human sacrifices were offered at his tomb for this or for some similar purpose.[1] This view has been well discussed by M. Lefébure, who has done so much to illustrate the religious and funeral customs of the ancient Egyptians,[2] and some allusion to it is probably made by Horapollo,[3] who says that when they wanted to represent φυλακτήριον they were wont to draw two human heads, one male and the other female, that of the male looking inwards, and that of the female outwards. These heads would keep away the attack of any evil spirit, even if no inscription was placed with them.

The other illustrations of this hour show us the god Àf-Àsàr, , i.e., "Flesh of Osiris," seated under a canopy made by the body of a form of the serpent Meḥen called Ānkh-àru-tchefau, , with the human-headed serpent Ānkhtith, , and the lion-headed goddess Ḥekenth, , behind him; a little further behind is the god Shepes, , a form of Thoth. Before the god kneel three figures, whose heads have been cut off by a cat-headed god, and lying on the ground are three beings who have been fettered by the god Ànku, , these represent the enemies of Osiris whose souls have been plucked out, and whose shadows have been hacked in pieces because they rebelled against the lord of the Ṭuat. Before these are three human-headed hawks wearing double crowns, and they represent the souls of the "living;" and on a serpent near is seated on a throne the god Àf-Tem, , i.e., "Flesh of Tem." Among the other gods in this hour is "Horus on his throne," and before him are a company of gods who have been

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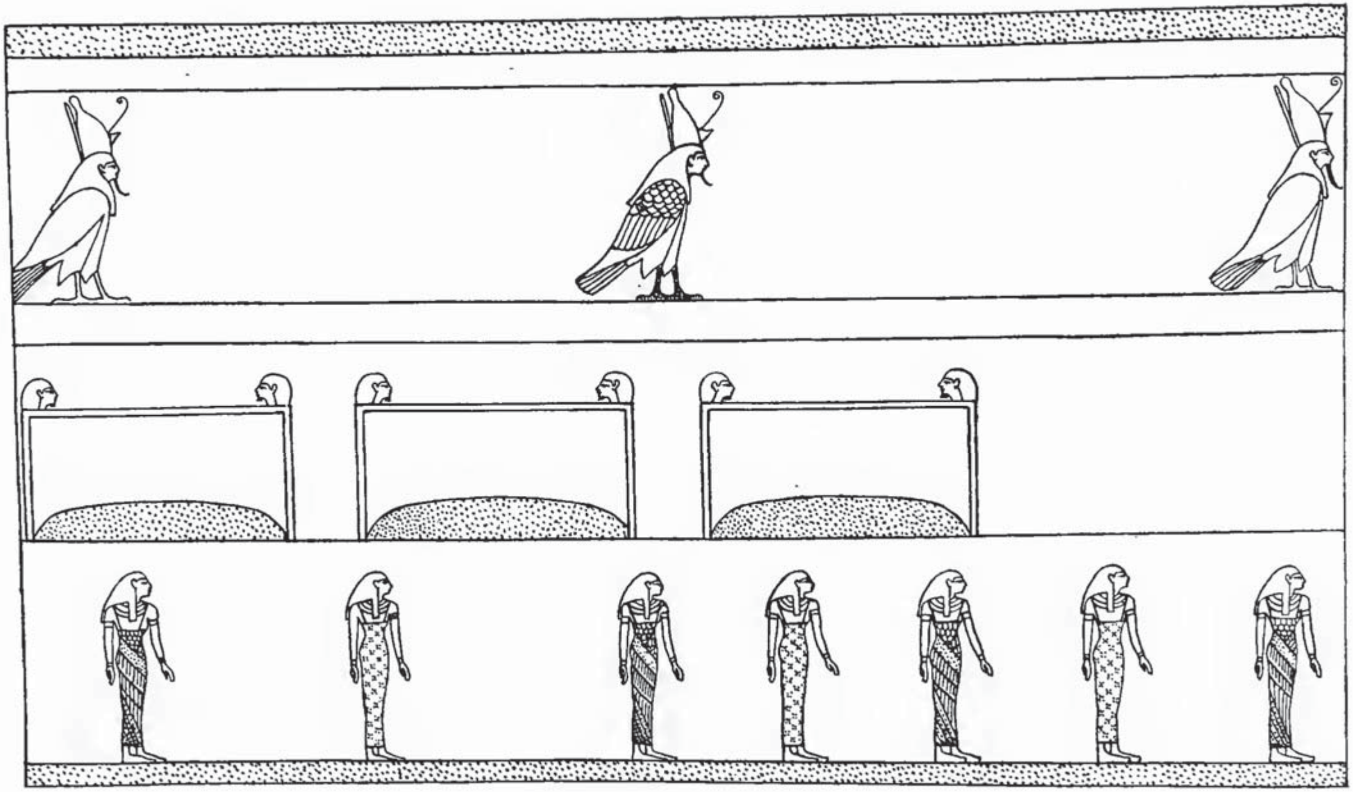
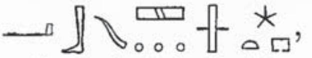
[1] See Maspero, *Les Hypogées*, p. 104; Jéquier, op. cit., p. 94.

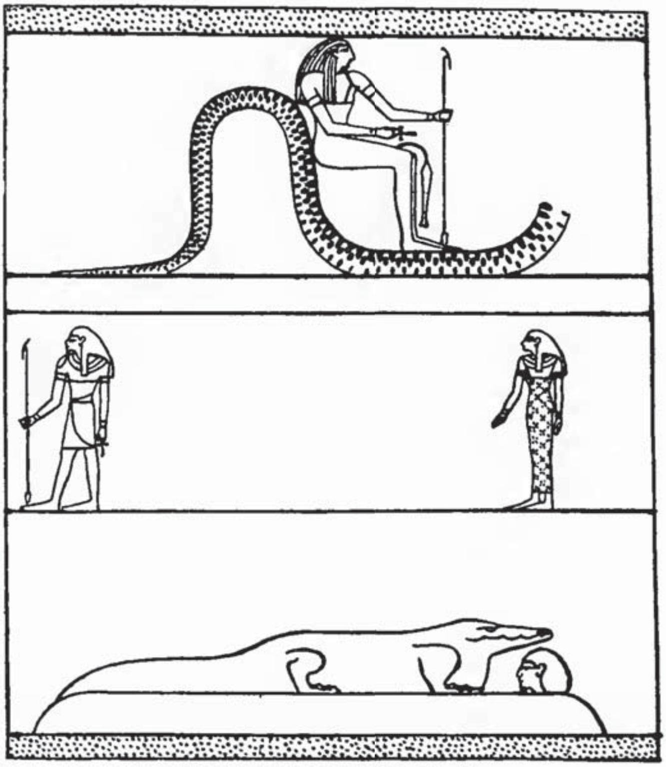
[2] *Rites Égyptiens*, pp. 4 ff., 18 ff.

[3] Φυλακτήριον δὲ γραφειν βουλόμενοι, δύο κεφαλάς ανθρώπων ζωγραφοῦσι, τὴν μὲν τοῦ ἄρσενος ἔσω βλέπουσαν, τὴν δὲ θηλυκὴν ἔξω. ὄυτω γάρ φασιν οὐδὲν τῶν δαιμονίων ἐφαψεται, ἐπειδὴ καὶ χωρὶς γραμμάτων, κ.τ.λ. *Hieroglyphica*, i. 24.



The Seventh Hour of the Night.

joined to their stars, and the goddesses of the twelve hours. Facing these companies is the crocodile "Āb-shā-ȧm-Ṭuat," , who acts as guardian of the tomb of Osiris and of what is in it. When Rā passes by the crocodile, which is described as "Osiris, the Eye of Rā," this beast is fascinated and made helpless by the words so long as the god is speaking to him, and the dead Osiris, who is in the ground under the crocodile, puts up his head that he also may look at the Sun-god; the followers of Osiris also seize the opportunity of gazing upon Rā, and do so without risk of being devoured by the monster which is temporarily enchanted.



The Seventh Hour of the Night.

The Eighth Hour, which is called Nebt Ushau,[1] brings us into a very interesting division of the Ṭuat; the name of its pylon

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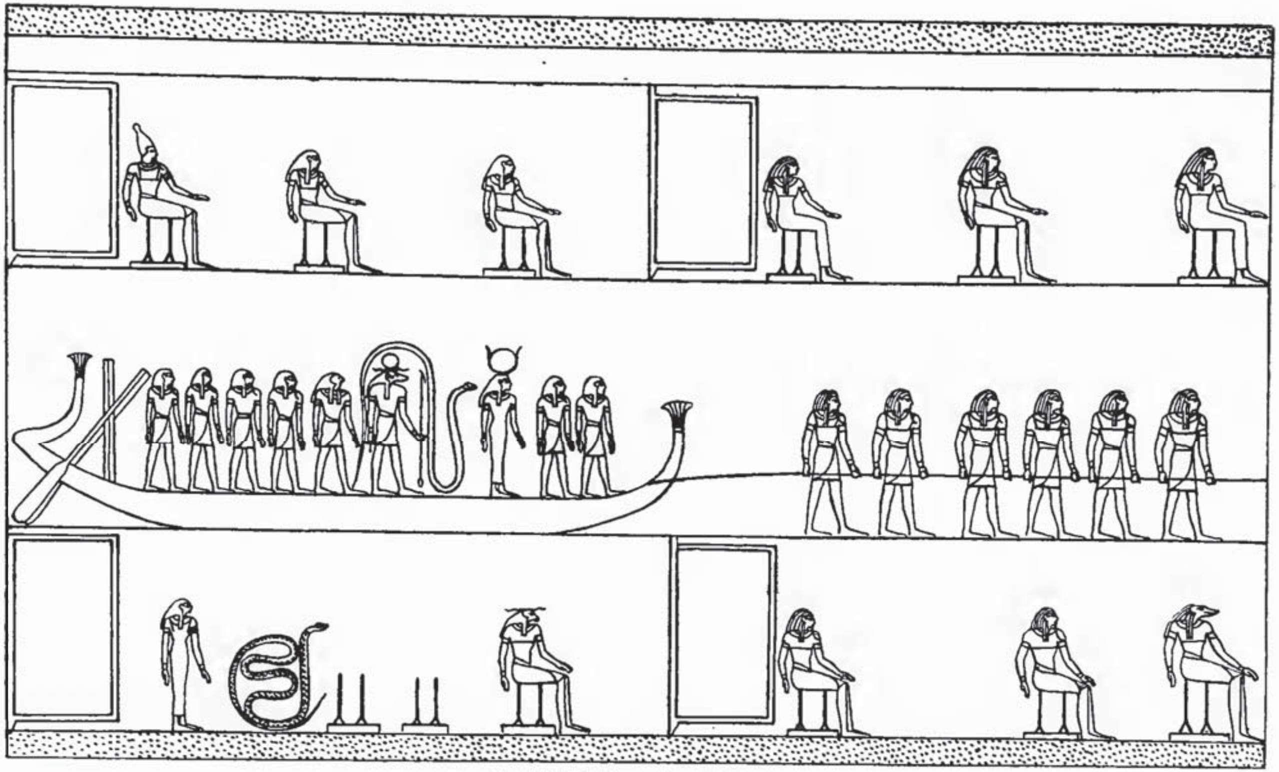
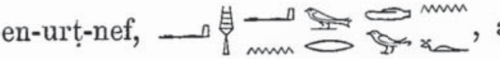
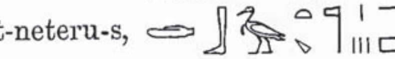
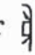
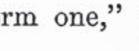
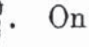
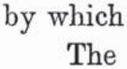
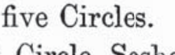
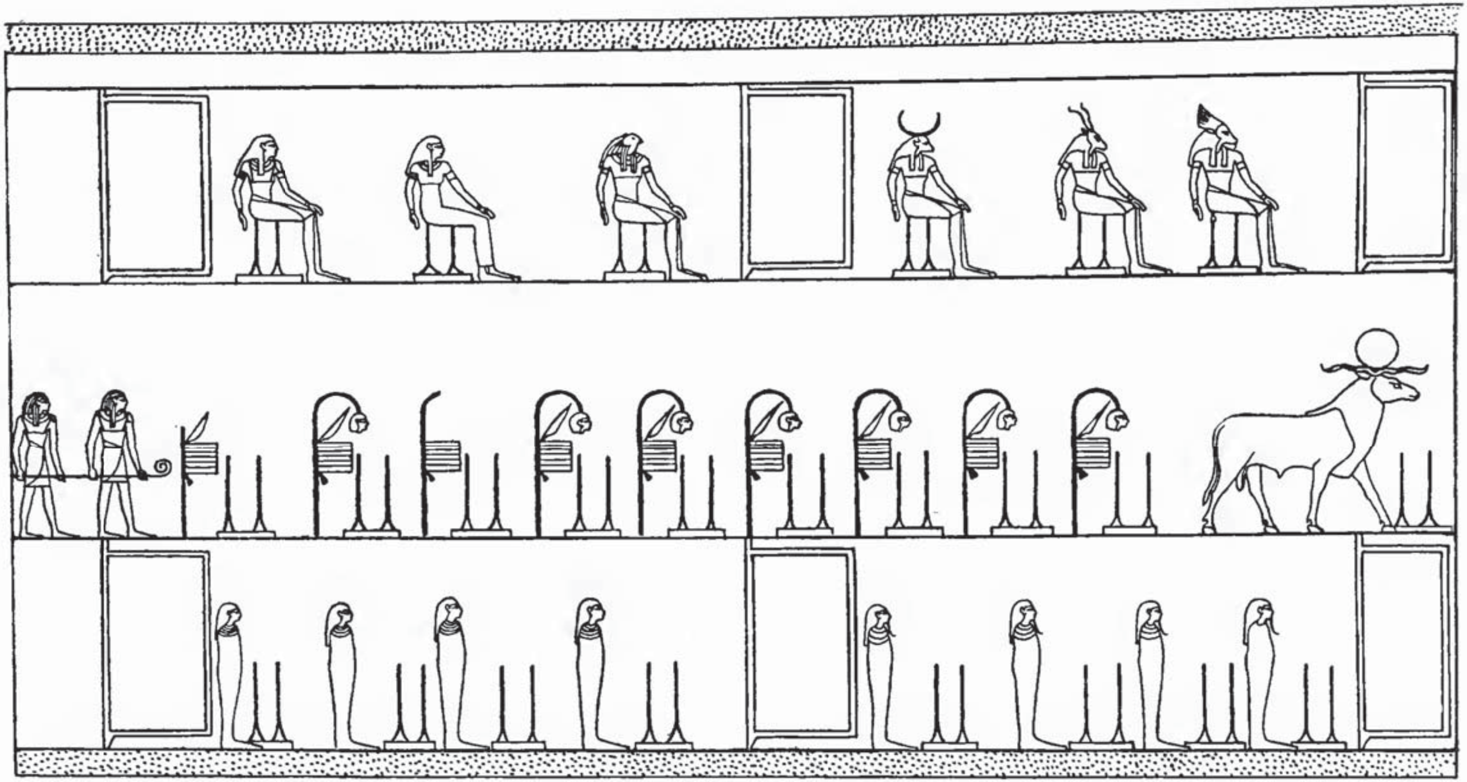
[1] .



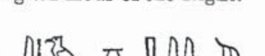
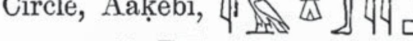
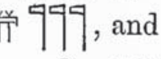
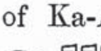
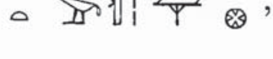
The Eighth Hour of the Night.

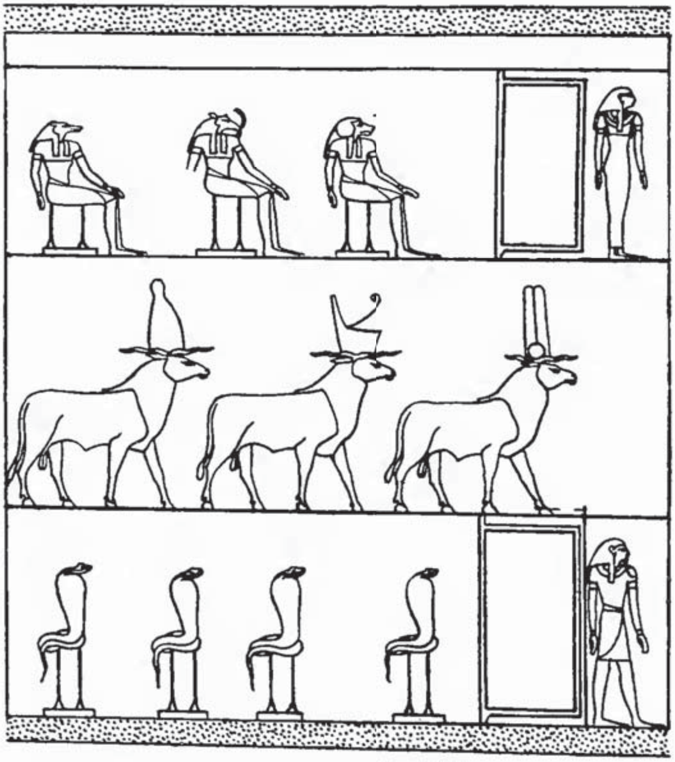
is Āḥā-en-urṭ-nef, , and the name of the city is Ṭebat-neteru-s, . Rā passes through this division in his boat under the protection of Meḥen, and its gods tow him at the command of this mighty snake; he sees all the gods in their various Circles, and those "who are on their sand," and he addresses words to them. They come out of their secret abodes when the god passes by, and the doors thereof open of their own accord. In this Hour only gods and spirits who have been mummified and buried with appropriate rites are to be found, and, though dead, they quickly come to life again at the words of Rā, who exhorts them to put an end to all the enemies of his who are to be found in that region. The illustrated edition of the Hour shows us the boat of the god being towed along, and in front of it are nine large signs, the forms of which are based upon the hieroglyphic character  *shesu* or *shemsu*, i,e., "follower" or "servant." From the top of seven of these is suspended a human head, which shows that we are actually dealing with beings who are in the following of Osiris, and before each is the hieroglyphic for "linen," . These nine remarkable objects represent beings who have been mummified in the manner prescribed by Horus, and who are suitably provided with funeral bandages; they are described as beings whose whole life is in their heads, and when Rā calls to them by their names they immediately seize his enemies everywhere and cut off their heads with their knives. Before these are the four forms of the god Ṭa-thenen, , which are depicted as rams and are described as "form one," , "form two," , "form three," , and "form four," . On each side of the way by which Rā journeys are five Circles.

The door of the first Circle, Sesheta, is called Ṭes-neb-ṭerer. . . . , and shuts in the images of Tem, Kheperȧ, and Shu; when Rā speaks to them they answer in a voice which resembles the humming of bees. The door of the second Circle,

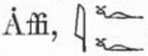
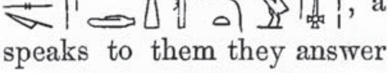
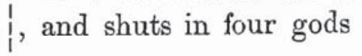
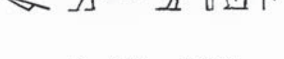


The Eighth Hour of the Night.

Ṭuat, , is called Ṭes-āḥā-Ta-thenen, , and shuts in the images of Tefnut, Seb, and Nut; when Rā speaks to them they answer in a voice which resembles that of weeping women. The door of the third Circle, Ȧs-neteru, , is called Ṭes-khem-baiu, , and shuts in the images of Osiris, Isis, and Horus; when Rā speaks to them they answer in a voice which resembles that of men who moan. The door of the fourth Circle, Ȧaḳebi, , is called Ṭes-sheta-em-theḥen-neteru, , and shuts in the images of Ka-Ȧmentet, , Ba-neteru, , and Rem-neteru, ; when Rā speaks to them they answer in a voice which is like that of bulls and men when they make lamentation. The door of the fifth Circle, Nebt-semu-nefu, ,



The Eighth Hour of the Night.

is called Ṭes-sma-kekui, , and shuts in the images of Khatri, , Åffi, , and Årānbfi, ; when Rā speaks to them they answer in a voice which is like unto that of him that maketh supplication in terror. These five Circles are shut in by a door called Ṭes-khaibit-ṭuatiu, . The door of the sixth Circle is called Ṭes-ermen-ta, , and shuts in some divine beings whose attributes are not yet all clearly defined; when Rā speaks to them they answer in a voice which is like that of male cats when they mew. The door of the seventh Circle, Ḥetemet-khemiu, , is called Ṭes-Rā-khefti-f, , and shuts in Nut, Ta, and Sebeq-ḥrå, ; when Rā speaks to them they answer in a voice which is like the roar of the living. The door of the eighth Circle, Ḥap-semu-s, , is called Ṭes-sekhem-åru, , and shuts in four gods;[1] when Rā speaks to them they answer in a voice which is like the shouts of war heard in the battle of Nu. The door of the ninth Circle, Seḥert-baiu-s, , is called Ṭes-sept-nestu, , and shuts in four gods;[2] when Rā speaks to them they answer in a voice which is like that of the cry of the divine hawk of Horus. The door of the tenth Circle, Āāt-setekau, , is called Ṭes-khu, , and shuts in four gods in the form of uraei

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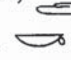
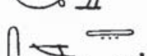
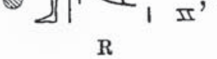
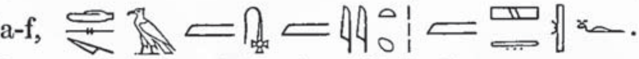
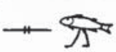
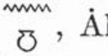
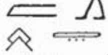
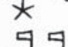
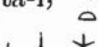
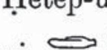
[1] , Ḥebset , Senket; , Ṭebat; and Temṭet, .

[2] , Keku; , Menḥi; , Tcher-khu; and , Khebs-ta.

who rest upon ; when Rā speaks to them they answer in a voice which is like the twittering and chattering of water-fowl on a lake. The last five Circles are shut in by a door called Ṭes-am-mit-em-sheta-f, .

The Ninth Hour, which is called Ṭuatet-Māket-neb-s,[1] brings us into a country which is called the "hidden Circle of "Àmentet"; the name of the city is Bes-àru,  ,[2] and the name of its pylon is Sa-Aḳeb, . "When the great god arriveth in this "Circle he addresseth from his boat the gods who are therein, and "the sailors who are in his boat are content with this city." The man who shall make a copy of the scenes of this Hour, and shall know the names of the gods and their places in Àmentet shall attain to a position in Àmentet, and he shall stand up in the presence of the lord of affairs and shall enjoy the power of making what he says to come to pass with the divine assessors, , on the day of reckoning up accounts by Per-āa (Pharaoh). The illustrated edition of this Hour shows us the boat of the god travelling on as before, and in front of it are twelve divine rowers, each with his paddle; among these are Khenu, , Àkhem-sek-f, , Àkhem-urṭ-f, , Àkhem-ḥemi-f, , Àkhem-khemes-f, , Khen-unnut-f, , Ḥāpti-ta-f, , Ḥetep-uàa, , Neter-neteru, , Tcha-Ṭuat, , and Ṭepi, . The duty of these sailors is not only to row, but also to throw water with their paddles upon the spirits who stand on each bank of the river whereon the god sails, and they have to lead the soul of Rā to the place where he will reanimate the disk. Before these sailors, resting on baskets, are the three gods who give abundant

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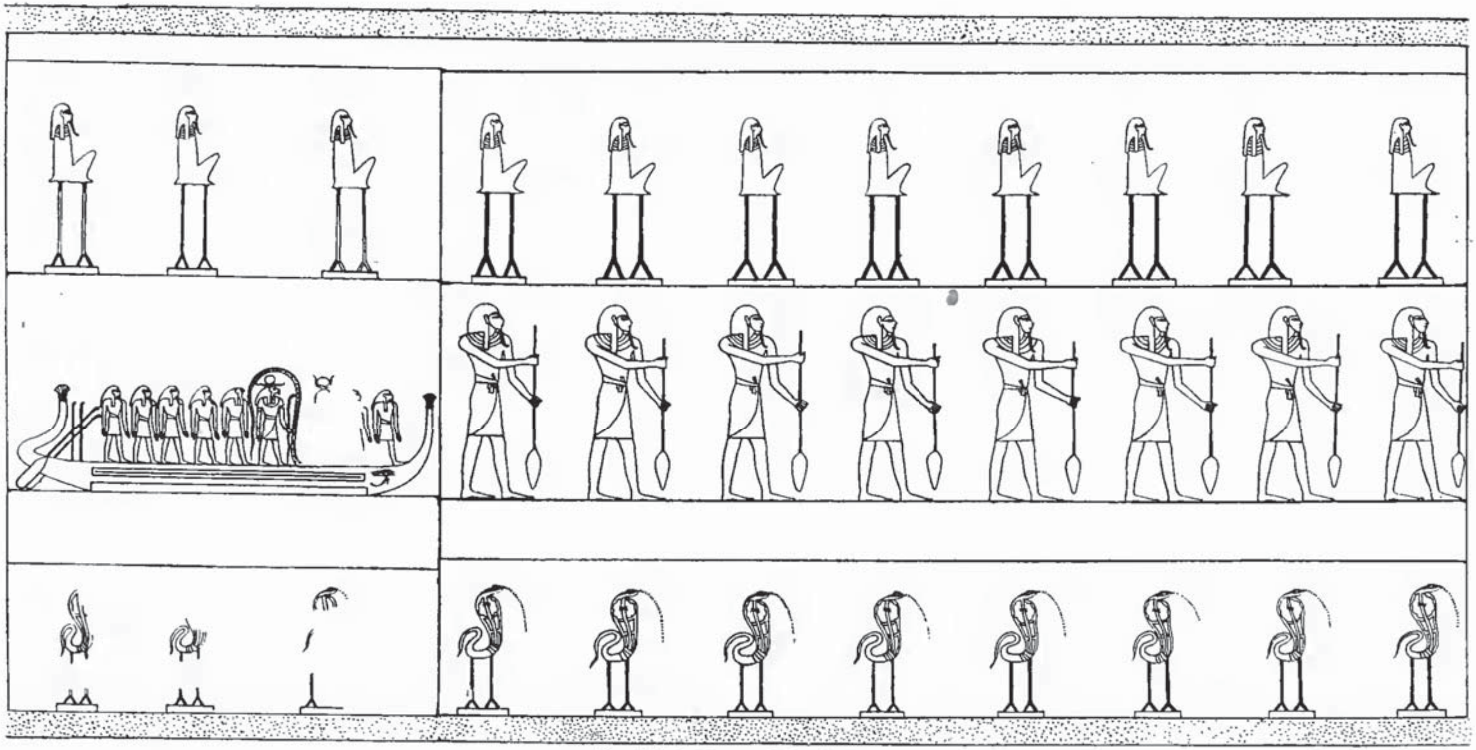
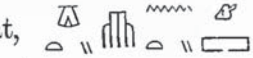
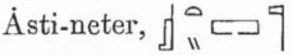
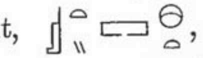
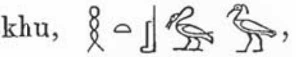
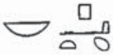
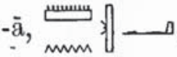
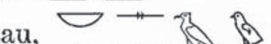
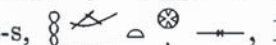
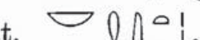
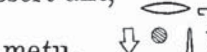
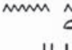
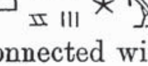
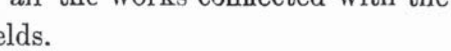
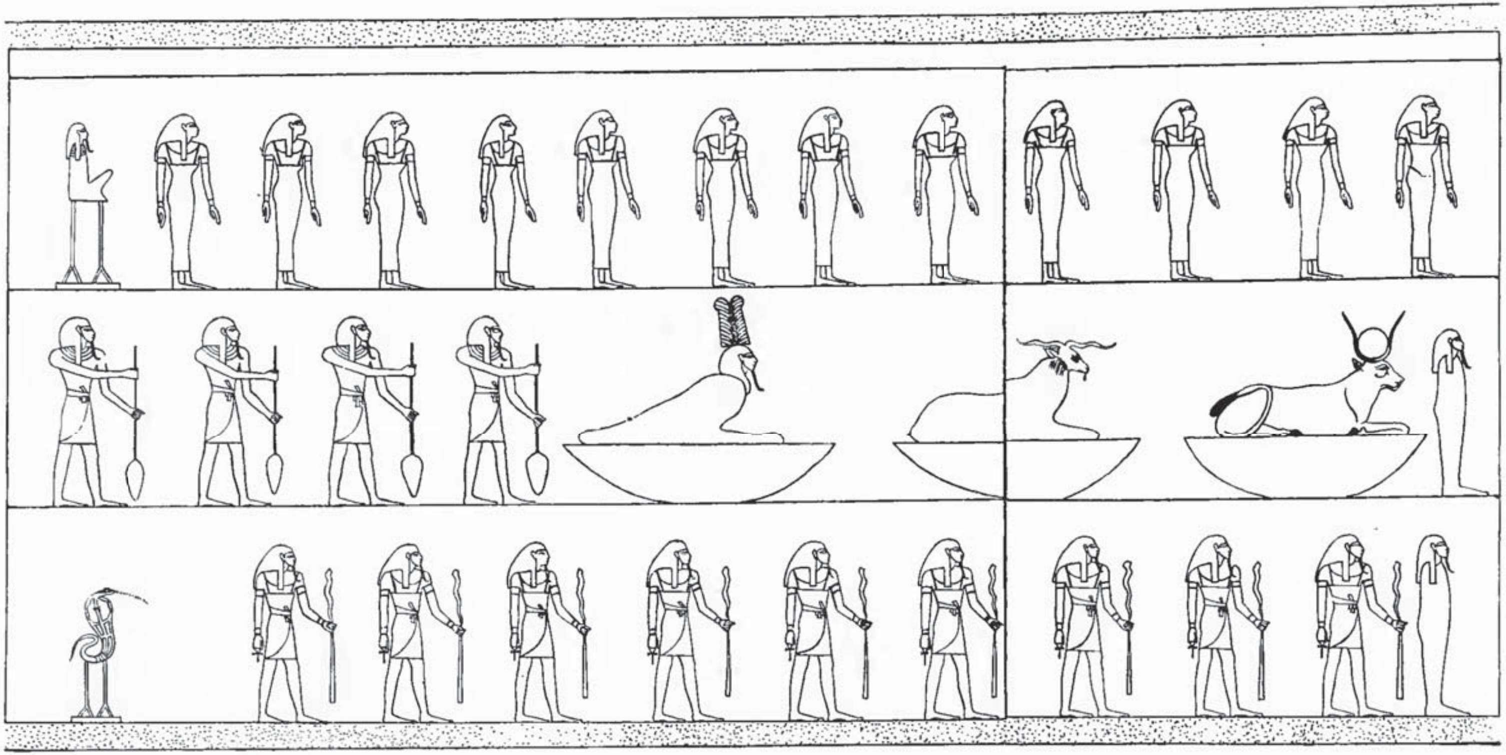
[1] .

[2] Some copies add .

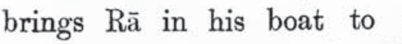
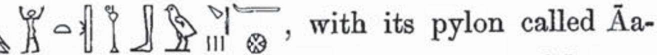
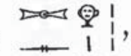
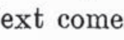
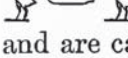
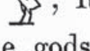
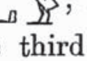
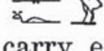
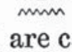
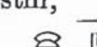
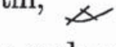
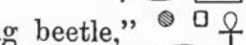
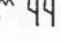


The Ninth Hour of the Night.

offerings, Muti-khenti-Ṭuat, , Nesti-khenti-Ṭuat, , and Nebt-āu-khent-Ṭuat, . On the right the boat of Rā passes twelve gods, each seated on , and twelve goddesses; these last are said to breathe after he has saluted them, and after they have heard his voice, and their duty is to utter words of power wherewith they are to surround the hidden soul, and thereby to cause life and strength to rise up in Osiris. The names of these are:—Nehata, , Ṭeba, , Ariti, , Menkhet, , Ḥebs, , Nebti, , Ȧsti-neter, , Ȧsti-paut, , Ḥetemet-khu, , Neb-pāt, , Ṭemṭu, , Men-ā, , Perit, , Shemat-khu, , Nebt-shāt, , Nebt-shefshefet, , Āat-āaṭet, , Nebt-seṭau, , Ḥent-nut-s, , Nebt-māt, , Ṭesert-ānt, , Āat-khu, , Sekhet-meṭu, , Netert-en-khentet-Rā, . On the left are twelve uraei, each of whom rests on , and sends out fire through his mouth; they are said to kindle the fire for the god who is in the Ṭuat with the fire which is in their mouths, and when the god has passed on his way they eat up the fire which they poured forth before Rā went by. The object of the fire was, of course, to show light on his path. Before these uraei come the nine gods of cultivation and of husbandry, who are under the direction of a god in mummified form; these nine are the *sekhtiu*, , or "field-labourers," of the god Ḥer-she-ṭuati, , their leader, and they perform all the works connected with the ploughing and watering of the fields.



The Ninth Hour of the Night.

The Tenth Hour, which is called ṬENṬIT-UḤESQET-KHAṬ-ÀB,[1] brings Rā in his boat to the city called Metchet-qat-uṭebu, , with its pylon called Āa-kheperu-mes-àru, . The boat of the sun travels on as before, but Rā again holds a serpent in his hand after the manner of a staff. Immediately in front is the serpent Thes-ḥrâu, , with a head at each end of his body; on one head is the white crown, and on the other the red crown; he has two pairs of human legs, one pair turned towards the right, and the other pair towards the left. His body is bent in the form of a pair of horns, and in the curve stands Khent-Ḥeru, , in the form of a black hawk; on the left is the goddess of the north, Neith, with her two bows, , and on the right is the goddess Ḥert-ermen, . Next comes a boat containing the serpent Ānkh-ta, and before it are three groups, each containing four gods. The gods of the first group have solar disks for heads, and are armed with arrows, and are called Ṭeptherà, , Sheserà, , Ṭemau, , and Uṭu, . The gods of the second group carry each a javelin, and are called Setu, , Rāu, , Khesfu, , and Nekenu, ; and the gods of the third group carry each a bow, and are called Pesthi, , Shemerthi, , Ṭhesu, , and Khā-ā, . All these gods accompany Rā as he goes towards the east, and they slay all his enemies who live in the darkness, and wreak special vengeance on the serpent Neḥa-ḥrà; they escort the god to the very limits of the Hour, and form part of his train in the eastern part of the sky. The name of the region traversed by Ra in this Hour is Àḳert, . As the boat of Rā passes the god sees the "living beetle," , born in the presence of the god P-ānkhi, , and sees how he

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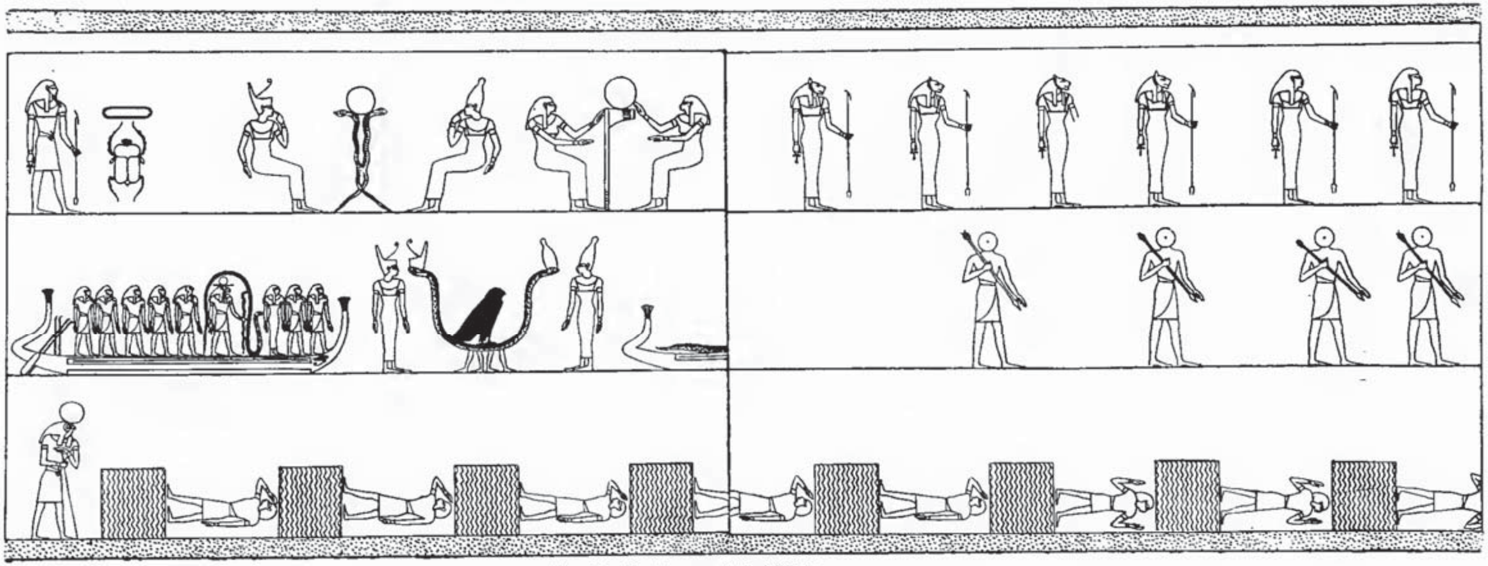
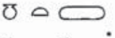
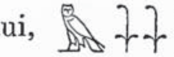
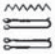
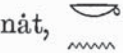
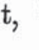
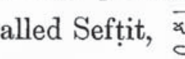
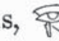
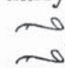
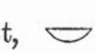
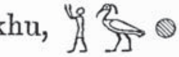
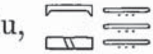
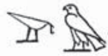
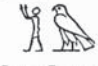
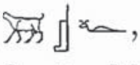
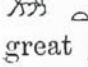
[1] .



The Tenth Hour of the Night.

pushes before him his zone, . Next we have the two serpents, Menenui, , standing on their tails, and holding on their bent necks a solar disk; and two seated personifications of the South and North; and the two goddesses, Netheth, , and Kenȧt, , one of whom supports the hatchet, and the other the solar disk, which rests upon it, . From the serpents go forth two goddesses, those of the East and West; and from the axe, called Sefṭit, , go forth the goddesses of the East and West also; i.e., these goddesses are the souls of the serpents and of the axe, which come forth to look upon the Sun-god, and as soon as he has passed they return into their material bodies.

Next Rā sees eight[1] goddesses advancing to a seated dog-headed god, who presents to them the Eye of Horus, , and their duty is to see that it is in good condition, and to take care of it and protect it, so that it may shine daily. Besides these there come the eight gods called Ermenui, , Neb-āqet, , Ṭua-khu, , Ḥer-she-taiu, , Sem-Ḥeru, , Ṭua-Ḥeru, , Khenti-ȧst-f, , and Khenti-ment, ; the duty of these gods, who lived by the breath of the great god, was to wreck the bodies and scatter the swathings of the enemies of Rā. On his left hand Rā passed in his journey through this Hour Horus, and twelve beings who dive and swim and perform evolutions in tanks of water. These are said to beat the water in their attempts to recover their breath, and Rā calls upon them to fill themselves with the water of the celestial Nile, and promises that their members shall not suffer corruption, and that their bodies shall not perish; he decrees that they shall

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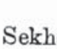
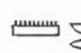
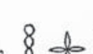
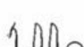
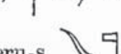
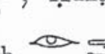
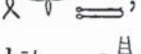
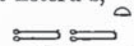
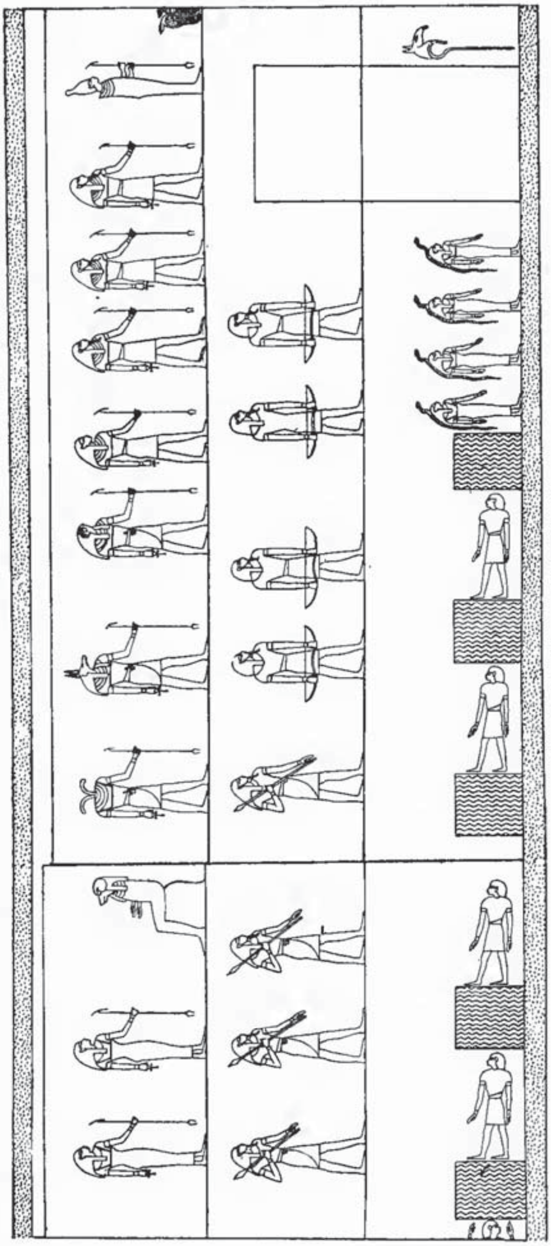
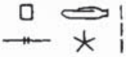
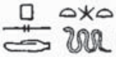
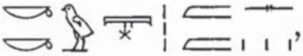
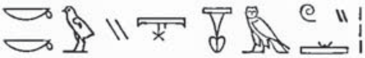
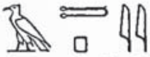
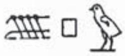
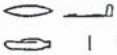
[1] I.e., Sekhet, , Menkert, , Ḥunṭheth, , Usit, , Ābet-neteru-s, , Ȧritatheth, , Āḥāt, , and Themath, .

be masters of their own arms in their water because they are the denizens of Nu, and that their souls shall live. Beyond these are



The Tenth Hour of the Night.

four goddesses, each with a serpent hanging down her back with its head above her own, and with them is a standard surmounted by the head of Set, . This god was the guardian of the Tenth Hour, and when Rā was about to pass from it into the eastern part of the sky, Set was believed to rouse himself and to make the journey with him. The four goddesses "who lived by their heads," shed light on the path of Rā.

The ELEVENTH HOUR, which is called SEBUIT-NEBT-UȦA-KHESFET-SEBȦU-EM-PERT-F,[1] brings us to a city called Re-qerert-ȧpt-khaṭ, , with a pylon bearing the name of Sekhen-ṭuatiu, ; the object of the texts and the illustrations which accompany it was to enable the spirits of the dead to become participators with the gods, and to provide them with such things as were necessary for their equipment both in heaven and upon earth. Rā stands as usual in his boat, but he has changed the serpent which he held in his hand as a sceptre for the ordinary sceptre, , and on the bows of the boat we see a solar disk, surrounded by a serpent; the name of this disk is  or , Pesṭu or Pesṭet, and it is probably connected with some well-known star which rose heliacally at certain seasons of the year. The duty of the disk was to guide the boat of the great god along the paths which led to that part of the Ṭuat, at the end of the Eleventh Hour, where the darkness faded away; the texts call the darkness at this point *keku ḳesḳesu*, , i.e., the opposite of the *kekui samui*, , or the thick, solid darkness which filled the greater part of the Ṭuat. Before the boat of Rā are twelve gods, who carry upon their heads the serpent Meḥen to the eastern part of the sky; their names are:—Fa, , Ermenu, , Athpi, , Neṭru, , Shepu, , Reṭā, , Amu, , Ȧma, , Sheṭu,

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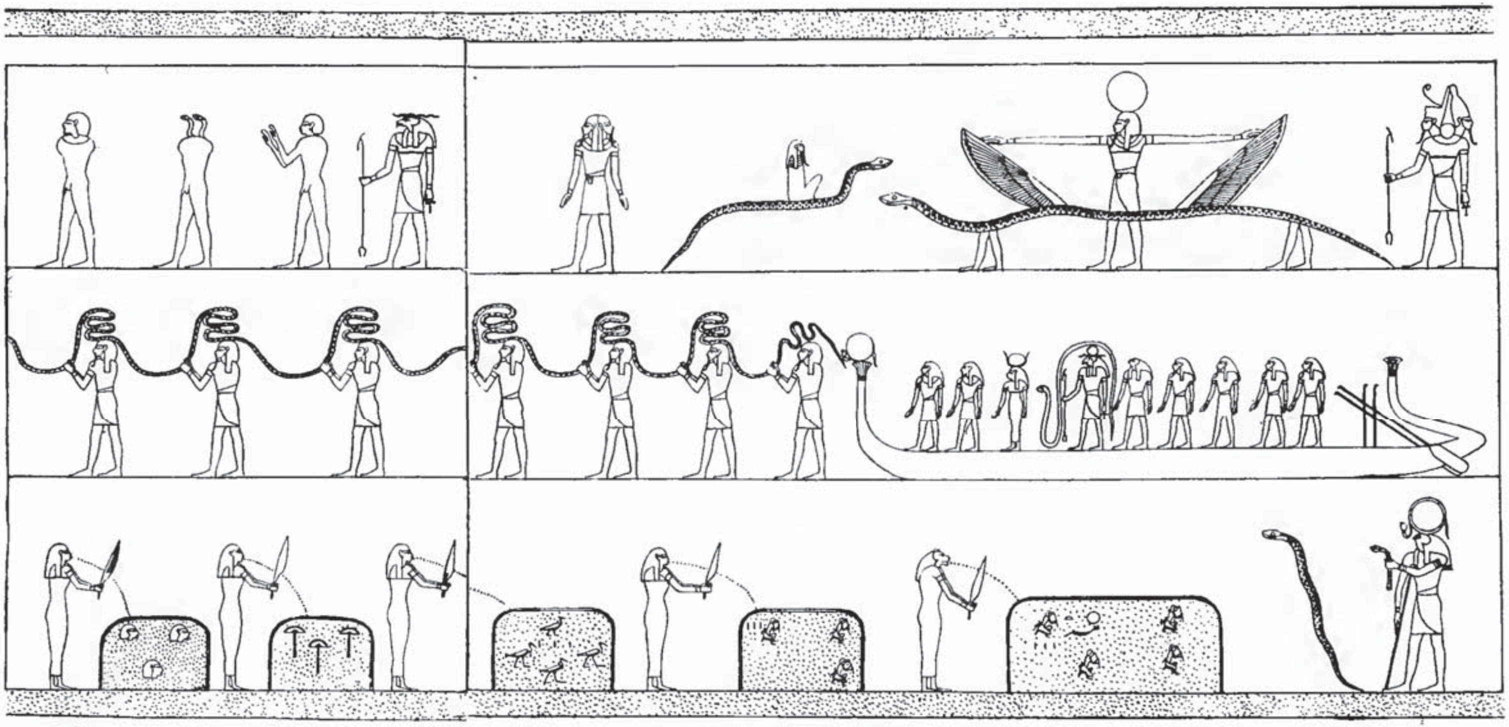
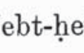
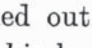
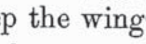
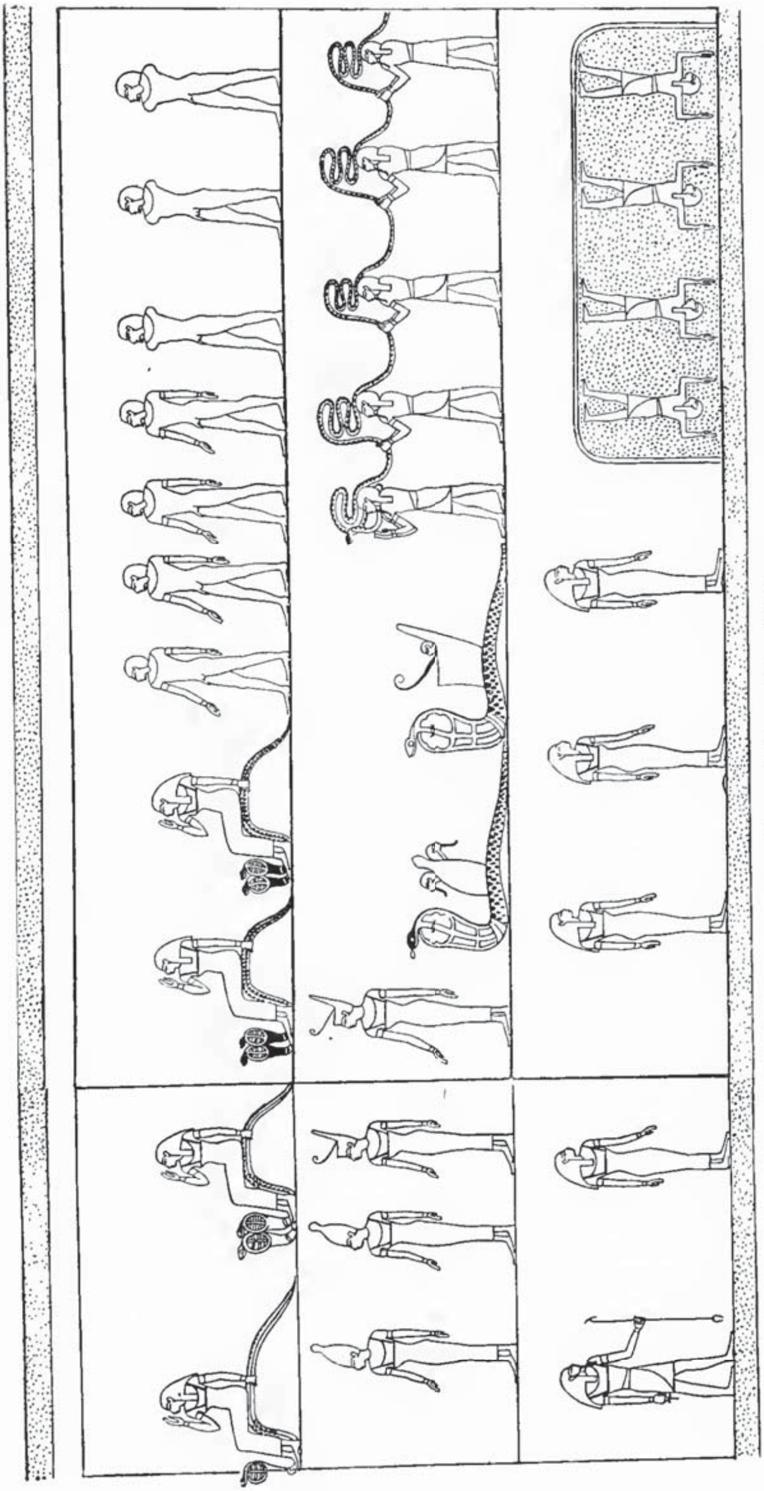
[1] .



The Eleventh Hour of the Night.

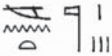
, Sekhenu, , Semsem, , and Meḥni, . Before these are:—1. A uraeus wearing the crown of the North and a human head; and, 2. A uraeus from the back of which emerges the white crown, with a human head on each side of it.

The first of these is called Sem-shet, , and the second Sem-Nebt-ḥet, ; the human heads on the white crown only come forth when Rā is passing by, and when he has departed they disappear. Next we have figures of the four forms of the goddess Neith, two of them wearing the white crown, and two the red; they are called Neith the fecundator, , in allusion to the belief that this goddess begat herself, Neith of the red crown, , Neith of the white crown, , and Neith the child, ; these goddesses came into being as soon as they heard the voice of Rā, and their duty was to guard the gate of Saïs, , the unknown, the unseen, the invisible, . This Circle of the Ṭuat through which the god travels to appear in the mountain of the sunrise contains many wonderful beings, and it is said to "swallow always the forms therein in the presence of "the god who knoweth, , who is in this city, and afterwards "it giveth them for the births of those who are to come into being "on this earth." Among these are:—A god with the solar disk for a head; from it project two human heads, one wearing , and the other . He is called Āper-ḥrȧ-neb-tchetta, , and stands facing a god having two heads, but without crowns, whose name is Ṭepui, . In the space between we see a serpent provided with a pair of wings and four human legs and feet, facing the serpent Sheṭu, , upon the back of which is seated a god; the heads of both serpents are among a number of stars. Standing by the side of the winged serpent, which is called Tchet-s, , is a god called Petrȧ, , with his arms stretched out in such a way as to keep the wings wide apart; he has on his head a disk, and his neck is between the double *utchat*,



The Eleventh Hour of the Night.

. The descriptive text says that the god with a disk and two heads is "he who stands, , by Rā,"[1] and that he never leaves his place in the Ṭuat. The god who stands by the winged serpent is Temu, who springs out of the reptile's back when Rā addresses it; but as soon as the words cease Temu disappears into the serpent. The second serpent is the constellation Sheṭu, i.e., the Tortoise, and its soul appears in human form on its back as soon as Rā addresses it, but when the words have ceased like Temu it disappears into its body. The duty of Sheṭu was to "emit life for Rā every day."

Before these march Khnemu and ten gods, five of whom have no arms; from the neck of one of these project the heads of two serpents.[2] From the descriptive text we learn that the souls of these gods lived on the hidden light of Rā; that the breath of his mouth gave them life, and that their souls fed upon the provisions which were stored in his boat; their chief duty was to be with and in attendance upon the god. Besides these gods we also have in this Hour four goddesses, each of whom sits upon the bodies of two uraei, which are bent upwards in such a way as to form a seat; the heads of each pair of uraei are reared up in front of the knees of the goddess, who is sitting on their backs, and whose feet rest upon their necks. Each goddess has her right hand raised as if to hide her face, and with her left she grasps the body of one of the uraei. It is possible that the uraei are only four in number, and that they are two-headed; the goddesses are called Nebt-ānkhiu, . Nebt-khu, , Nert, , and Ḥent (?)-neteru, . The descriptive text says that the arms of these beings are on earth, and their feet in the thick

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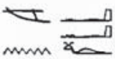
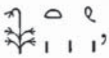
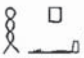
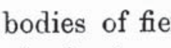
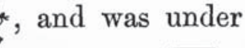
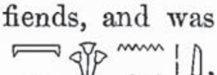
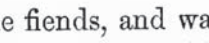
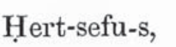
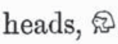
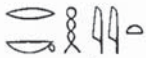
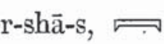
[1] M. Maspero speaks of him as the "agathodemon" of Rā.

[2] The names are:—Khnem-renit, , Nerta, , Āāiu-f-em-kha-nef, , Ȧpt-taui, , Mer-en-āāui-f, , Ȧunāāuif, , Rest-f, , Ṭua-Ḥeru, , Maā, , Meskhti, , and Ḥepā, .

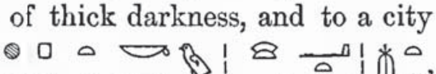
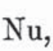
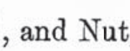
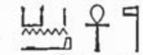
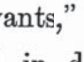
darkness, and as long as the god is speaking to them they utter cries and acclaim him; they never move from their places, and their souls live upon the voices of the uraei which go forth from their feet daily. When the shadows depart the winds which arise in the Ṭuat are diverted from the faces of the four goddesses by their hands, which they hold up. In this statement we seem to have an allusion to the keen, fresh wind of dawn with which all travellers in the desert are well acquainted, and which usually blows about one hour before sunrise.

In the region on the left hand side of Rā we see how punishment is inflicted upon the enemies of Rā, and in it we have a country of blazing fire. At one end stands Horus with a disk, surrounded by a uraeus, upon his head, holding in his left hand a boomerang, one end of which terminates in the head of a serpent; the idea here suggested is that the weapon held by the god is a real serpent, which when thrown at an enemy will suddenly attach itself to his body after the manner of the vicious uraeus. The right arm of Horus rests on a staff wherewith the god usually supports himself, and before him rears itself a huge serpent called "Set of millions of years," , the duty of which was to devour any of the enemies of Rā, i.e., the dead, who succeeded in making their escape from the fires of the country of the Eleventh Hour. In front of these were the five awful chambers, or pits in the sky, which were filled with the red-hot materials of blazing fires, and employed to consume the enemies of Rā.

The first chamber or pit, Ḥaṭet, , was filled with the bodies of fiends who were dashing out their own brains with axes, , and was under the charge of a lion-headed goddess, called Ḥert-Ketit-s, , who stood by its side and belched fire into it through her mouth; when the fire had done its work on the wretched creatures they were hacked to pieces by the huge knife which she held in both her hands. The second chamber or pit was also filled with the bodies of fiends, and was under the charge of a woman called Ḥert-Ḥānṭuȧ, , who spat fire upon them and who was armed with a monster knife.

The third chamber or pit was filled with the souls, , of the fiends, and was under the charge of a woman called Ḥert-Nekeuiṭ, , who spat fire upon them and who was similarly armed. The fourth and fifth chambers, which were under the charge of similar women, called Ḥert-Nemmȧt-set, , and Ḥert-sefu-s, , contained the shadows, , and heads, , of the damned. Passing by these chambers we come to the "Valley of those who are cast down headlong," , which is represented by a large hollow wherein four men are standing on their heads, ; next to this are four goddesses of the desert, each of whom has upon her head the emblem of desert; their names are Pesi, , Rekḥit, , Ḥer-shā-s, , and Sait, . Each name has a meaning something like "fiery," and refers to the goddesses in their character of mistresses of the blazing desert. Finally, behind these comes the god Ḥer-ut-f, , who was in some way connected with the embalming of the dead. The descriptive text which accompanies these scenes makes the great god Rā command "his father Osiris to hack in pieces the bodies of "the enemies and of the dead who are cast down headlong."

Then, addressing the enemies themselves, he tells them that when his father Osiris hath smitten them for destruction, and hath cut in pieces their spirits and souls, and hath rent asunder their shadows, and hath cut off their heads in such a way that existence in the future will be impossible for them, they will be cast down headlong into burning furnaces from which there is neither escape nor deliverance, and Set the everlasting snake will drive his flames against them, and the Lady of furnaces, and the Lady of fiery pits, and the Lady of slaughtering blocks, and the Lady of swords, will drive against them the flames which come forth from their mouths, that they will hack them in pieces in such wise that the wretched beings will never again see those who live upon the earth. The slaughter of the enemies is ordered to be performed by Horus, the god of those who are in the Ṭuat, and it is curious to note that the gods his companions are said to live upon the voices of the enemies who are slain, and on the shrieks and cries of the souls and shadows which are cast down into the blazing, fiery pits.

The TWELFTH HOUR, MAA-NEFERT-RĀ,[1] brings the god Rā into the Circle which is on the confines of thick darkness, and to a city called Khepert-kekui-khāāt-mest, , with its pylon called Then-neteru, . In this region the god is born under the form of Kheperà, , and Nu, , and Nut, , Ḥeḥu, , and Ḥeḥut, , come into the Circle when he is born, and when he goeth forth from the Ṭuat and resteth in the Māntit, , boat, and when he riseth on the body[2] of Nut. Rā journeys in his boat, as before, but the solar disk which was at the bows in the Eleventh Hour is no longer there, and its place is occupied by the beetle of Kheperà, the forerunner of the rising sun.[3] Twelve gods tow the boat, not over a river or over the back of a serpent or serpents, but completely *through* a serpent; in front the tow-rope is held by the hands of twelve women. This serpent is called Ka-en-Ānkh-neteru, , i.e., "the life of the gods," and the gods who draw Àf, that is to say, Rā, through it are his "loyal servants," , *Àmkhiu*. The boat enters the serpent at his tail in deep darkness, and passing through his body emerges through the mouth into the light of day; the god in his boat enters the snake in the form of a dead, old Sun-god, and he comes forth not only alive, but made young again, and appears in the sky under the form of Kheperà. The "loyal servants" of Rā are the souls of the blessed which have been so fortunate as to obtain admission into his boat; they were his devout adorers when upon earth, and the reward which they

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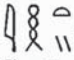
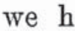
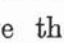
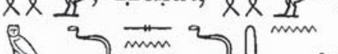
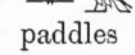
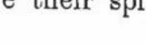
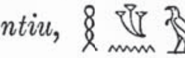
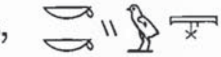
[1] .

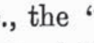
[2] , a word sometimes rendered by *vulva*, *pubis*, and *flank*.

[3] See Lanzone, *Domicile des Esprits*, pl. v.

obtain for their fidelity is renewed youth and a new birth upon the earth. What they are to do upon earth is not made clear, but it is evident that they cannot remain there for an indefinite period, for since their master needs to be re-born daily they also must need re-birth each day. It is doubtful, if we judge by some passages, if they came to the earth at all, and it is far more likely that their enjoyment consisted in journeying about at will through the sky and looking down from some portion of it upon the scenes of their old life than in making hurried visits to the earth daily.

When the boat of Rā has passed through the serpent the twelve women or goddesses, mentioned above, take the rope from the gods and haul it on to the paths of the sky. The god is accompanied through the Twelfth Hour by:—1. Twelve goddesses, each bearing a serpent on her head and shoulders, and 2. Twelve gods, or men, with their hands raised in adoration; all these are on the right hand side. Each deity has a name, which is written in front of his or her figure. The uraei of the goddesses are said to proceed from them, and the flames which drive away Āpep come forth from their mouths. The goddesses travel with the god until he rises on this earth, but after this they return to their places. The duty of the twelve gods is to praise Rā. On the left of the boat we have the gods Nu, , Nuth, , Ḥeḥu, , Ḥeḥut, ; these gods are "in their own bodies," , and they go to Rā in heaven, to receive this great god as he cometh forth to them in the eastern part of heaven daily. They live in their *ārrit*, i.e., hall of the horizon, but their forms, , of the Ṭuat belong to this Circle. Next we have two human-headed gods, a bird-headed god called Nehui, , a god with two birds' heads called Ni, , the serpent Nesmekhef, , and four human-headed gods; all these carry paddles on their right shoulders. The duty of the gods is to raise up, , the disk of the sun daily, but the serpent Nesmekhef slaughters the enemies of Rā; they travel with Rā and receive their spirits, , in this

Circle. Before these are ten gods, with hands raised in adoration,[1] who are described as the *ḥentiu*, , of the forms of Osiris, the Governor of the thick darkness,  , and they say to him, "Live, thou Governor of thy "darkness! Live, O thou who art great in all things! Live, O "thou Prince of Åmentet, Osiris, thou Governor of those who are "in Åmenti! Mayest thou live, mayest thou live, O thou who "art Governor of the Ṭuat, the wind of Rā is to thy nostrils, "the breath of Kheperå is with thee, thou livest and they live. "Hail, Osiris, lord of the living ones; the gods who are with "Osiris are those who were with him at the first time," etc.

The allusion here is to the death and burial of Osiris, when Horus carried out the arrangements which had to be made for the performance of the general ceremonies, and when every detail connected with mummification, etc., was thought out by the loving care of the son of Osiris. In the illustrated version of the Twelfth Hour, published by Signor Lanzone (tav. vii.), we have represented the semi-circular wall of thick darkness which forms the end of the Ṭuat and the division between it and this world. Against this wall, in the lower part of it, lies a mummied form, representing Osiris, and called Sem-Åf, , i.e., the "Image (or Form) of "Åf"; this is the object of the praises which the last two groups of gods lavish upon him. The descriptive text says concerning the mummy, "He who is in this picture in the hidden form of Horus of "thick darkness is the secret image which Shu makes to be under "Nut, and which cometh forth from Ḳeb-ur on earth in this form."[2]

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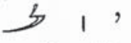
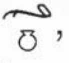
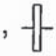
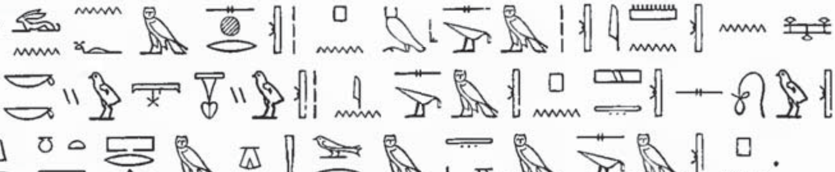
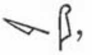
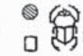
[1] Ṭuati, , Ṭes-khu, , Themaru, , Åākhbu, , Sekhenu, , Ermenu, , Khennu, , Bunāu, , Āuru, , Åthep, , and Åm......, .

[2] 

In the middle of the wall of thick darkness is a red disk, from which proceeds a human head; this is the "image of Shu," , who extends his arms along the vaulted wall, and of whose body one part is in the Ṭuat and the other in this world. Immediately above the head of the god is the beetle of Kheperȧ, here spelt , which makes its way into this world through the opening which the head and shoulders of Shu have made in the wall of thick darkness. Through this opening the boat of Rā also was enabled to pass into this world, and the god continued his journey with the help of the deities who towed him along; there is no doubt about this because the tow-line is prolonged to the wall of thick darkness. As Ȧf, the dead body of Rā, passes into our world, his new life begins, and for men and women the night passes away, and a new day is born.

We have now traced the passage of the Sun-god through the Ṭuat as it was imagined by those who believed in the absolute supremacy of Osiris, and as it was described by the author of the BOOK OF PYLONS, and we have briefly passed through its divisions as described in the BOOK OF THAT WHICH IS IN THE ṬUAT, throughout which the absolute supremacy of Rā is maintained. It is now easy to see that these two works represent two opposite and conflicting theories as to the future life. The heaven of the devotees of Osiris was originally most materialistic, and the life which was led in it by the beatified was, to all intents and purposes, merely a continuation of the life led by men and women upon earth; the heaven of the priests of Rā was of a more refined character, and it lacked the grosser characteristics of the dwellers in the Elysian Fields of Osiris. Some have argued from the facts about the Ṭuat given above that the Egyptians believed in the existence of purgatory, and in the everlasting punishment of the wicked in a hell of fire, and in the reincarnation of souls, and in many other things which would presuppose the holding by them of doctrines which are commonly thought to be the products of the minds of modern nations; but the facts do not support these beliefs. Whichever doctrine of the future life we take, whether that of Osiris or that of Rā, we find no room in it for a purgatory.

In the Judgment which took place before Osiris only the righteous were permitted to enter into the Elysian Fields, and the wicked were destroyed immediately; in other words, annihilation was the punishment for sin. The Egyptians believed largely in the efficacy of works, and in addition to the deeds of love and charity which they performed in all periods, strict care concerning the ceremonies of religion, worship, and of the funeral, and a proper respect and reverence for words of power, and amulets, and sacred writings, and figures were demanded from them by priests and religious teachers at all times. There was, of course, a large class of people who could not afford costly burials, and who were too poor to buy even cheap amulets, but they were not condemned in the Judgment because of their poverty; on the contrary, they escaped annihilation and were admitted by Osiris into the first division of the Ṭuat, where, however, they were compelled to stay because they did not know the words of power which would enable them to continue their journey through the remaining divisions of the Underworld. But there was no punishment inflicted upon them because they had been both poor and ignorant in this world; they merely remained in the place to which their religious qualifications enabled them to attain, and each evening, or each night, they were made glad by the sight of the great god Rā as he sailed through the Ṭuat in his boat, and they rejoiced in his daily visit.

The beings in the Ṭuat of Osiris upon whom punishment was inflicted were the "enemies of Osiris," and these were usually the "enemies of Rā"; but in no text is it said that the punishment which they had to endure there ever obliterated their guilt, whatever it might be, or that when the proper time had arrived they would be allowed to proceed into another division of the Ṭuat where their punishment would be lighter, or where they would undergo none at all. Though a man could earn happiness in the realm of Osiris or in that of Rā by his good works on earth, and by ceremonies performed at his funeral by duly qualified priests, and by the presence of copies of religious texts which were buried with him, there is no reason to think that when once his soul reached the Underworld it could ever better its position there either by suffering punishment or by the performance of good works. The offerings made at the tombs of the dead were for the benefit of the *ka* or double, and perhaps for the animal soul which was at one time believed to exist in the human body, but neither the offerings nor the prayers which accompanied them seem to have been able to remove the spirits and souls of the dead from one division of the Ṭuat into another, or to modify the state or condition which had been decreed for them. Similarly, there is no evidence that prayers for the dead or offerings would ameliorate the condition of those who had successfully passed the ordeal of the Judgment, and had been sent by Osiris into one or other of the habitations of his kingdom.

CHAPTER VI

HELL AND THE DAMNED

IF we examine the doctrine concerning the future life according to the priesthoods of Rā we find still less room for a purgatory in their theological system. According to this the souls of the dead assembled in Ȧmentet, i.e., the "hidden" region, the Egyptian Hades, where they waited for the boat of Rā to pass by. When the god appeared those who had been his worshippers and adorers on earth, and who were fortunate enough to have secured the words of power which would enable them to enter the boat did so, and they made their journey with him through the Ṭuat. Under his protection they passed through all the dangers which threatened to destroy them, and continued their journey through the realms of Osiris and Seker, and at length appeared with Rā in the eastern horizon of heaven at daybreak. Once there they were able to wander about heaven at will, and they did so, presumably, until the time of sunset, when they rejoined the god in his boat, and again made the journey through the Ṭuat with him. Each division of the Ṭuat, apparently, contained a host of beings who wished to enter the boat of Rā, but could not do so, either for want of the necessary words of power, or because they had reached the place to which their qualifications entitled them; these all, however, received great benefit from the nightly visit of Rā, and as he left each division to enter the next they were filled with great sorrow, and many of them ceased to exist until the following night, when they renewed their life for a brief period. Many divisions of the Ṭuat contained enemies of Rā, who were, of course, destroyed without mercy by the followers of the god; but there is no reason whatsoever for the view that these enemies were the damned, or that they were doomed to eternal punishment. At the end of the Ṭuat was a region where certain goddesses presided over pits of fire and superintended the destruction of the bodies, and spirits, and shadows, and heads of numbers of such enemies, and it would seem, judging by the knives in their hands, that they hacked the bodies to pieces before they were burnt. But even these were not punished eternally, for as soon as the god had passed through their region the fires went out, and the mere fact that he was able to appear in the eastern sky proved that all his enemies were destroyed. Each night and morning Rā destroyed the hosts of enemies who attempted to bar his progress, for such enemies perished instantly by the flames which went forth from the divine beings whom he had created.

Originally, too, such enemies were only the personifications of the powers of nature, such as twilight, darkness, night, gloom, the blackness of eclipses, fog, mist, vapour, rain, cloud, storm, wind, tempest, hurricane, and the like, which were destroyed daily by Rā and his fiery beams. Many, in fact the greater number of such personifications, were endowed by Egyptian artists with human forms, and the pictures of the scenes of their destruction by fire were supposed by many to represent the burning of the souls of the damned. The ignorant and the superstitious did not understand that the Sun-god slew and burned with fire the enemies of each night and morning during that same night and morning; each rising of the sun was the result of the annihilation of his foes of that day. It may be urged that these foes were always the same because they were always of the same kind, but the Egyptians did not think so, and they believed that a new host of foes appeared to attack Rā each night and morning. But even had they thought so, the punishment was only intermittent, and it was only renewed during that part of each night which immediately preceded the dawn, and during the interval between dawn and sunrise. The souls of the damned could have done nothing to hinder the progress of Rā, and the Egyptians never imagined that they did, but it is possible that in late dynastic times certain schools of theological thought in Egypt, being dissatisfied with and unconvinced of the accuracy of the theory of the annihilation of the wicked, assigned to evil souls dwelling-places with the personifications of the powers of nature already mentioned in the Ṭuat. The spears which pierced the enemies of Rā were the fiery rays of the sun, and the knives which hacked their bodies in pieces were his flames of fire; and the lakes and pits of fire were suggested to the minds of the primitive Egyptians by the fiery splendour which filled the eastern heavens at sunrise. They certainly did not believe in everlasting punishment, and there is nothing in the texts which will support the view that they did; in fact, the doctrines of purgatory and hell which were promulgated during the Middle Ages in Europe with such success find no equivalents in the ancient Egyptian religion. Apart from the general characteristics of their religion the Egyptians were too practical to entertain the idea of repeated destructions or consumings by fire of the same body, but had they done so we should certainly have found some texts which had been composed to avert such an awful doom. They mummified the bodies of their dead in the earliest times because they expected them to rise again, and they did so in later times because they believed that a spiritual body would grow out of them; they never expected to obtain a second physical body in the Underworld, and therefore they took the greatest care to preserve, by means of magical ceremonies and words, the bodies in which they lived in as complete a form as possible. The destruction of the body involved the ruin of the *ka*, or double, and of the shadow, and of many of the mental and spiritual constituents of man; and the Egyptians regarded the death of the body with such dismay that, fearing lest the spiritual body which sprang from it after death might be in danger of dying, they caused prayers to be composed for the purpose of averting from it the "second death" and the possibility of its dying a second time.

We may see, however, that although the Egyptians had no hell for souls in the mediaeval acceptance of the term, their fiery pits, and fiends, and devils, and enemies of Rā formed the foundations of the hells of later peoples like the Hebrews, and even of the descendants of the Egyptians who became Christians i.e., the Copts. Many proofs of this fact may be found in Coptic literature as the following instances will show. In "Pistis Sophia,"[1] we have the Virgin Mary asking Jesus, her Lord, to give her a description of "outer darkness,"[2] and to tell her how many places of punishment there are in it. Our Lord replies, "The outer darkness is a great serpent, the tail of which is in its mouth, and it is outside the whole world, and surroundeth the whole world; in it there are many places of punishment, and it containeth twelve halls wherein severe punishment is inflicted. In each hall is a governor, but the face of each governor differeth from that of his neighbour. The governor of the first hall hath the face of a crocodile, with its tail in its mouth. From the mouth of the serpent proceed all ice, and all dust, and all cold, and every kind of disease and sickness; and the true name by which they call him in his place is Enkhthonin. And the governor of the second hall hath as his true face the face of a cat, and they call him in his place Kharakhar. And the governor of the third hall hath as his true face the face of a dog, and they call him in his place Arkharôkh. And the governor of the fourth hall hath as his true face the face of a serpent, and they call him in his place Akhrôkhar. And the governor of the fifth hall hath as his true face the face of a black ox,[3] and they call him in his place Markhour. And the governor of the sixth hall hath as his true face the face of a goat, and they call him in his place Lamkhamôr. And the governor of the seventh hall hath as his true face the face of a bear, and they call him as his true name Lonkhar. And the governor of the eighth hall hath as his true face the face of a vulture, and they call him in his place Laraôkh. And the governor of the ninth hall hath as his true face the face of a basilisk, and they call him in his place Arkheôkh. And in the tenth hall there are many governors, and there is there a serpent with seven heads, each head having its [own] true face, and he who is over them all in his place they call Xarmarôkh. And in the eleventh hall there are many

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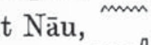
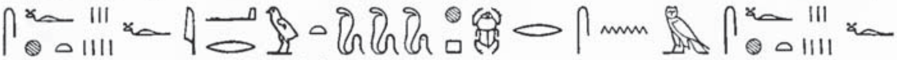
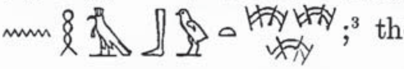
[1] See *Pistis Sophia. Opus Gnosticum Valentino adjudicatum*, ed. Schwartze, Berlin, 1851.

[2] ⲡⲕⲁⲕⲉ ⲉⲧ ϩⲓ ⲃⲟⲗ.

[3] ⲟⲩϩⲟ ⲙⲙⲁⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ ⲕⲁⲙⲉ.

"governors, and there are there seven heads, each of them having "as its true face the face of a cat, and the greatest of them, who is "over them, they call in his place RHÔKHAR. And in the twelfth "hall there are many great governors, and there are there seven "heads, each of them having as its true face the face of a dog, and "the greatest, who is over them, they call in his place KHRÊMAÔR. "These twelve governors are in the serpent of outer darkness, and "each of them hath a name according to the hour, and each of "them changeth his face according to the hour."[1]

It is quite clear that in the above extract from the famous Gnostic work we have a series of chambers in the outer darkness which has been borrowed from the twelve divisions of the Egyptian Ṭuat already described, and the reader has only to compare the vignettes to Chapters cxliv. and cxlv. of the *Book of the Dead* with the extract from "Pistis Sophia" to see how close the borrowing has been. An examination of another great Gnostic work, generally known as the "Book of Ieu,"[2] proves that the Underworld of the Gnostics was nothing but a modified form of the Ȧmentet or Ȧmenti of the Egyptians, to which were added characteristics derived from the religious systems of the Hebrews and Greeks. The Gnostic rivers and seas of fire are nothing but equivalents of those mentioned in the *Book of the Dead*, and the beings in Ȧmenti, and Chaos, and Outer Darkness are derived, in respect of form, from ancient Egyptian models. The great dragon of Outer Darkness and his twelve halls, and their twelve guardians or governors who change their names and forms every hour are, after all, only modifications of the old Egyptian system of the Twelve Pylons or Twelve Hours which formed the Underworld. The seven-headed serpent of the Gnostic system has his prototype in the great serpent Nāu, , which is called the "bull of "the gods," and has "seven serpents on his seven necks,"

;[3] the seven-headed serpent, Nāu-shesmā,

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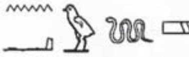
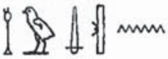
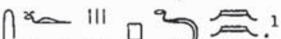
[1] *Pistis Sophia*, Coptic text, p. 319 ff.

[2] See Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften in Koptischer Sprache*, Leipzig, 1892.

[3] Tetȧ, l. 307.

, also had seven uraei for heads, and he had authority over seven archers, or seven bows,  [1]

Of Àmentet and the Ṭuat in general we find many traces in the martyrdoms of Coptic saints, but, as was to be expected, the writers have made the demons and the pits of fire of the Egyptian Underworld instruments of punishment for the souls of those who did not embrace Christianity when upon this earth. Thus the writer of the Martyrdom of George[2] of Cappadocia makes the saint to raise up from the dead a pagan called Boês, who had been dead two hundred years, and who told Dadianus, the governor, that he had been on earth a worshipper of the "stupid, dumb, deaf, and "blind Apollo," and that when he departed this life he went to live in "a place in the river of fire until such time as I went to "the place where the worm dieth not." According to another writer, Macarius of Antioch restored to life a man who had been dead for six hours, and who stated that his miseries during that short time had been greater than those which he had endured throughout all his life upon earth. He confessed that he had been a worshipper of idols, and then went on to say that when he was dying the fiends crowded upon him, and that these had the faces of serpents, lions, crocodiles, and, curiously enough, of bears. They tore his soul from his body with great violence, and fled with it to a great river of fire wherein they plunged it to a depth of four hundred cubits; then they drew it out and set it before the Judge of Truth,[3] who passed sentence upon it. After this was done they took it to a "place of darkness, wherein there was no "light whatsoever, and they cast it down into the cold where "there was gnashing of teeth. Here," said the wretched man, "I "saw the worm which never slumbereth, and his head was like "unto that of a crocodile. He was surrounded by serpents of "every kind which cast souls before him, and when his own mouth

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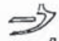
[1] Tetà, l. 306.

[2] See my *St. George of Cappadocia*, p. 20.

[3] ⲡⲓⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲓ. The word ⲙⲏⲓ is the old Egyptian , *maā*, which is commonly rendered by "law, right, truth, true, just," and the like.

"was full he allowed the other creatures to eat; in that place "they tore us to pieces, but we could not die. After that they "took me out of the place and carried me into Ȧmenti, where I "was to stay for ever."[1] In another work[2] a nameless mummy is made to tell how before he died the avenging angels came about him with iron knives and pointed goads, which they thrust into his sides, and how other angels came and tore his soul from his body, and having tied it to the similitude of a black horse they carried it off to Ȧmentet. Here he was tortured in a place filled with noxious reptiles, and having been cast into the outer darkness he saw a pit more than two hundred feet deep, which was filled with reptiles, each of which had seven heads, and had its body covered with objects like scorpions. In this place were several other terrible serpents, and to one of these, which had teeth like iron stakes, the poor soul was given to be devoured; this monster crushed the soul for five days of each week, but on Saturday and Sunday it had respite. This last sentence seems to suggest that the serpent respected the Sabbath of the Jews and the Sunday of the Christians.

In all these examples, and even in the words of Isaiah, who says (lxvi. 24), "their worm shall not die, neither shall "their fire be quenched," we have a direct allusion to the great serpent of the Egyptian Underworld, which was, in all periods of history, the terror of the worshippers of the Sun-god, and which was known by many names. The allies and companions of this serpent were serpents like itself, and to nearly every power which was hostile to the dead or the living the form of a snake or serpent was attributed. The type and symbol of all enmity to Rā, whether of a physical or moral character, was the arch-serpent Āpep or Āpepi, which attacked him daily, and was overcome daily. To this monster we have several allusions in the *Book of the Dead*, but these do not adequately convey an idea of the terror with which he was regarded, at all events in the latter part of the dynastic period.

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[1] Hyvernat, *Les Actes des Martyrs de l'Égypte*, p. 56 f.

[2] Amélineau, *Monuments pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, p. 167.

From a papyrus preserved in the British Museum[1] we learn that a special service was in use in Upper Egypt for the purpose of destroying the power of Āpepi and of making his attacks on the sun to have no effect. This service consisted of a series of chapters which were to be recited at certain times of the day during the performance of a number of curious ceremonies of a magical character. Thus one rubric orders that the name of Āpepi shall be written in green colour upon a piece of new papyrus, and that a wax figure of the fiend shall be made and his name inlaid upon it with green colour. Both papyrus and wax figure were to be burnt in the fire, the belief being that as the wax figure melted and as the sheet of papyrus burnt, the fiend Āpepi would also decay and fall to pieces. Whilst the wax figure was melting in the fire it was to be spit upon several times each hour, and when it was melted the refuse of it was to be mixed with dung and again burnt. It was imperative to do this at midnight, when Rā began his return journey in the Ṭuat, towards the east, and at dawn, and at noon, and at eventide, and in fact at any and every hour of the day. This might also be done with advantage whenever storm clouds appeared in the sky, or whenever the clouds gathered together for rain. The following extract will give an idea of the general import of the service for the destruction of Āpepi. The deceased says: "Āpepi hath fallen into the flame, a knife is stuck "into his head, his name no longer existeth upon this earth. It is "decreed for me to inflict blows upon him, I drive darts into his "bones, I destroy his soul in the course of every day, I sever his "vertebræ from his neck, cutting into his flesh with a knife and "stabbing through his skin. He is given over to the fire which "obtains the mastery over him in its name of 'Sekhet,' and it "hath power over him in its name of 'Eye burning the enemy.' "Darts are driven into his soul, his bones are burnt with fire, and "his limbs are placed therein. Horus, mighty of strength, hath "decreed that he shall come in front of the boat of Rā; his fetter "of steel tieth him up and maketh his limbs so that they cannot "move; Horus repulseth his moment of luck during his eclipse, "and he maketh him to vomit that which is inside him. Horus

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[1] See *Archaeologia*, vol. lii.

"fettereth, bindeth, and tieth up, and Aker taketh away his "strength so that I may separate his flesh from his bones; that I "may fetter his feet and cut off his two hands and arms; that I "may shut up his mouth and lips, and break in his teeth; that I "may cut out his tongue from his throat, and carry away his "words; that I may block up his two eyes, and carry off his ears; "that I may tear out his heart from its seat and throne; and that "I may make him so that he existeth not. May his name never "exist, and may what is born to him never live; may he never "exist, and may his kinsfolk never exist; may he never exist, and "may his relatives never exist; may he never exist, and may his "heir never exist; may his offspring never grow to maturity; "may his seed never be established; moreover, may his soul, and "body, and spirit, and shade, and words of power, and his bones, "and his skin, never more exist."

The Rubric runs: "This Chapter is to be said over a figure "of Āpepi, inscribed upon new papyrus with green ink, and "placed inside a covering on which his name hath been written, "and thou shalt tie these round tightly with cord, and put such a "figure and covering into the fire every day. Thou shalt stamp "upon it and defile it with thy left foot, and thou shalt spit upon "it four times during the course of every day, and when thou "hast placed it upon the fire thou shalt say, 'Rā triumpheth over "'thee, Āpepi, and Horus triumpheth over his enemies, and P-āa "'(i.e., the deceased) triumpheth over his enemies.' Next thou "shalt write down the names of all the male and female devils of "which thy heart is afraid, the names of all the enemies of P-āa, "in death, and in life, and the names of their father, mother, and "children, [and place the papyrus] inside the covering, together "with a wax figure of Āpepi. These shall then be placed in the "fire in the name of Āpepi, and shall be burnt when Rā riseth in "the morning; this thou shalt repeat at noon and at evening "when Rā setteth in the land of life, whilst there is light at the "foot of the mountain. Over each figure of Āpepi thou shalt recite "the above chapter, in very truth, for the doing of this shall be "of great benefit [for thee] upon earth and in the Underworld."[1]

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[1] *On the Hieratic Papyrus of Nesi-Amsu*, p. 52 (*Archaeologia*, vol. lii.).

To destroy the fiends which were associated with Āpepi it was necessary to make figures of them in wax, and having inscribed their names upon them to tie them round with black hair, and then to cast them on the ground, and kick them with the left foot, and pierce them with a stone spear. To obtain the full benefit of all the names of Āpepi a man had to make the figure of a serpent with his tail in his mouth, and having stuck a knife in its back, and cast it down upon the ground, to say, "Āpep, Fiend, "Betet." The faithful follower of Rā is also bidden to "make "another serpent with the face of a cat, and with a knife stuck in "his back, and call it HEMHEM. Make another with the face of "a crocodile, and with a knife stuck in his back, and call it "HAUNA-ȦRU-ḤER-ḤRȦ; make another with the face of a duck, "and with a knife stuck in his back, and call it ALUTI. Make "another with the face of a white cat, and with a knife stuck in "his back, and tie it up and bind it tightly, and call it 'Āpep "the Enemy.'" The papyrus which contains these interesting passages was written about B.C. 312-311, though the compositions in it are very much older, but it shows that, even at that period, when the Macedonians had begun to reign over Egypt, and Greek influence was making itself supreme in the country, the old beliefs still held sway over the minds of the Egyptians. In fact, in this matter as in nearly all others, they clung most tenaciously to the views and opinions of their forefathers.

The primitive Egyptians feared snakes and propitiated them, and the earliest dynastic people of the country employed charms, and incantations, and magical formulae to keep snakes, and serpents, and reptiles of every kind from their dead; the priests of Heliopolis respected the prevailing views of their countrymen, and ancient formulae against snakes were copied into their funeral texts. Every Recension of the *Book of the Dead* contained Chapters which were written to preserve the dead from the attacks of snakes; it is tolerably certain that some of them contain formulae which are not older than dynastic times, and these show that the fear of serpents was as great as ever, although these reptiles cannot have been so numerous as formerly. The priests of Ȧmen made snakes to play very prominent parts in the Underworld, and, curiously enough, they thought that the dead Sun-god, or the "Flesh of Rā," was re-born into the life of a new day, only after he had been drawn in his boat through the body of a serpent. The Egyptians usually had some reason for the things they said, and wrote, and depicted, and although it is not easy to find the reason in every case, there is, fortunately, little doubt about it here. They observed that snakes sloughed their skins from time to time, and that their bodies were much improved in appearance as the result, and it is pretty certain that they had this habit of snakes in their minds, when they made their god Rā as a new being to emerge in his boat out of the great serpent which lay in deep undulations between the end of the Ṭuat and this world.

Reference has already been made to the influence upon the hell of the Copts of the old Egyptian mythology about the Ṭuat, and it is right here to point out that the Hebrews appear to have borrowed from it many of their ideas concerning the abodes of the dead in the Underworld. It is quite certain that the hell of which they conceived the existence was not derived from the Babylonians, for we know from the story of Ishtar's descent into the "land of no return" that, although it had Seven Gates, it contained no pits of fire or monster serpents. Ishtar, we are told, found it to be a place of darkness, and she saw that the beings in it were dressed in garments of feathers, and that dust and mud were their food.[1] The commonest of the names which the Hebrews gave to the abode of the damned is GÊ HINNOM,[2] or Gehenna, which was originally the Valley of Hinnom, that lay quite near to Jerusalem,[3] where children were sacrificed to the god Moloch;[4] this name passed into the New Testament under the form *Γέεννα*, and into Arabic literature as "Jahannam."[5] The portion of the Valley of Hinnom where the sacrifices were burnt was called "Tôpheth." According to the Rabbis "Gehenna" was created on the second day of creation, with the firmament and the angels, and just as there were an Upper and a Lower Paradise so there were also two

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[1] See L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 179 f.

[2] גֵּי־הִנֹּם

[3] Now generally identified with the Wâdî er-Rabâbî.

[4] See 2 Kings xxiii. 10.

[5] جَهَنَّم

Gehennas, one in the heavens and one on the earth. As to the size of Gehenna we read that Egypt was 400 parassangs[1] long and 400 parassangs wide, i.e., about 1,200 miles long by 1,200 miles wide; that Nubia (כוש) was sixty times as large as Egypt; that the world was sixty times as large as Nubia, and that it would require 500 years to travel across either its length or its breadth; that Gehenna was sixty times as large as the world; and that it would take a man 2,100 years to reach it.[2]

In Gehenna, as in Paradise, there were seven "palaces" (היכלות), and the punishments which were meted out to their inhabitants varied both in kind and in intensity. In each palace there are 6,000 houses, or chambers, and in each house are 6,000 boxes, and in each box are 6,000 vessels fitted with gall. Gehenna is so deep that it would take 300 years to reach the bottom of it; according to another opinion it is 300 miles long, 300 miles wide, 1,000 miles thick, and 100 miles deep. The fire in each palace is fiercer and more destructive than that in the palace preceding, and the flames of the deepest portion of it are able to consume human souls utterly, which fire upon earth can never do. Each palace is, according to one view, under the command of an angel, who is subservient to Dûmâh, the prince of Gehenna, and who has with him tens of thousands of angels who are occupied in judging sinners and sealing their doom; but according to another the seven mansions are ruled, under Dûmâh, דומה, by three angels called Mashkhîth, Af, and Khêmâ. The voices of the beings in Gehenna rise up to heaven mingled with the cries of the wicked. Dûmâh, the prince of Gehenna, seems to have been of Egyptian origin, for we read, "At the time when Moses said, 'I will perform "'judgments on all the gods of Egypt,' Dûmâh, the prince of "Egypt, went 400 miles and God said unto him, 'This decree is "'decreed by me, even as it is written, I will visit the host of the "'height in the height;'[3] and in that same hour sovereignty was "taken away from him, and he was appointed prince over "Gehenna, and some say that he was set over the dead."

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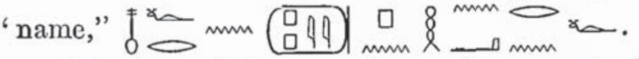
[1] The parassang = 30 stadia, and the stadion = 202 yards.

[2] Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, part ii., p. 328.

[3] Isaiah xxiv. 21.

Another prince of Gehenna was called ‘Arsîêl, and his duty was to stand before the souls of the righteous to prevent them from praying to God on behalf of the wicked. Opinions vary as to the number of gates or doors which are in Gehenna, some saying there are 50, others 8,000, and others 40,000; but the writers who followed the best traditions fixed the number at seven, and this agrees with the best Muḥammadan tradition also. Finally, as a river runs through the Ṭuat so a river or canal flows through Gehenna. The first division of Gehenna is 100 miles long and 50 miles wide, and it contains several pits wherein fiery lions dwell; when men fall into the pits the lions consume parts of them and the fire devours the remainder, but soon afterwards they come into being again and have to pass through the fire which is in the second division, when they are again consumed and again come to life. In this way they have to pass through the fire of all the seven divisions. According to another opinion one half of Gehenna is fire and the other half hail, and the angel who is in charge drives the souls of the damned from the fire into the hail and from the hail into the fire without ceasing. Another writer says that each of the seven divisions of hell contains seven streams of fire and seven streams of hail, and that each division is sixty times as large as that which is immediately above it. In each division are 7,000 small chambers, and in each chamber 7,000 clefts, and in each cleft 7,000 scorpions, and in each scorpion seven joints, and in each joint 1,000 vessels of gall; through it flow seven rivers filled with deadly poison, and the damned have to pass one half of the year in the fire, and the other half in the hail and snow, which are far more terrible than the fire. Moreover, from under the throne of God Almighty there goes forth a river of fire which empties itself upon the heads of the wicked, but most of these have a rest from their punishment for one hour and a half three times a day, i.e., at the times of morning, mid-day, and evening prayer, and they have rest the whole of each Sabbath and of each festival of the new moon. Some of the Rabbis believed that the punishment of the wicked would last for ever, but others thought that a period of punishment six or twelve months in length would suffice for their purification.

Those who are damned shall not remember the names which they bore upon earth, and although the angels beat them and call upon them to declare their names, they shall not be able to do so; this view was clearly held by the Egyptians, for we are specially told in the text of Pepi I. (line 169), "Pepi is happy with his "name," . From the facts recorded above it is easy to see how much the Hebrews were indebted to the Egyptians in the construction of their Gehenna, and how closely they fitted native beliefs into a framework of foreign conceptions. Some of their writers seem to have possessed a better insight into such matters than others, whilst a few of them unconsciously reproduced the original conception of the Ṭuat as the place of destruction for the enemies of the god, and believed that Gehenna, or hell, would be abolished. These thought that at some future time God would remove the sun from its place and would place it in the second firmament, in a hollow place or chamber specially prepared for it, and that having judged and condemned the wicked He would send them into this chamber, where the burning heat of the sun would consume them.[1] The Rabbis generally took no pains to say either how the fires of Gehenna were started, or how they were maintained, but Rabbi Yannai and Rabbi Shim'ôn ben-Lakîsh evidently thought it out, and so reduced Gehenna, unintentionally, to the place where a physical sun supplied the consuming fire, and did for the damned among the Hebrews exactly what it did for the enemies of Rā among the Egyptians.

It must be noted that the Gehenna of the Hebrew lacked the serpents of the Egyptian Ṭuat, but when we consider the difference between the physical characteristics of Egypt and those of Syria and Palestine this is not to be wondered at. In predynastic times Egypt was filled with serpents of every kind, and the terror which they inspired lived in the minds of the people of dynastic times long after the country had been practically cleared from these reptiles. In Palestine and Syria snakes were never very plentiful, but in the region of Southern

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[1] Eisenmenger, op. cit., p. 366.

Babylonia, whence came Abraham and his companions, they must have existed in large numbers. It is a curious fact that the Hebrews, who borrowed so largely in their cosmogony from Babylonian sources, did not also borrow in some form or other the monster Tiamat, which played in their mythology the same part that Āpep or Āpepi played among the Egyptian gods. The Babylonian Tiamat waged war against Marduk, the champion chosen by the gods, and was held to be the incarnation of all evil, both physical and moral; and although the Hebrews assigned to the serpent cunning and guile, and declared that he was "more "subtle than any beast" (Gen. iii. 1), they hardly considered him to be a great physical power which waged war against the sun daily. Tiamat, as we learn from a cuneiform text,[1] was 50 *kasbu* long, and the height of its undulations was 1 *kasbu;* its mouth was one-half a *gar*, or six cubits wide, and it moved in water 9 cubits deep. Three other measurements are given, viz., 1 *gar*, 1 *gar*, and 5 *gar*, but as the text following them is broken it cannot be said to what they refer. Now, the *kasbu* was the distance usually passed over in a journey of two hours, and the cubit may be considered to be about 20 inches. Reckoning the *kasbu* at six miles we thus have a monster 300 miles long, which had a mouth 10 feet wide, and which moved in undulations six miles high! The measurements of 5 *gar* probably refers to its girth, and if this be so the creature was 100 feet round its body.

When Tiamat had been slain we are told that its blood flowed from its body for three years, three months, and one day, and we are able to obtain an idea of its huge size from the statement that when Marduk had smashed in its skull with his club, and had slit the channels of its blood, he split it, like a flat fish, into two halves, one of which he made use of to form the "covering of the "heavens."[2] There is no doubt that originally the Babylonian Tiamat was nothing but the rain clouds, and the mist and fog which lie over the Tigris and Euphrates in the early morning at certain seasons of the year, and which when looked at from the desert appear like a huge serpent stretched along the length of the stream, both up and down the river. The Hebrew Scriptures contain several allusions to a great nature serpent,[1] though he finds no place among the Seven Mansions of their hell. Thus the prophet Amos (ix. 3) refers to the serpent at the bottom of the sea, which Yahweh would command to bite the wicked if they attempted to hide there ; in Psalm lxxiv. 13 f. God is referred to as the breaker of the heads of Leviathan and of the dragons in the waters ; in Isaiah (li. 9) we have, "Awake, awake, put on strength, "O arm of Yahweh! Awake, as in the ancient days, in the "generations of old ! Art thou not it that did slay the monster "Râhâbh, and wound the serpent (tannîn) ?" Râhâbh may here, as some have argued, refer to Egypt, but if so, it is to Egypt as the home of the great serpent monster which we now know as Āpepi, and which was to the prophet Isaiah the type and symbol of the country, and not to the judgments which Yahweh meted out to that land.

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[1] See King, *Cuneiform Inscriptions from Babylonian Tablets*, etc., part xiii., pl. 33 f., London, 1901; and King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, vol. i., p. 119.

[2] King, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 77.

The Hebrew writers refer to the nature serpent under several names, e.g., *tannîn*, *nâkhâsh*, *râhâbh*, but the monster referred to under them is, in reality, one and the same, i.e., Leviathan (לִוְיָתָן *livyâthân*), "the serpent of many twistings or folds," and both Nebuchadnezzar II. and the "King of Assyria" are identified with him (see Jeremiah li. 34 ; Isaiah xiv. 29). According to the Rabbis he was created on the fifth day of the week of creation,[2] and was hunted for slaughter by Gabriel, and with the assistance of Yahweh was slain by him ; here we have a series of close resemblances to the history of Tiamat, for Gabriel is in every way the counterpart of Marduk, and Yahweh takes the place of Anshar as the head of the gods. Finally, Leviathan was slain by Gabriel, just as Tiamat was killed by Marduk, and out of the skin of Leviathan Gabriel made a tent wherein the righteous might dwell,[3] and a covering for the walls of the city of Jerusalem. This covering was bright and shining, and it emitted light which was so strong that it could be seen from one end of the world to the other. The last statement recalls the words of the Fourth Tablet of the Creation Series, which tell how Marduk made a canopy in the heavens of one-half of the body or skin of Tiamat. In the Hebrew version of the story it is said that the righteous feed upon the body of Leviathan, but there is no equivalent passage in the cuneiform texts at present known. From the passage in the Psalm already quoted (lxxiv. 13) it would appear that Leviathan had many heads, but this view is not supported by any known description of Tiamat, and in the absence of any evidence on the subject we must assume that the idea of a plurality of heads came from Egypt. In the Book of Revelation (xii. 3 ; xiii. 1) mention is made of a "great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven "crowns upon his heads," which appeared in heaven, and of a beast having seven heads and ten horns, with ten crowns upon his horns, which came up out of the sea, but the idea of these also was not derived from Babylonia. All the available evidence goes to show that whilst the Hebrew conception of Leviathan was of Babylonian origin that of a hell of fire was borrowed from Egypt.

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[1] See Goldziher, *Mythology of the Hebrews*, pp. 27, 28; King, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 115.

[2] Eisenmenger, op. cit., p. 877.

[3] עתיד הקדוש ברוך הוא לעשות סוכה לצדיקים מעורו של לויתן : Eisenmenger, op. cit., p. 888.

Similarly, the seven-headed dragon and beast of the Book of Revelation, like the seven-headed basilisk serpent mentioned in "Pistis Sophia,"[1] have their origin in the seven-headed serpent which is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts. In Revelations ix. 19, horses are referred to which had tails "like unto serpents, and had heads," and here again we have an idea suggested by a monster which inhabited one of the Pylons of the Ṭuat, and which had the body of a crocodile and a tail formed of a writhing serpent's body with a serpent's head for the tip of it.

But although the Hebrews borrowed the framework of their hell from Egypt they appear to have made no use of the means by which the Egyptians hoped to escape from Ȧmentet and the Ṭuat, that is to say, there is no evidence to show that they had in early

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ⲥⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ ϩⲟϥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲥⲁϣϥⲉ ⲛ̄ ⲁⲡⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ; ed. Schwartze, pp. 136, 140, 147.

times any equivalent for the system of words of power which played such an important part in the magical side of the Egyptian religion. On the other hand, the Copts, at least those of them who belonged to Gnostic sects, retained the beliefs concerning the efficacy of magical words and names, and they introduced them into their writings in a remarkable manner. Thus in "Pistis Sophia" we are told[1] that after His resurrection Jesus stood up with His disciples by the sea, and prayed to His Father, whom He addressed by a series of magical names, thus:—Aeêiouô, Iaô, Aôi, Ôiapsinôther, Thernôps, Nôpsiter, Zagourê, Pagourê, Nethmomaôth, Nepsiomaôth, Marakhakhtha, Thôbarrabau, Tharnakhakhan, Zorokothora, Ieou, Sabaôth.[2] Whilst He was saying these names Thomas, Andrew, James, and Simon the Canaanite stood in the west with their faces towards the east; and Philip and Bartholomew stood in the south with their faces towards the north. In another passage[3] Jesus addresses His Father in these words and by these names:—Iaô Iouô, Iaô, Aôi, Ôia, Psinôther, Therôpsin, Ôpsither, Nephthomaôth, Nephiomaôth Marakhakhtha, Marmarakhtha, Iêana menaman, Amanêi tou ouranou, Israi Ḥamên Ḥamên, Soubaibai appaap Ḥamên Ḥamên, deraarai Ḥapaḥou Ḥamên Ḥamên, Sarsarsartou Ḥamên Ḥamên, Koukiamin miai Ḥamên Ḥamên, Iai, Iai, Toua Ḥamên Ḥamên Ḥamên, Mainmari, Mariê, Marei Ḥamên Ḥamên Ḥamên.[4] In another place[5]

Ed. Schwartze, p. 357.

[2] ⲁⲉⲏⲓⲟⲩⲱ· ⲓ̈ⲁⲱ· ⲁⲱⲓ̈· ⲱⲓ̈ⲁⲯⲓⲛⲱⲑⲉⲣ· ⲑⲉⲣⲛⲱⲯ· ⲛⲱⲯⲓⲧⲉⲣ· ⲍⲁⲅⲟⲩⲣⲏ· ⲡⲁⲅⲟⲩⲣⲏ· ⲛⲉⲑⲙⲟⲙⲁⲱⲑ· ⲛⲉⲯⲓⲟⲙⲁⲱⲑ· ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲭⲁⲭⲑⲁ· ⲑⲱⲃⲁⲣⲣⲁⲃⲁⲩ· ⲑⲁⲣⲛⲁⲭⲁⲭⲁⲛ· ⲍⲟⲣⲟⲕⲟⲑⲟⲣⲁ· ⲓ̈ⲉⲟⲩ· ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ:

[3] Ed. Schwartze, p. 375.

[4] ⲓ̈ⲁⲱ ⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲱ· ⲓ̈ⲁⲱ· ⲁⲱⲓ̈· ⲱⲓ̈ⲁ ⲯⲓⲛⲱⲑⲉⲣ· Ⲑⲉⲣⲱⲯⲓⲛ· ⲱⲯⲓⲑⲉⲣ ⲛⲉⲫⲑⲟⲙⲁⲱⲑ· ⲛⲉⲫⲓⲟⲙⲁⲱⲑ· ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲭⲁⲭⲑⲁ· ⲙⲁⲣⲙⲁⲣⲁⲭⲑⲁ· ⲓⲏⲁⲛⲁ ⲙⲉⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛ· ⲁⲙⲁⲛⲏⲓ̈· ⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛⲟⲩ· ⲓⲥⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ· ⲥⲟⲩⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲁⲓ̈· ⲁⲡⲡⲁⲁⲡ· ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ· ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ· ⲇⲉⲣⲁⲁⲣⲁⲓ̈ ϩⲁⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ· ⲥⲁⲣⲥⲁⲣⲥⲁⲣⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ· ⲕⲟⲩⲕⲓⲁⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲓⲁⲓ̈· ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ· ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ· ⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈· ⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈· ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲡ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ· ⲙⲁⲓⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲓ· ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲏ· ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲓ· ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ (p. 375).

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 375.

He addresses those who forgive sins by their names thus:—Siphirepsnikhieu, Zenei, Berimou, Sokhabrikhêr, Euthari, Nanaï Dieisbalmêrikh, Meunipos, Khirie, Entair, Mouthiour, Smour, Peukhêr, Oouskhous, Minionor, Isokhobortha;[1] and immediately afterwards He calls upon the Powers of His Father by these names:—Auêr, Bebrô, Athroni, Êoureph, Êône, Souphen, Knitousokhreôph, Mauônbi, Mneuôr, Souôni, Khôkheteôph, Khôkhe, Eteôph, Memôkh, and Anêmph.[2] An examination of the books of "Pistis Sophia" will show that many of the details of the "mysteries" which are there described are based upon ancient Egyptian beliefs, and that the whole of the doctrine of spiritual light which is expounded therein only represents a spiritualized conception of the far-reaching character of the powers of the light of the sun upon both the living and the dead, which the dynastic Egyptians recognized and described centuries before the Christian era. This was expressed in the terms of a highly artificial system wherein words of power, magical names, emanations, ranks of angels, gates, watchers, and purely Christian conceptions were mixed up together, with the Lord Christ as the central Figure. Much has yet to be done before all the comparisons and connections between the Egyptian and Christian systems can be fully worked out, but the facts quoted above will, perhaps, suggest the importance of the study.

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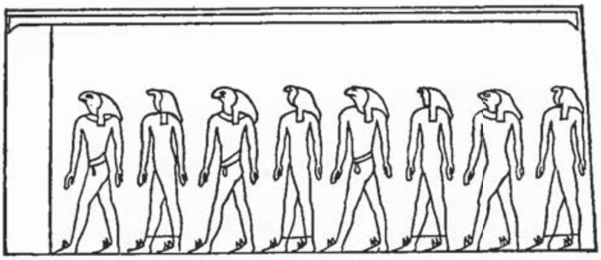
[1] ⲥⲓⲫⲓⲣⲉⲯⲛⲓⲭⲓⲉⲩ· ⲍⲉⲛⲉⲓ· ⲃⲉⲣⲓⲙⲟⲩ· ⲥⲟⲭⲁⲃⲣⲓⲭⲏⲣ· ⲉⲩⲑⲁⲣⲓ· ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ̈· ⲇⲓⲉⲓⲥⲃⲁⲗⲙⲏⲣⲓⲭ· ⲙⲉⲩⲛⲓⲡⲟⲥ· ⲭⲓⲣⲓⲉ· ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲣ· ⲙⲟⲩⲑⲓⲟⲩⲣ· ⲥⲙⲟⲩⲣ· ⲡⲉⲩⲭⲏⲣ· ⲟⲟⲩⲥⲭⲟⲩⲥ· ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲟⲛⲟⲣ· ⲓ̈ⲥⲟⲭⲟⲃⲟⲣⲑⲁ (p. 376).

[2] ⲁⲩⲏⲣ· ⲃⲉⲃⲣⲱ· ⲁⲑⲣⲟⲛⲓ· ⲏ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲫ· ⲏ̄ⲱⲛⲉ· ⲥⲟⲩⲫⲉⲛ· ⲕⲛⲓⲧⲟⲩⲥⲟⲭⲣⲉⲱⲫ· ⲙⲁⲩⲱⲛⲃⲓ· ⲙⲛⲉⲩⲱⲣ· ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲓ· ⲭⲱⲭⲉⲧⲉⲱⲫ· ⲭⲱⲭⲉ· ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲫ· ⲙⲉⲙⲱⲭ· ⲁⲛⲏⲙⲫ (p. 376).

CHAPTER VII

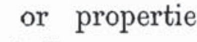
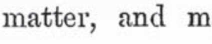
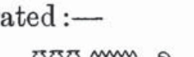
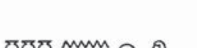
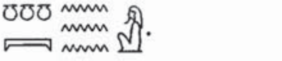
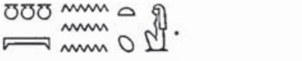
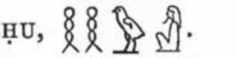
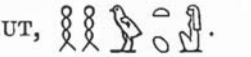
THE OLDEST COMPANY OF THE GODS AND THE CREATION

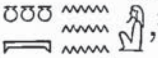
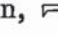
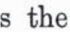
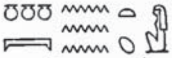
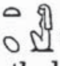
IN the earlier chapters of this work mention has been made of three companies of gods, the existence of which was formulated by the priests of Heliopolis, and it has been shown that a company of gods usually consisted of four pairs of deities, four gods and four goddesses, and a president or chief of the same. We have also shown that a *paut* or company of gods did not necessarily contain nine deities only, and that it as often as not was supposed to include more than nine gods. Originally, however, the Heliopolitan priests, or the authors of the theological system exhibited in the Pyramid Texts, intended the *paut* to consist of nine gods, and it seems that they arrived at this decision as the result of the addition of their own local god Tem to a group of four pairs of deities, four gods and four goddesses, whom they had grouped together according to the plan followed by an older school of theologians in forming an older company of the gods. The company of the gods last mentioned is probably the oldest of all the companies in Egypt, although for various reasons it never seems to have attained to the popularity of the "great *paut* of the gods of Ȧnnu," or to have enjoyed such a prominent position in the minds of the religious philosophers of Egypt. This is not to be wondered at, for whilst the Heliopolitan company of the gods included the Sun-god Rā-Tem, or Rā-Tem-Kheperȧ, and Osiris,



The Oldest Company of the Gods.

the god of the dead, the older company consisted of pairs of deities who represented religious conceptions, and faiths, and beliefs, which even at that remote period had been long dead, and the meaning of which had been forgotten. The very gods of the older company had been superseded, and their worship abolished, and the knowledge of their history and attributes was preserved only in the minds of priests and religious experts, who probably regarded the ancient views about these gods which had come down to them as the product of men belonging to a lower stage of civilization than their own. The older company of the gods here referred to have been described as personifications of aspects, or phases, or properties of primeval matter, and may be thus enumerated:—

Nu, . Nut, .
Ḥeḥu, . Ḥeḥut, .
Kekui, . Kekuit, .
Ḳerḥ, . Ḳerḥet, .

The character of the first pair of gods can be readily determined by the hieroglyphics which form their names; thus the name Nu, ,[1] is expressed by three vases of water which indicate the sound, and the outstretched heaven, , and the determinative for water, , and the sign for "god," all of which show that this deity was the god of the watery mass of the sky. The goddess Nut, , was merely his female counterpart, as the signs, , indicate. From various passages found in the religious, mythological, and funereal texts of all periods it is abundantly clear that in primeval times at least the Egyptians believed in the existence of a deep and boundless watery mass out of which had come into being the heavens, and the earth, and everything that is in them. The germs of all and every kind of life were in this watery mass, and they were supposed to have

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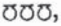
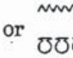
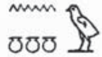
[1] The old form is , or  (Unȧs 199, 399), or  (Tetȧ 78).

been there from the beginning. They do not seem to have formulated any exact ideas about the position of this watery mass in the sky or heaven, and they certainly did not attempt to assign to it dimensions which could be expressed by the ordinary methods of measurements; in later times, however, Nu was frequently identified with the sky, *pet* 𓊪𓏏𓇯, and with the heaven above it, *nut*, 𓏌𓏏𓇯, though, strictly speaking, he represented the watery mass which was supposed to exist between the two. It must also be noted that the ocean and also the Nile[1] were identified with Nu, whose characteristics appear to have changed during the latter part of the dynastic period. The name of this god has been compared with the Coptic word **ⲛⲟⲩⲛ** "abyss," "deep," and the like, and it is possible that it may have some connection with it, but it is difficult to see how in that case it can mean "young," as the late Dr. Brugsch suggested.[2] The true meaning is much more likely to be suggested by the play on the words *Nu* and *nen* which we have on p. 309 in the passage, "I raised them up from out of the watery mass (*nu*) out of inactivity" (*nen*), i.e., Nu was the inert mass of watery matter from which the world was created. Of Nut, the female counterpart of Nu, little need be said here, except that she was regarded as the primeval mother, with whom in later dynastic times were identified several goddesses, e.g., Hathor, Mut, Nit, or Neith, and whose attributes were assigned to them. The forms in which Nu is depicted vary. Thus he is represented in human form holding a sceptre when he forms one of the company of the gods of Ȧmen, but he is also represented with the head of a frog, which is surmounted by a beetle,[3] and even with the head of a snake. The goddess Nut is also represented in human form, but sometimes she has the head of a uraeus, surmounted by a disk,[4] and at other times she has the head of a cat.[5]

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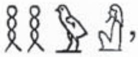
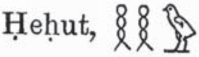
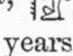
[1] Compare Horapollo I. 21 (ed. Leemans; p. 28):—Νείλου δὲ ἀνάβασιν σημαίνοντες, ὃν καλοῦσιν Αἰγύπτιστι Νοῦν; attention was first drawn to this passage by Tattam.

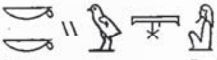
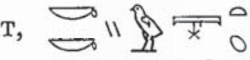
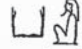
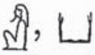
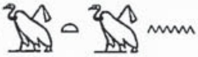
[2] *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 129.

[3] Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pl. 167, No. 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, No 3.

[5] *Ibid.*, pl. 170, No. 2.

The characteristics of the second pair of gods, Ḥeḥu, , and Ḥeḥut, , are not easy to determine. According to Signor Lanzone they are personifications of male and female elements of fire,[1] and from the ancient pictures of them we see that the Egyptian artists regarded them from different points of view. Thus in one group of the eight primeval gods Ḥeḥu is represented in one of the forms of Nu, i.e., frog-headed, already described, and Ḥeḥut in the form of Nut;[2] and in another group Ḥeḥu has the head of a serpent, and Ḥeḥut that of a cat. According to the late Dr. Brugsch[3] the name Ḥeḥ is connected with the word which indicates an undefined and unlimited number, i.e., *ḥeḥ*, ; when applied to time the idea suggested is "millions of years," and Ḥeḥ is equivalent to the Greek *αἰων*. In several passages quoted by Dr. Brugsch mention is made of a god Ḥeḥ, who seems to be a personification of the atmosphere which exists between heaven and earth, and to be identical with Shu, and that distinguished Egyptologist went so far as to compare his functions with those which were exercised by Aiôn, Eros, and Pneuma in Greek systems of philosophy. In a small scene reproduced by Signor Lanzone[4] we see the god Harpocrates in his usual attitude, , just above what appears to be a small tree. On the right kneels the goddess Ḥeḥut, who is making her outstretched hand and arm a support for the left hand of the young god which rests upon it; on the other side kneels Ḥeḥu, who is represented in the act of raising or supporting the feet of the god, above whose head are the beetle and disk.

The characteristics of the third pair of gods, KEKUI, , and KEKUIT, , are easier to determine, and it is tolerably certain that these deities represent the male and female powers of the darkness which was supposed to cover over the primeval abyss of water; they have been compared by Dr. Brugsch with the Erebos of the Greeks. In some aspects they appear to represent both the night and the day, that is to say, Kekui is called "the raiser up of the light," and Kekuit "the "raiser up of the night." It is not difficult to see how these deities obtained these names, for Kekui represents that period of the night which immediately precedes the day, and Kekuit is that period of the night which immediately follows the day. At one period Kekui and Kekuit were considered to be gods of Elephantine, and their attributes were identified with those of the Nubian god Khnemu and his female counterpart Sati; but this, no doubt, was a result of regarding Kekui and Kekuit as personifications of the Nile-god Ḥāpi, whose hidden fountains lay beneath the rocks at some part of the Island of Elephantine. According to another view the crocodile-god Sebek, one of whose chief seats of worship was at Kom Ombo, was a personification of the old primeval god Kekui, and in any case Sebek was certainly considered to be one of the principal forms in which the soul of the primeval darkness loved to array itself.[1] In the scenes in which the forms of the oldest *paut* or company of the gods are represented Kekui is usually given the head of a serpent, but Kekuit has the head either of a frog or a cat.[2] In one scene Kekui and Kekuit are identified with KA and KAIT, , , the former being called the "grandfather of all the gods," and the latter the "grandmother of the divine company," ; in this scene Ka or Kekui has the head of a frog surmounted by a beetle, and Kait or Kekuit the head of a serpent surmounted by a disk.

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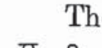
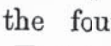
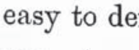
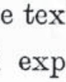
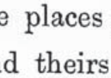
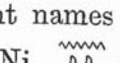
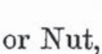
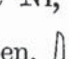
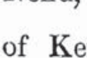
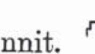
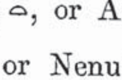
[1] Lanzone, *Dizionario*, page 685.

[2] *Ibid.*, pl. 168 ff.

[3] *Religion*, p. 132.

[4] Op. cit., p. 685.

The characteristics of the fourth pair of gods, ḲERḤ, , and ḲERḤET, , are not easy to define, and the texts in some places give quite different names where we should expect to find theirs; thus we have Ni, , or Nenu, , or Nut, , or Ȧmen, , instead of Ḳerḥ, and Ennit, , or Nenuit, , or Nut, , or Nit, , or , instead of Ḳerḥet. The common meaning of the word *ḳerḥ* is "night," and according

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Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 142.

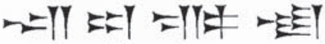
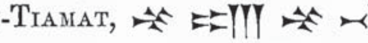
[2] Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 168 ff.

to this the deities Ḳerḥ and Ḳerḥet would represent the male and female powers of night; on the other hand, the determinative , which occurs in each name, shows that these gods were regarded as personifications of some apparently inactive powers of the primeval watery abyss, and we may, therefore, regard them as types of powers of nature in a state of repose either before or after a state of activity. In the scenes in which the forms of the oldest company of the gods are represented, Ni, that is to say, Ḳerḥ, has the head of a frog, with or without a beetle upon it, or the head of a snake, and Ennit, that is to say, Ḳerḥet, has either the head of a frog or that of a cat.

It is not easy to reconcile the various views which Egyptologists have held about the above four pairs of deities, and it certainly appears as if the ancient Egyptians themselves had no very clear ideas as to their functions. As to their antiquity there is no room for doubt, for although the oldest pictures of their forms do not date from a period anterior to the reign of Seti I., it is quite clear, from the way in which they are mentioned, that they represent traditional ideas of an extremely ancient character. One proof of this is the careful mention of the female counterparts of the four great primeval gods, for it was usual in the case of gods who were the product of the purely dynastic period to pay small attention to the goddesses who were regarded as their wives. Thus Rā and Ȧmen possessed female counterparts called Rāt, , and Ȧment, , but they play no prominent parts in Egyptian mythology, and are rarely mentioned in the texts. Man always has fashioned, and probably always will, fashion his god, or gods, in his own image, and he has always, having reached a certain stage in development, given to his gods wives and offspring; but the nature of the position taken by the wives of the gods depends upon the nature of the position of women in the households of those who write the legends and traditions of the gods.

The gods of the oldest company in Egypt were, the writer believes, invented by people in whose households women held a high position, and among whom they possessed more power than is usually the case with Oriental peoples. Nut, Ḥeḥut, Kekuit, and

Ḳerḥet are the equals of the gods Nu, Ḥeḥ, Kekui, and Ḳerḥ, and not merely the bearers of offspring as were the later goddesses. The general drift of the texts wherein the four pairs of gods are mentioned indicates that three pairs were qualities, or characteristics, or attributes of the fourth pair personified, although some would make the four pairs represent the male and female elements of the Four Elements, Earth, Air, Fire, and Water, and others would make them stand for the primeval Matter out of which all things have been made, and primeval Space, and primeval Time, and primeval Power. To say definitely and exactly what they represent is in the present state of Egyptological knowledge impossible, for the evidence which would enable us to arrive at a final decision in the matter is not forthcoming.

Before we pass on to the consideration of the events which resulted in the creation of the sun and later of the world, it will be interesting to compare with the above four pairs of gods the group of gods that we meet with in the "Seven Tablets of Creation,"[1] which are written in cuneiform, and contain the views and beliefs of the Assyrians as to the origin of the gods, and of the world, and of mankind. The old company of primeval gods mentioned in these Tablets are also eight in number, and they fall readily into four pairs. The first pair consisted of APZÛ-RISHTÛ, , i.e., the "primeval abyss," and MÛMMU-TIAMAT, . The meaning of the word *mûmmu* is unknown,[2] but Tiamat is the name of the female counterpart of Apzû-rishtû, and she became the mother of offspring by him. These two deities, then, represent the male and female powers of the watery mass which contained the germs of all life, and of every kind of life, and they existed at a time "when of the "gods none had been called into being, and none bore a name, and "no destinies [were ordained]." When "their waters were

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[1] The best copies of the cuneiform texts hitherto issued will be found in the publication of the Trustees of the British Museum, entitled *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, part xiii., London, 1901. These, with many additional texts, are given in Mr. L. W. King's *Seven Tablets of Creation* with transliterations, translations, notes, etc., London, 1902. (Vol. I.)

[2] *Mûmmu* = the Μωϋμις of Damascus, and probably means "chaos."

"mingled together" then the work of creation began. We thus see that Apzû-rishtu and Mûmmu-Tiamat are the exact equivalents in the Babylonian cosmogony of Nu and Nut in the Egyptian, and that they are the originals of the Greek forms *'Απασὼν* and *Ταυθὲ*, which are given in the scheme of Damascius.[1]

The next pair of gods in the Assyrian texts are LAKHMU, 𒀭 𒈛 𒈬, and LAKHAMU, 𒀭 𒆷 𒄩 𒈬, but of their functions we know nothing, any more than we do of the Egyptian primeval gods Ḥeḥ and Ḥeḥut. The names of the third and fourth deities in the list of Damascius (ed. Kopp, p. 125) are *Δαχός* and *Δαχή*, but these are clearly mistakes for *Λαχός* and *Λαχή*, i.e., Lakhmu and Lakhamu.

According to the First Tablet of the Creation Series "ages increased,"[2] and then two more gods came into being, viz., ANSHAR, 𒀭 𒊹, and KISHAR, 𒀭 𒆠 𒊹, i.e., the *'Ασσωρός* and *Κισσαρὴ* of Damascius. Now up to this point the three pairs of gods of the Assyrians agree exactly with the first three pairs of gods of the oldest Egyptian company of the gods, and the points of resemblance are striking. We see from the table printed by Brugsch[3] that the Egyptian authorities differed as to the names of the god and goddess of the fourth pair of gods, some giving Ḳerḥ and Ḳerḥet, others giving Ȧmen and Ȧment, and others giving Enen and Enenet-ḥemset, and others Ni and Ennit; all, however, agreed that a fourth pair of deities were necessary to complete the company, and that one must be a god and the other a goddess.

The First Tablet of the Creation Series mentions a seventh deity called ANU, 𒀭 𒀀 𒉡, who is clearly to be identified with the *'Ανός* of Damascius, and an eighth deity called NUDIMMUD, 𒀭 𒉡 𒁴 𒈲, which is a title of the god EA; the context which would probably have supplied us with the name of a ninth god is broken away, and at present there is no means of restoring the passage. Both these deities are masculine, whereas one should be masculine and one feminine. In the list of the primeval gods given by Damascius following *Κισσαρὴ* we have *Ἀνός*, *Ἰλλινος*, and *Ἀός*; the first of these is, as we have said, Anu; the second is the god Enlil, 𒂗𒆤; and the third is Ea, 𒀭𒂍𒀀. But all these are gods, and there is no goddess among them, and it is difficult not to think that in making the recension of the story which is preserved in cuneiform the Assyrian editors substituted the three gods Anu, Bel, and Ea, who represented heaven, and earth, and the abyss respectively, for those who were in the older recension. The Assyrian copy which we now have was made during the reign of Ashur-bani-pal, king of Assyria from B.C. 668 to B.C. 626, presumably from a Babylonian archetype, but it is impossible to say to what period the actual version which it represents is to be assigned. The Seven Tablets of Creation contain several Assyrianized forms of ancient Sumerian words, a fact which proves that the original traditions incorporated in the work must be of Sumerian origin, and must have been formulated in remote antiquity. It is surprising therefore to find so much similarity existing between the primeval gods of Sumer and those of Egypt, especially as the resemblance cannot be the result of borrowing. It is out of the question to assume that Ashur-bani-pal's editors borrowed the system from Egypt, or that the literary men of the time of Seti I. borrowed their ideas from the *literati* of Babylonia or Assyria, and we are therefore driven to the conclusion that both the Sumerians and the early Egyptians derived their primeval gods from some common but exceedingly ancient source. The similarity between the two companies of gods seems to be too close to be accidental, especially as there is every possibility that the Sumerian system was taken into Egypt by the same people who carried into the country the art of making bricks, the use of the cylinder seal, and the like.[1] Be this as it may, it is certain that the company of primeval gods, which, as we have seen, was common to the Sumerians and Egyptians, was quite different from the companies of gods of which Osiris and Rā-Tem were the heads in Egypt, and also from those which were formed in Babylonia and Assyria when these countries were inhabited by Semitic populations.

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[1] He was born in Syria, probably at Damascus, in the last quarter of the Vth century of our era. He studied at Alexandria and at Athens, and was a pupil of Marinus and Zenodotus, and when Justinian closed the schools at Athens he went to the court of the Persian king Khusrau (Chosroës). The best edition of his work on "First Principles" is that of Kopp, published in 1828.

[2] King, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 61. [3] *Religion*, p. 127.

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[1] See my *Egypt in the Predynastic and Archaic Periods*, p. 41.

Now the First Tablet of Creation gives us to understand clearly that the work of creation began when the waters, or essences, of the first pair of primeval gods, Apzû and Tiamat, were mingled together, and that the offspring of this union were Lakhmu and Lakhamu, Anshar and Kishar, etc. What the views of the ancient Egyptians on this subject were we do not know, but it is quite clear from the allusions in many texts that the second, third, and fourth pairs of the gods already mentioned were the offspring of the union of the first pair Nu and Nut, i.e., that they were their attributes. We may also conclude that Nu and Nut were the male and female powers of the vast and inert watery mass, with its male and female counterparts Ni and Ennit, and that the second pair of gods, Ḥeḥ and Ḥeḥut, represented their eternal nature. The third pair of deities are nothing but the male and female counterparts of Darkness personified, and thus we have as the primeval material from which everything was made an eternal, boundless, watery mass wherein are the germs of life, male and female; this watery mass is, however, enveloped in thick darkness. The late Dr. Brugsch, basing his opinion upon certain statements made in the Egyptian texts, declared that the primeval spirit (Urgeist) felt the desire for creative activity, and that his word awoke the world to life in a form in which it had already been mirrored in his mind, and that the first act of creation began with the formation out of the primeval watery mass of an egg, wherefrom issued the light of day, i.e., Rā, which was the immediate cause of all life in the earthly world. In this light, that is to say, in the Rising Sun, the almighty power of the divine spirit incorporated itself in a brilliant form.[1]

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[1] "Der göttliche Urgeist, unzertrennlich von dem Urstoff des Urwassers, "fühlte das Verlangen nach schöpferischer Thätigkeit und sein Wort erweckte die "Welt zum Leben, deren Gestalt und formenreiche Gebilde sich in seinem Auge "vorher abgespiegelt hatten. Ihre körperlichen Umrisse und Farben entsprachen "nach ihrer Entstehung der Wahrheit d.h. der Urvorstellungen des göttlichen "Geistes über sein künftiges Werk. Der erste Schöpfungsact begann mit der "Bildung eines Eies aus dem Urgewässer, aus dem das Tageslicht (Rā), die unmittelbare Ursache (rā) des Lebens in dem Bereiche der irdischen Welt heraus-"brach. In der aufgehenden Sonne verkörperte sich die Allmacht des göttlichen "Geistes in ihrer glanzvollsten Gestalt" (*Religion*, p. 101).

The opinion of the great Egyptologist is of great weight on all matters of this kind, but it must be remembered that we have no authority in the texts for all the details of his narrative of the events which are supposed to have taken place before the appearance of the sun in the heavens, and that for many of the ancient Egyptian views on the subject of the Creation our only authorities are compositions which, in the forms in which we know them, are not older than the period of the end of the Middle Empire and that of the beginning of the New Empire, and many of the views and opinions expressed in them date from the same periods. That the sun was the product of the primeval watery mass of Nu the Egyptians believed beyond doubt, because they declared repeatedly that Rā came forth from Nu, but they did not, as far as we know, make it to be the dwelling-place of a primeval spirit (Urgeist) which designed and planned the future world in its mind before it began to create it, and which carried out the various works of creation on the lines which it had evolved in its consciousness long before the darkness which lay on the watery mass was pierced by the light of the sun. We know that the priesthood of Hermopolis, the Khemennu of the Egyptian texts, i.e., the "city of the Eight Gods," where Nu, Nut, Ḥeḥu, Ḥeḥut, Kekui, Kekuit, Ḳerḥ, and Ḳerḥet were worshipped, placed at the head of their divine company the god Thoth, to whom certainly in later times were ascribed many of the attributes which Dr. Brugsch's "Urgeist" possessed. But there is no proof whatsoever that Thoth was the original leader of this company of gods; on the contrary, there is reason for thinking that if the Eight ever had a leader in the beginning of their existence he must have been a form of the Sun-god. The fact is that as the priests of Heliopolis formed their companies of gods from systems already in existence, and placed their own local gods at the head of them, so the priests of Hermopolis for some reason unknown to us adopted the primeval company of Eight, and appointed their own local god Thoth to be their head. The attempt to find any equivalent of the "spirit of Elohîm," which, according to the Book of Genesis, moved, or brooded, on the face of the waters before the creation of light, has nothing to support it in the Egyptian texts.

But although we do not know what the primitive Egyptians imagined to be the means by which the Sun came into being, we have a very good idea of what they thought about the creation of the gods, and of the world, and of the animals, birds, trees, fish, reptiles, etc., which are in it, and by whose agency it was brought about. We owe our knowledge of these things to a papyrus preserved in the British Museum (No. 10,188), which was written for a priest of Panopolis (the modern Akhmîm), of high rank and lineage, called Nes-Åmsu, or Nes-Min, during the thirteenth year of the reign of "Alexander, the son of Alexander," i.e., about B.C. 312. This remarkable document contains, among other valuable compositions, a series of Chapters of a long magical work which was written with the object of effecting the destruction of the arch-fiend Āpepi and his fiends and devils of darkness, and of keeping storms and hurricanes out of the sky; many of the Chapters are followed by rubrics which, as we have already shown in the description of the Ṭuat given above, contain directions for the performance of the ceremonies which were to accompany the recital of the words. Where the Chapters were to be recited is not clear, but as two out of three works in the papyrus were chanted in the temple of Amen-Rā, the king of the gods, at Thebes, we shall not be far wrong if we assume that the third was a service which was performed in the temple from time to time. The first work, the "Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys," was a very important service, and the second, the "Lamentations of Isis," was probably a supplement to it; two priestesses, who dressed in the characters of Isis and Nephthys, and personified these goddesses, sang the sections, or "houses," of the Festival Songs in turn on the great commemorative festivals of Osiris, and as the "Lamentations" were rhythmical they were probably sung at the same service.

The rubric of the "Festival Songs" orders that they be sung in the temple of Åmen-Rā, and as the third work, the "Book of Overthrowing Āpepi," was devoted to the protection of the Sun-god Rā, the great lord of the temple, provision must have been made for reciting it there. Be this as it may, our present interest in the papyrus centres in the fact that it contains two copies of the story[1] of the Creation which are of the greatest interest. Curiously enough, each copy is inserted among the Chapters in the main body of the work, and it seems as if they represent two distinct versions, although in many places the text in each is identical. Each copy is entitled, "The Book of knowing the Evolutions of Rā, and of Overthrowing Āpepi." The word here rendered by "Evolutions" is *kheperu*, , being derived from the root *kheper*, , which means "to make, to fashion, "to produce, to form, to become," and in a derived sense "to roll," so that the title might be translated the "Book of knowing the "Becomings of Rā," i.e., the things which were made, or created, or came into being through Rā. In the text the words are placed in the mouth of the god Neb-er-tcher, , the lord of the universe and a form of the Sun-god Rā, who says, "I am he who "came into being in the form of the god Kheperà, , "and I was the creator of that which came into being, that is to "say, I was the creator of everything which came into being; now "when I had come into being myself, the things which I created "and which came forth from out of my mouth were very many." In these words Neb-er-tcher, or Rā, says that he took upon himself the form of Kheperà, i.e., that he was the god who was most intimately connected with the creation of things of every kind. Kheperà was symbolized by a beetle which belonged to the class of "Coprophagi," or "dung-eaters," which having laid its eggs in masses of dung rolled them about until they became circular in form. These balls, though made of dead, inert matter, contained the germs of life, which, under the influence of warmth and heat, grew, and in due course developed into living creatures which could move about and seek their food. At a very early period in their history the Egyptians associated the sun's disk with the dung ball of the beetle, partly on account of its shape, and partly because it was the source of heat, and light, and life to man, even as the dung ball was to the young beetles. Having once got the idea that the disk of the sun was like the ball of the beetle, they went a step farther, and imagined that it must be pushed across the sky by a gigantic beetle just as the dung ball was rolled over the ground by a beetle on earth, and in pictures of the sunrise we actually see the disk being pushed up or forward into the sky by a beetle. Gradually the ideas of new life, resurrection, life in a new form, and the like, became attached to the beetle, and the god with the attributes of the beetle, among which in later days was included the idea of self-production, became one of the most important of the forms of Rā, and the creator of heaven, and earth, and the Ṭuat and all that is in them.

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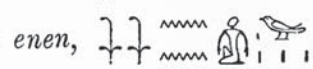
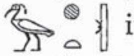
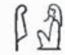
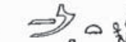
[1] The first copy is in column xxvi. and the second in column xxviii.

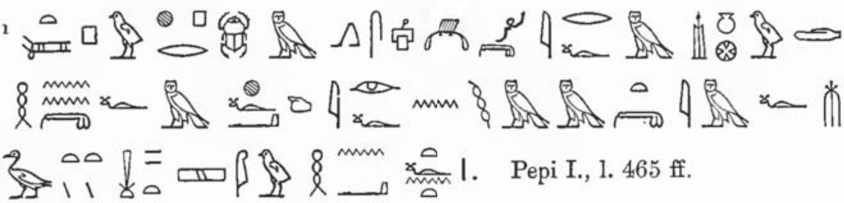
Having declared under what form he had come into being Kheperȧ goes on to say that his power was not exhausted by one creative act, but that he continued to create new things out of those which he had already made, and he says that they went forth from his mouth. The word "mouth" may be here a figurative expression, but judging from other parts of the text we are probably intended to understand it literally. The god continues his narrative thus:—"Heaven did not exist, and earth had not " come into being, and the things of the earth (plants?) and " creeping things had not come into existence in that place (or, at " that time), and I raised (or, built up) them from out of Nu from " a state of inactivity." Thus it is clear that Kheperȧ himself was the one thing besides the watery abyss of Nu which was then in existence, and it is evident that we are to understand that he performed the various acts of creation without the help of any female principle, and that Nu had nothing to do with them except to supply the primeval matter, the "Urstoff" of Brugsch, from which all things were made. The word rendered above by inactivity is *enen*, , and it ought to refer to the things which Kheperȧ says he raised up out of Nu, in which case we must understand that everything in heaven and in earth was at that time existing in a quiescent state in the watery mass of Nu.

The narrative continues: "I found no place there whereon I " could stand. I worked a charm upon my own heart (or, will), " [and] I laid a foundation in Maā, [and] I made every form (or, " attribute). I was one by myself, [for] I had not emitted from " myself the god Shu, and I had not spit out from myself the goddess

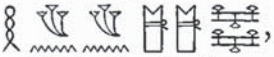
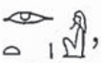
"Tefnut; there was no other being who worked with me." The things made clear by this passage are that Kheperȧ alone was the creator, and that he had no place to stand upon in performing the various acts of creation. The words, *Khut-nȧ em ȧb-ȧ*, here rendered "I worked a charm upon my heart," present difficulty, but this or something very like must be their meaning.

The word  in texts of the kind generally means "to "perform a magical rite or ceremony," and the author of the story of the creation before us found himself obliged to make the god resort to magical powers to get himself out of a difficulty; that Kheperȧ worked in some way and by some means upon his heart or will is clear, and as a result he laid a foundation for himself and the work which he was about to do in Maā. The name  may be read either as Maā or Shu, but Shu cannot be the reading here because in the next sentence Kheperȧ tells us that he had not at that time emitted Shu from himself. From the texts of all periods we learn much about the conceptions which the Egyptians had arrived at concerning Maā, and it is clear that the word primarily meant "what is straight," and that it also came to mean "straightness, rectitude, uprightness, right, law, order, "regularity, justice," and other significations of like character; the goddess Maāt, , was the personification of "Truth." The idea which the text is intended to convey here is that Kheperȧ laid the foundation of the future world according to a clear, well-defined, and unalterable plan, wherein there was no error; *Maā* was with Kheperȧ exactly what Ḥokhmâh, חָכְמָה (a word somewhat inadequately rendered "wisdom" in Proverbs viii. 2 ff.), was to Yahweh. Wisdom says that she was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was, when there were no depths, before the mountains were settled, and before the hills was she brought forth when as yet Yahweh had made neither the earth, nor the fields, nor the highest part of the dust of the earth, and that she was there when he prepared the heavens and placed a circle upon the face of the depth (Proverbs viii. 23 ff.).

The narrative continues: "I made a foundation in (or, by) "my own heart, and there came into being multitudes of things, "of things from the things of what was produced from the things "which they produced." This sentence is both involved and redundant, but about its meaning there is fortunately no difficulty, for the writer only makes the god assert in an emphatic manner that everything that is came into being as a result of the act of the god in laying a foundation in his own heart, and that when once the creative processes had been set in motion they continued their operation of their own accord, apparently without any direct interference from the original creative power. In the next sentence we have a reference to a curious belief which was already current in the VIth Dynasty, but at that period it had reference to the god Tem and not to Kheperȧ, and occurs with the following context:—"This Pepi washeth himself in the Lake of Åaru wherein "Rā washeth himself; Horus hath brought the back of this Pepi, "and Thoth hath brought his legs, and Shu hath lifted him up "to heaven; O Nut, stretch out thy hand to Pepi. Tem hath "departed to Ånnu to satisfy his love of pleasure; he hath thrust "his member into his hand, and hath performed his desire, and "hath produced the two children Shu and Tefnut,[1] and these two "children put Pepi between them, and they set him among the "gods which are in Sekhet-ḥetepet." In the story of the creation Kheperȧ is made to say, "I had union with my hand, and I "embraced my shadow in a love embrace; I poured seed into my "own mouth, and I sent forth from myself issue in the form of "the gods Shu and Tefnut." Now a myth of this character can only be the product of a people at a low level of civilization, and it is difficult to understand the character of the mind of an author who in one sentence helps Kheperȧ out of a difficulty by ascribing to him the possession and use of magical powers, and in another reduces him to the necessity of committing an act of masturbation in order to begin the generations of the gods, and yet assigns to

[1] 
Pepi I., l. 465 ff.

him at the same time many of the powers which are assigned by Christian nations to God. The only possible way of accounting for this gross passage is to assume either that it was copied into the papyrus of Nesi-Ȧmsu, or Nesi-Min, by the scribe simply because he found it in the archetype from which he was working, or that the author, knowing that Shu and Tefnut were held to be the children of Kheperȧ, and that this god was unaccompanied by any female counterpart, explained the origin of his children in the manner described above. But in any case this brutal example of naturalism was not intended to be obscene, and it must be regarded as a survival in literature of the dynastic period of one of the coarse habits of the predynastic Egyptians, that is to say, of one of the indigenous African tribes from which dynastic Egyptians were partly descended.

The next section of the narrative is difficult to translate and explain, for it contains words which Kheperȧ puts into the mouth of his "father" Nu, who says that his eye, i.e., the Sun, was covered up behind Shu and Tefnut, but that after *ḥenti* periods, , had passed[1] that he had become three gods instead of one, and after he had come into being in this earth, Shu and Tefnut were raised up from out of the watery mass wherein they were, and they brought his eye in their train. The general meaning of these words seems to be that when Kheperȧ was existing in Nu by himself the sun, in which he afterwards incorporated himself, was hidden in the watery deep; but as soon as Kheperȧ had produced Shu and Tefnut the sun emerged from the deep and followed in their train. In other words, we learn that the Eye, , of Nu was unable to make itself seen until after Shu and Tefnut had come into being. We need not tarry to consider all the various attributes of these twin gods, and it will be sufficient to say here that Shu represents the daylight and, in some cases, the atmosphere which supports the heavens and keeps them above the earth, whilst Tefnut, the female

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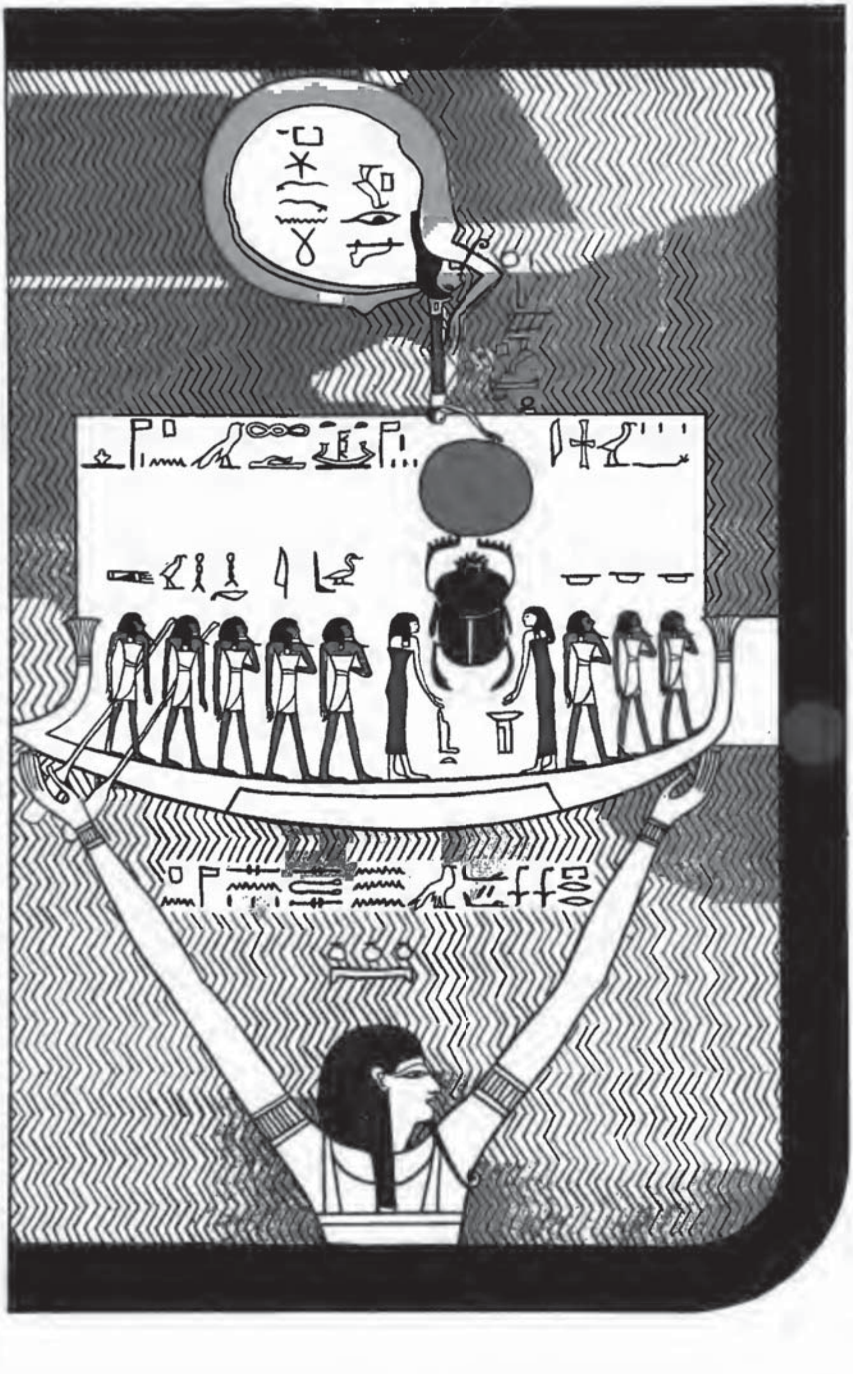
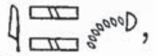
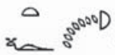
[1] The *ḥen* period = 60 years, but when two such periods are referred to the writer does not mean necessarily 120 years, but some long, indefinite period of time.



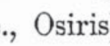
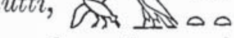
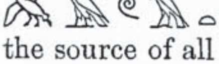
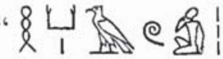
The Creation

counterpart of Shu, represents rain, dew, and moisture. We have already seen that these twin gods proceeded from Kheperȧ, and the words which are used to express the idea of emission, i.e., *ȧshesh* , and *tef* , indicate the processes by which they came into being as separate entities. The creation of Shu made a space between the heavens and the earth into which the Eye of Nu could rise from out of the waters and shine, and because the sunlight immediately followed the creation of Shu that god is sometimes identified with light, and is regarded as its personification. The general sense of the passage under discussion makes it necessary to assume that Nu is identified with Kheperȧ, and *vice versâ.*

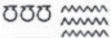
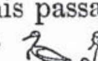
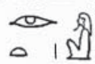
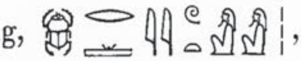
The next passage refers to the creation of man, and the god, presumably Kheperȧ, says, "Now after these things, I united my "members, and I wept over them, and men and women came into "being from the tears which came forth from my eye." Of this passage there are two interpretations possible. We may either assume that the tears which fell from the Eye of Nu, or Kheperȧ, are the rays of light which fell from the sun, and that men and women are the offspring of the light, or what is far more probable, that men and women are the product of the tears of water which fell from the eye of the god upon his members,[1] and that they turned into human beings straightway. Meanwhile the god Nu or Kheperȧ had made another Eye, by which we are, no doubt, to understand the Moon, and it is said that when the first Eye found that a second had been made it raged at the god; now when the god saw this he endowed the second Eye with some of the power (or, splendour) which he had made, and having made it take up its position in his face it henceforth ruled the whole earth. After this the god brought about the creation of plants, and herbs, and reptiles, and creeping things. Finally, the gods Shu and Tefnut produced the gods and goddesses Seb and Nut, Osiris and Isis, Set and Nephthys, and Ḥeru-khent-ȧn-maati, i.e., the "Blind Horus," one after the other at one birth, and these deities multiplied

[1] .

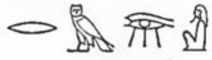
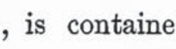
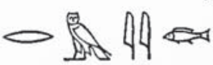
offspring in this earth. Thus we have a complete account of how a male god who existed alone in the watery abyss of Nu produced from himself by unnatural means a pair of deities, one male and one female, and how this pair produced three other pairs, i.e., three gods and three goddesses, and one male deity in addition, in fact the *paut* or company of the great gods of Heliopolis, which in this instance was made to include ten gods. It is interesting to note the order in which the acts of creation took place. The self-existent god who had lived for ever created: 1. The light. 2. The firmament, or home of moisture, i.e., clouds and rain. 3. Mankind. 4. The second (?) Eye, i.e., the Moon (?). 5. Plants, and herbs, and reptiles, and creeping things. 6. Seven deities, four being male and three female.

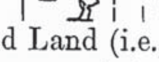
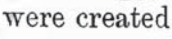
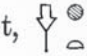
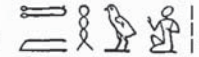
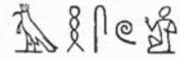
In the second version of the story of creation which we shall now describe some interesting variants will be found, and we shall see that the god Osiris is made to usurp the position which in the first version is occupied by the god Kheperà. The opening words are :—Neb-er-tcher saith, "I am the creator of what hath come "into being, and I myself came into being under the form of the "god Kheperà, and I came into being in primeval time. I came "into being in the form of Kheperà, and I was the creator of what "came into being, that is to say, I formed myself out of the "primeval matter, and I formed myself in the primeval matter. "My name is ÀUSÀRES,  (i.e., Osiris), [who] is the "primeval matter of primeval matter. I have done all my will in "this earth, I have spread abroad therein, and I have made strong "(or, lifted up) my hand." In this passage we have Neb-er-tcher, who came into being in the form of Kheperà, identifying himself with Osiris, who is described as the *pautet pautti*,  , i.e., the very essence of primeval matter, and the source of all created things. This is a remarkable attribute to ascribe to the god of the dead, and it is only understandable when we remember that it was a common belief of the Egyptians that life rose out of death. The narrative continues, "I was alone, for "they (i.e., the gods) were not born, and I had emitted from "myself neither Shu nor Tefnut. I brought my name into my "own mouth, that is to say [I uttered it as] a word of power, "  *ḥekau*, and I forthwith came into being under "the form of things which were created and under the form of "Kheperȧ."

Here we have an interesting statement, for the god tells us how he came into being, and he is not content with merely saying that he existed. We know from the literature of Egypt how great a part words of power played in its magical and religious systems, and how the believer hoped to obtain all his desires by the utterance of special names, or words, or formulæ. Here, however, we have the god Osiris transforming himself from the essence of primeval matter into the active principle of creation by merely uttering his own name. The belief in the potency of certain names is very old in Egypt, and rests upon a still older idea that no creature, animate or inanimate, could be said to have an existence until it possessed a name, an idea with which every one is familiar from Genesis ii. 19 f., where we read that Adam gave names to every beast of the field and to every fowl of the air, and to all cattle. Every god and goddess and supernatural being were believed to possess a hidden name by, and through, and in which he and she lived. The man who could find out these names was able to command the help of the gods who bore them, and the man who could obtain by any means a hidden name for himself thought he would be the equal of the gods. On the other hand, to destroy or "blot out" a name was to wipe out of existence the being who bore it, and it was for this reason that in the earliest days of civilization in Egypt services in which the name, or names, of the dead were commemorated, and were mentioned with laudatory epithets, were established. We may note in passing that one of the greatest gifts which was to be given to the true believers of the Church of Pergamos was "a white stone, and in "the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he "that receiveth it" (Revelation ii. 17). Here is a direct allusion to the old belief in the efficacy of an amulet which was made of a certain stone, and inscribed with a name, by and through and in which its owner would enjoy life and happiness.

Returning to our narrative we find that the god continues, " I came into being from primeval matter, and I appeared under " the form of multitudes of things from the beginning. Nothing " existed at that time, and it was I who made whatsoever was " made. I was alone, and there was no other being who worked " with me in that place. I made all the forms under which I " appeared by means (or, out of) the god-soul which I raised up " out of Nu, , out of a state of inertness (or, out of the " inert mass)." In this passage we have a new element introduced, that is, a " god-Soul," , or, in other words, the Soul which possessed the quality of *neter*, and was existent in a quiescent state in the inactive watery mass of Nu. When we consider the general ideas of the Egyptians about the soul this statement need not surprise us, for we know that they endowed every object in nature with a soul, and if they assumed the existence of a mass of primeval matter they were bound, logically, to give it a soul. Thus we have in the second version of the story of the creation an idea which is wholly wanting in the first. We next read, " I " found there (i.e., in Nu) no place wherein I could stand. I " worked a spell on my heart, and I laid a foundation before me, " and I made whatsoever was made. I was alone. I laid a " foundation in (or, by) my heart, and I made the other things " which came into being, and the things of Kheperȧ which were " made were manifold, and their offspring came into existence " from the things to which they gave birth. It was I who emitted " Shu, and it was I who emitted Tefnut, and from being one god " (or, the one god) I became three, that is to say, the two other " gods who came into being on this earth came from myself, and " Shu and Tefnut were raised up from out of Nu wherein they had " been. Now, behold, my Eye,  (i.e., the Sun), did they " bring to me (or, I brought to them) after a double *ḥen* period " [had passed since] they went forth from me. I gathered " together my members which came forth from my own person " after I had union with my hand, and my heart (or will) came " unto me from out of my hand. The seed fell into my mouth, " and I sent forth from myself the gods Shu and Tefnut, and from "being one god (or, the one god) I became three, that is to say, "the two other gods who came into being, , "on this earth came from myself, and Shu and Tefnut were raised "up from out of Nu wherein they had been."

The repetitions in the above passage are due to the fact that the scribes possessed many variant readings of portions of it, these representing, no doubt, the opinions of different schools, and the scribe of the papyrus of Nes-Ȧmsu, with characteristic reverence for what was written, incorporated them all into his text.

The next passage contains a very interesting addition and variant reading, which makes "father" Nu declare that his Eye, i.e., the sun, was covered over with large numbers of "bushes" for an indefinite number of periods, each containing sixty years; now "bushes," otherwise called "hair," is the name given to the clouds which hang round the sun at sunrise, and obscure his rays, and it seems as if the god intends to complain that his sight was impeded by them for centuries. The words following seem to indicate that vegetation and reptiles, including worms or serpents, proceeded from the god Rem, and that they were the product of the tears which fell from Kheperȧ, but this rendering is not wholly certain. The vegetation and worms here mentioned are forms of mist and cloud which wholly or partially hide the sun, and the line is probably added to the text to account for the "bushes" of which "father" Nu spoke above. Of the god Rem, , we know nothing, but as the word *rem* means "to weep," and an allusion to "crying or weeping," , is contained in the line in which the name of the god occurs, we may assume that he was the personification of Rā's tears. Mention is made in the *Book of the Dead* (lxxxiii. 4) of a god called Remi, , who seems to have been the Fish-god, and to have been identified in some way with Sebek, the personification of Nu, but it is not clear that Rem and Remi are one and the same god.

We next arrive at the description of the making of man, and each version of the story of the creation gives a different account. According to the first, Kheperȧ joined, or united, his members and wept upon them, and men and women came into being from these tears; according to the second, Kheperȧ wept with his Eye, and men and women came into being forthwith. It is impossible to say decidedly which is the older view, but it is probably the former. The difference between the methods employed in creating gods and men must be noted; the gods are the seed of Kheperȧ, and they came forth from his mouth, whilst men are only the tears of the god, and they came forth from his Eye. The older version makes the tears of Kheperȧ to fall upon his genital organs, and it is only after they have been in contact with the god's virility that they turn into human beings. In late dynastic times the Egyptians divided mankind into four classes, namely, the Egyptians, the Āamu, the Neḥesu, and the Themeḥu. Thus in the Book of Pylons[1] Horus says to the "chiefs of Rā," , who are in the Ṭuat of the Black Land and the Red Land (i.e., Egypt and the deserts to the South), "Ye are the tears made by my Eye in your name of 'Men.'"[2] The Āamu, , (i.e., the Semitic nomad tribes of the Eastern Desert), were created by Horus and Sekhet, , and this goddess protected their souls; the Themeḥu, or Libyans, , were also created by Horus and Sekhet, and the goddess protected their souls. Of the Neḥesu,  (i.e., the Negroes), Horus says, "I "masturbated for you, and I have been content at the millions "who have come forth from me in your name of Neḥesu; Horus "hath created you, and it is he who hath protected their souls."[3] This last statement is of interest, for it connects the idea of masturbation with the Negroes, that is to say, with the dark or black-skinned races of Nubia who lived on the banks of the Nile

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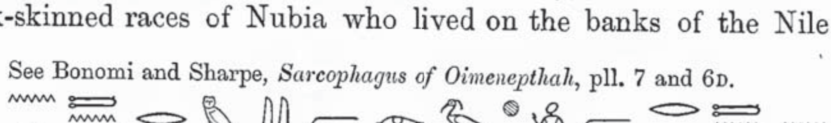
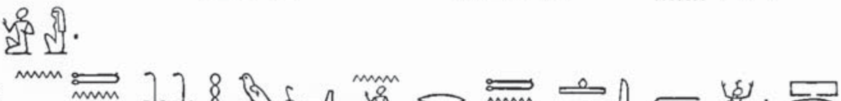
[1] See Bonomi and Sharpe, *Sarcophagus of Oimenepthah*, pll. 7 and 6D.

[2] 

[3]  (lines 16-20).

so far south as the Sixth Cataract, and, as we have already said, the legend as to the origin of the gods Shu and Tefnut is far more likely to have been the product of some indigenous dark-skinned race than of the group of mixed peoples whom we call Egyptians. It will be noticed that only the Egyptians, or offspring of Rā, are said to have been produced by the tears of Rā, which are the same as the tears of the Eye of Horus, i.e., the sun.

According to one version of the story of the creation, men and women were created *after* the gods Shu and Tefnut, and *before* the plants and reptiles, but according to the other, they were created *after* the plants and reptiles; neither version mentions the creation of beasts and cattle. A point of interest is that men and women were not fashioned by Kheperȧ, or Neb-er-tcher, himself, and that they seem to have come into being almost, as it were, by accident; in making the gods Kheperȧ showed both will and design, but men and women were only the tears which fell, apparently without volition, from his Eye. But it must also be noted that in both versions of the Egyptian creation legends it is Rā the Sun-god, the Eye of Temu, who is in reality the creator of man, and this is exactly what we find in the Mesopotamian creation legends. After Marduk had defeated Tiamat and her eleven fiends, and had split up her body, like a fish, and made heaven out of one half of her skin, he conversed with Ea, the lord of the great deep, and declared his intention of making man, in the following words:—"My blood will I take, and bone will I build up, and I will make "man, that man may . . . . .; and I will build up man who "shall inhabit [the earth]." This very important passage proves that the statement of Berosus to the effect that man was made out of the blood of Bel, i.e., Marduk, was based upon a genuine Assyrian tradition; unfortunately the cuneiform text,[1] which was

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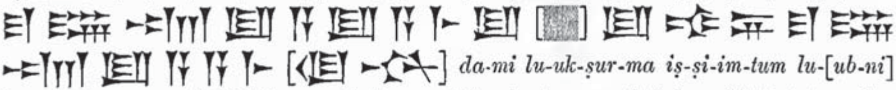
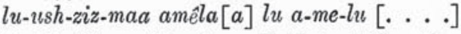
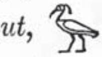
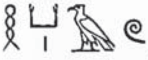
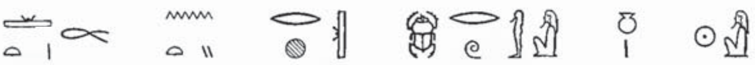
[1] The tablet is No. 92,629 (obv. ll. 5-7). The text reads:—

 *da-mi lu-uk-ṣur-ma iṣ-ṣi-im-tum lu-*[*ub-ni*] *lu-ush-ziz-maa amêla*[*a*] *lu a-me-lu* [. . . .] *lu-ub-ni-ma amêla*[*a*] *a-shib irṣitim.* See L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, vol. i., pp. 86 ff., and vol. ii., pl. xxxv.

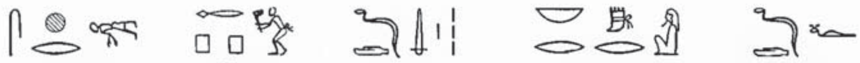
first identified by Mr. L. W. King, is incomplete, but when the inevitable duplicate is found we shall probably find the equivalent of the rest of the story according to Berosus, who says that the blood of which man was made was obtained from Bel himself after his head had been cut off.

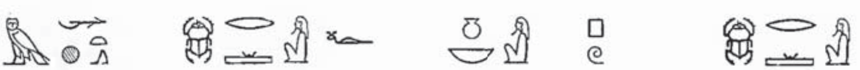
The passage which follows the mention of the creation of man in the Egyptian story refers to the Eye of Nu, which, Kheperȧ says, he endowed with power or splendour, or with the serpent *khut*, , which possessed both these attributes. The Eye raged at him when it found "another growth" in its place, by which, apparently, the moon is referred to, and it made an onslaught upon the "bushes," i.e., the light clouds, which Kheperȧ had placed over it to adorn it, or to keep order in it; but finally it took up its position in the god's face, and henceforth ruled the whole earth. The text concludes with the statement that Shu and Tefnut gave birth to Seb, Nut, Osiris, Ḥeru-khenti-ȧn-maati, Set, Isis, and Nephthys, and that their offspring increase and multiply in the earth, and that they invoke the name of Kheperȧ and so overthrow their enemies, and that they create words of power, , whereby they overthrow Āpepi. We may now summarize briefly the results of the two versions, and we shall find that the Egyptians thought that a self-begotten and self-existent god lived alone in a primeval watery mass, which was itself part male and part female, and which was the abode of two living powers, the one male and the other female, and also of a soul, and that this mass was of unlimited extent, and was eternal, and was enveloped in thick darkness. The self-existent god, at some unknown time and for some unknown reason, uttered his own name as a word of power, and he straightway came into being under the form of the god Kheperȧ. He next roused the soul of the watery abyss out of inactivity, and then having brought some influence, probably by the utterance of certain words, to bear upon his heart, he produced some material place, probably the earth, whereon he could stand. From this place he produced the gods Shu and Tefnut, which act resulted in the immediate creation of light and in the dispersion of darkness, and in the formation of the sky or firmament. These acts were followed either by the creation of men and women, or by the creation of vegetation and creeping things and reptiles of every kind; of the creation of stars and of birds and beasts nothing is said. The above statement represents one of the earliest of the opinions of the Egyptians about the creation in its simplest form, the one in fact which was first adopted by the priests of Heliopolis, and was then modified to suit the theological system which they formulated. The texts on which it was based are transcribed into hieroglyphics with interlinear transliterations and translations in the following chapter.

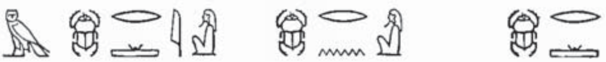
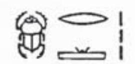
CHAPTER VIII

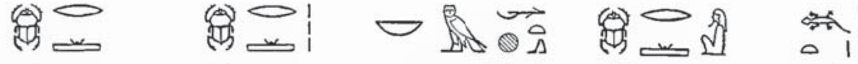
THE HISTORY OF THE CREATION OF THE GODS AND OF THE WORLD. VERSION A.

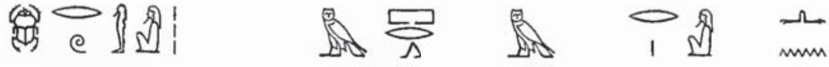
xxvi. 21.

Shāt enti rekh kheperu nu Rā
The Book of knowing the evolutions of Rā,


sekher Āpep tcheṭtu Neb-er-tcher tcheṭ - f
[and] of overthrowing Āpep. The words of Neb-er-tcher [which] he spake


em-khet kheper - f nuk pu kheper
after he had come into being. I am he who came into being

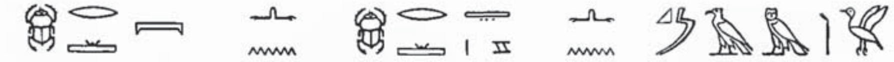

em Kheperȧ kheper-nȧ kheper
22.

kheperu
in the form of Kheperȧ, I was (or, became) the creator of what came into being,


kheper kheperu neb em-khet kheper-ȧ āsht
the creator of what came into being all; after my coming into being many



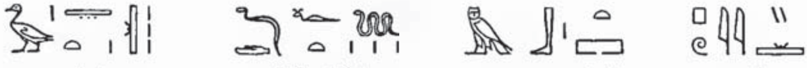
kheperu *em per* *em* *re-á* *án*

[were] the things which came into being coming forth from my mouth. Not



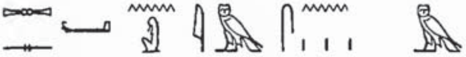
kheper pet *án* *kheper ta* *án* *qemam*

existed heaven, not existed earth, not had been created

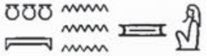


satat *tchetfet* *em* *bet* *pui*

the things of the earth, (i.e., plants) and creeping things in place that;

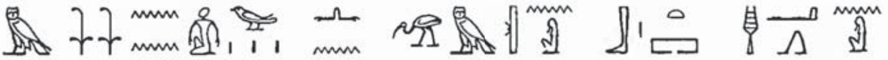


23.



thes - ná *ám - sen* *em* *Nu*

I raised up them from out of Nu (i.e., the primeval abyss of water)

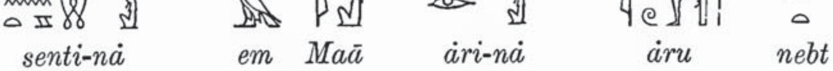


em *enen* *án* *qem-ná* *bet* *āḥā-ná*

from a state of inactivity. Not found I a place I could stand

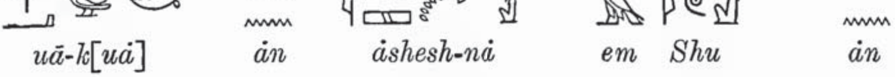
ámi *khut-ná* *em* *ábt-á*

wherein. I worked a charm upon (or, with) my heart.



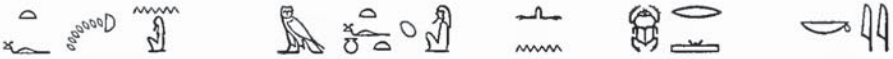
senti-ná *em* *Maā* *ári-ná* *áru* *nebt*

I laid a foundation in Maā [and] I made attribute every.

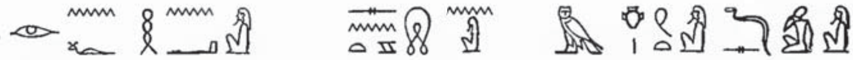


uā-k[uá] *án* *áshesh-ná* *em* *Shu* *án*

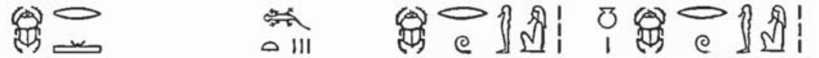
I was alone, [for] not had I spit in the form of Shu, not



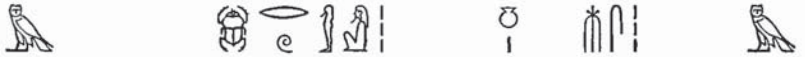
tef-nȧ	*em Tefnut*	*ȧn*	*kheper*	*ki*
had I emitted	Tefnut,[1]	not	existed	another

24. 

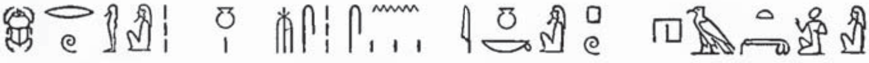
ȧri-nef	*ḥenā-ȧ*	*senti-nȧ*	*em ȧbt-ȧ*	*tches-ȧ*
who worked	with me.	I made a foundation	in my heart	my own, (or, by means of my own will)



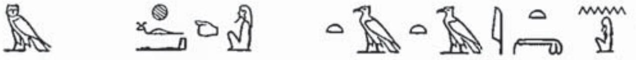
kheper	*āsht*	*kheperu*	*nu*	*kheperu*
[and] there came into being	the multitudes of things	which came into being	of the things which came into being	



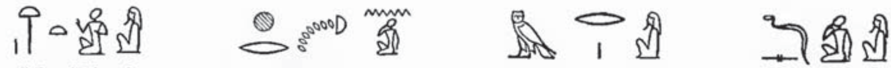
em	*kheperu*	*nu*	*mesu*	*em*
from out of	the things which came into being	of	births,	from out of



kheperu	*nu*	*mesu-sen*	*ȧnuk pu*	*hat-ȧ*
the things which came into being	of	their births.	I, even I,	had union

 Col. xxvii. 1.

em	*khefā-ȧ*	*tataȧt-nȧ*	*em*
with	my clenched hand,	I joined myself in an embrace	with



khaibit-ȧ	*kher-nȧ*	*em re-ȧ*	*tches-ȧ*
my shadow,	I poured seed	into my mouth	my own,

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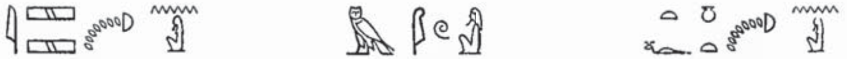
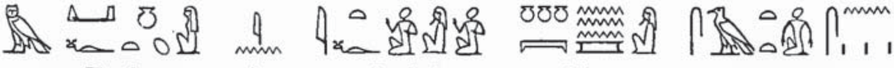
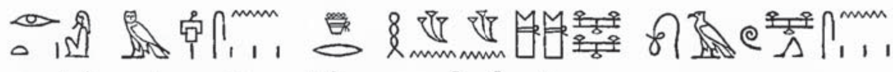
[1] I.e., I had not sent forth from my body the emanation which took the form of Shu, nor the moisture which took the form of Tefnut.



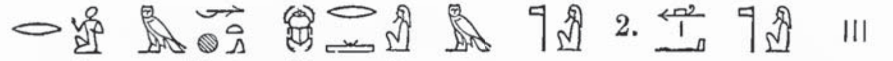
àshesh-nà	*em Shu*	*tefnet-nà*
I sent forth issue	in the form of Shu,	I sent forth moisture



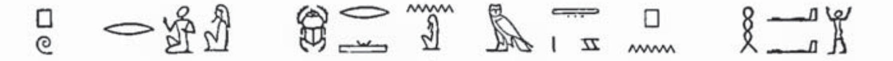
em Ṭafnut	*àn*	*àtef-à*	*Nu*	*satet-sen*
in the form of Tefnut.	Saith	my father	Nu,	"They make to be weak



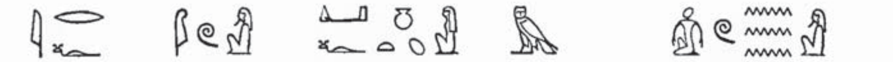
maat-à	*em-sa-sen*	*tcher*	*ḥenḥenti*	*uau-sen*
my eye	behind them,	because	for double *ḥenti* periods	they proceeded



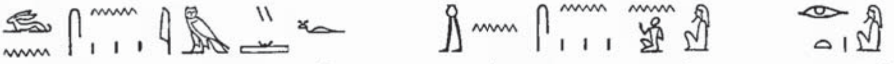
er-à	*em-khet*	*kheper-à*	*em*	*neter*	2. *uā*	*neter*	*khemt*
from me	after	I became	from	god	one	gods	three,



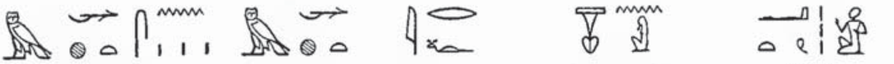
pu	*er-à*	*kheper-nà*	*em*	*ta*	*pen*	*ḥāā*
that is	from out of myself,	[and after] I came into being	in	earth	this.	Were raised up



àref	*Shu*	*Ṭāfnut*	*em*	*enenu*
therefore	Shu	[and] Tefnut	in	the inert watery mass



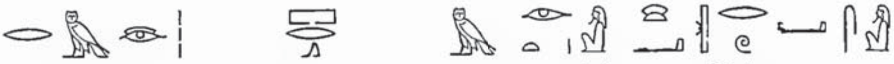
un-sen àmi - f	*àn-sen nà*	*maat-à*
wherein they were,	brought they to me	my eye



em khet-sen	*em-khet*	*àref*	*ṣam-nà*	*āt-à*
in their train.	After	therefore	I had united	my members

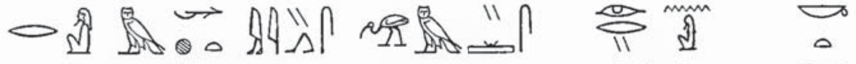
rem-nȧ ḥer-sen kheper reth pu em

I wept over them, [and] came into being men and women from



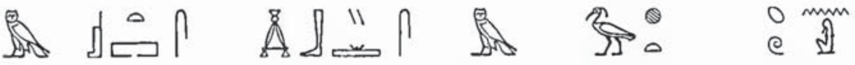
remu per em maat-ȧ khāru-s

the tears [which] came forth from my eye, [and] it raged



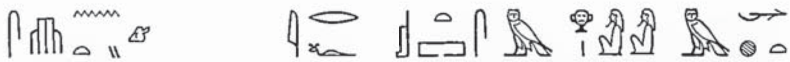
er-ȧ em khet i-s qemi-s ȧri-nȧ ket

against me after it came [and] found [that] I had made another



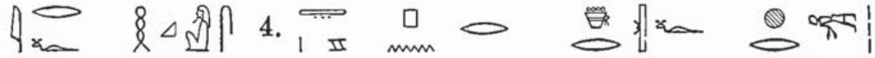
em ȧst-s ṭebi-s em khut ȧru-nȧ

in its place. [I] endowed it with the power (or, splendour) which I had made.



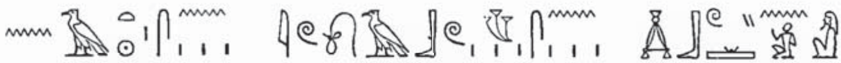
sekhenti ȧref ȧst-s em ḥrȧ-ȧ em-khet

Having made to approach therefore its place in my face, afterwards



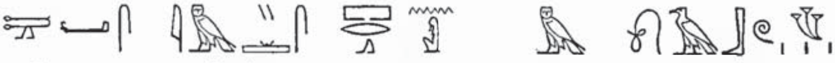
ȧref ḥeq-s ta pen er tcher-f kher

therefore it ruleth earth this to its whole extent. Fall



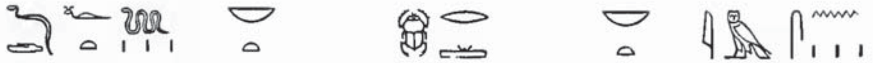
en at-sen ȧu uabu-sen ṭebui-nȧ

their moments (or, seasons) upon their plants, I endowed it



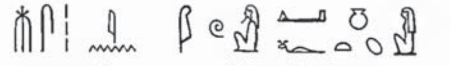
thet-s ȧmi-s per-nȧ em uabu

with what it hath taken possession of in it. I came forth from (or, in the form of) the plants,

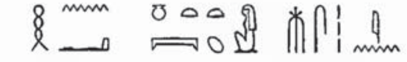


tchetfet *nebt* *kheper* *nebt* *àm-sen*

creeping things all, [and] things which came into being all [are] in them.

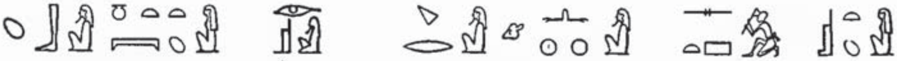


5.



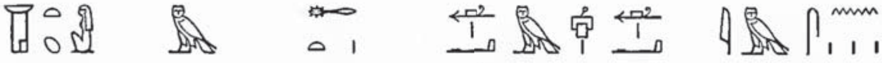
mesu àn *Shu Ṭāfnut* *ḥenā* *Nut* *mesu àn*

Give birth Shu [and] Tefnut [Seb] and Nut. Give birth



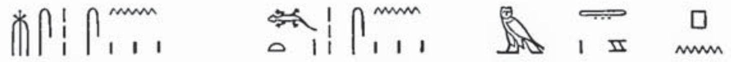
Seb Nut *Àsàr* *Ḥer Khent-àn-maa* *Set* *Àst*

Seb and Nut to Osiris, Horus-Khent-àn-maati, Set, Isis,



Nebt-ḥet *em* *khat* *uā* *em-sa* *uā* *àm-sen*

Nephthys from the womb, one after the other of them,

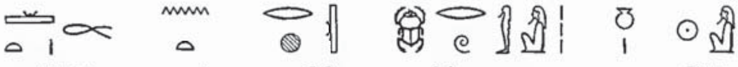


mes-sen *āsht-sen* *em* *ta* *pen*

they give birth [and] they multiply in earth this.

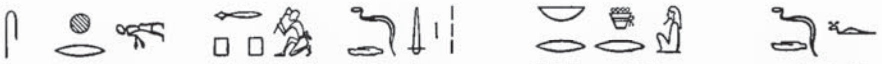
THE HISTORY OF THE CREATION OF THE GODS AND OF THE WORLD. VERSION B.

xxviii. 20.



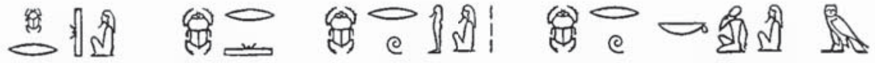
Shāt *ent* *rekh* *kheperu* *nu* *Rā*

The Book of knowing the evolutions of Rā



sekher *Āpep* *tchettu* *Neb-er-tcher* *tchet-f*

[and] of overthrowing Āpep. The words of Neb-er-tcher. He says:—



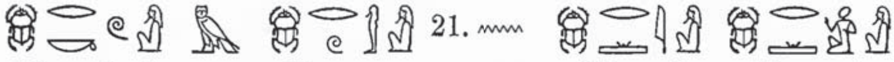
kheper-ȧ *kheper* *kheperu* *kheperu-k[u]ȧ* *em*

“I was (or, became) the creator of what came into being. I came into being in

kheperu *en* *Kheperȧ* *kheper* *em* *sep ṭepi*

the forms of Kheperȧ coming into being in primeval time.

21.

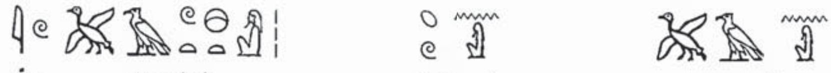


kheper-kuȧ *em* *kheperu* *en* *Kheperȧ* *kheper-ȧ*

I came into being in the forms of Kheperȧ. I was (or, became)

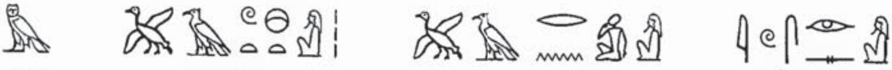
kheper *kheperu* *pu en* *pa-nȧ*

the creator of what came into being, that is to say, I produced myself



ȧu *pautet* *ȧru-nȧ* *pa-nȧ*

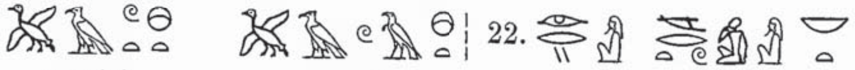
from the primeval matter [which] I made. I produced myself



em *pautet* *pa* *ren-ȧ* *Ȧusȧres*

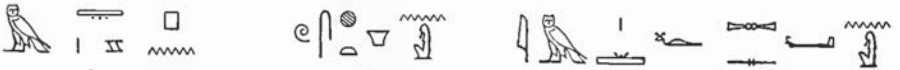
from primeval matter. My name is Osiris,

22.



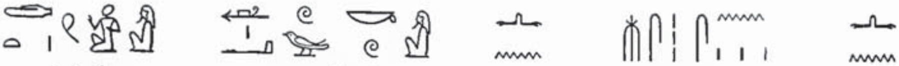
pautet *pautit* *ȧri-ȧ* *mertu-ȧ* *nebt*

the primeval matter of primeval matter. I have done my will all

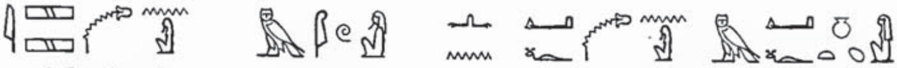


em *ta* *pen* *usekht-nȧ* *ȧm - f* *thes-nȧ*

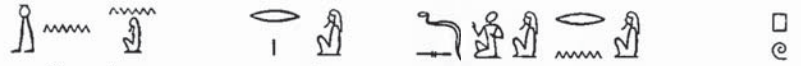
in earth this, [and] I have spread abroad in it; I raised up



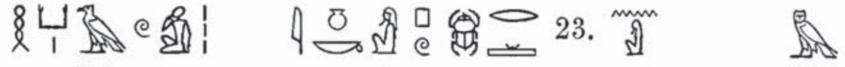
ṭet-ȧ	*uāu-kuȧ*	*ȧn*	*mes-sen*	*ȧn*
my hand.	I was alone;	not	born [were] they.	Not



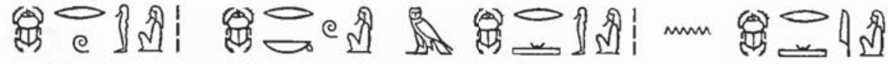
ȧshesh-nȧ	*em Shu*	*ȧn*	*ṭāf-nȧ*	*em Ṭāfnut*
had I spit	in the form of Shu,	not	had I emitted	Tefnut



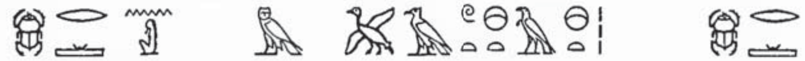
ȧn-nȧ	*re-ȧ*	*tches-ȧ*	*ren-ȧ*	*pu*
I brought [into]	my mouth	my own	my name,	that is to say,



ḥekau	*ȧnuk pu kheper - nȧ*	*em*
a word of power,	and I, even I, came into being	in the form

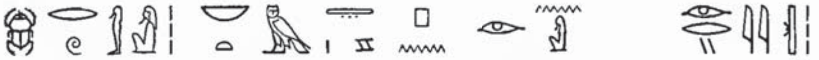


kheperu	*kheper-kuȧ*	*em*	*kheperu*	*en*	*Kheperȧ*
of things which came into being,	and I came into being	in	the forms	of	Kheperȧ.

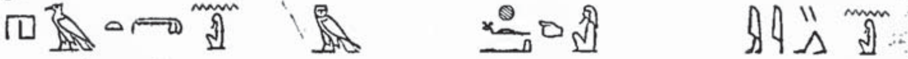


kheper-nȧ	*em*	*pautti*	*kheper*
I came into being	from	the primeval matter,	coming into being

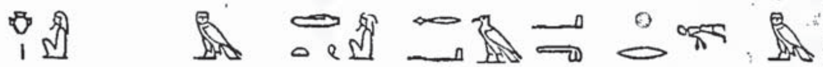
āsht	*kheperu*	*em*	*ṭep-ā*	*ȧn*	*kheper*
[in] multitudes	of forms	from	the beginning.	Not	existed



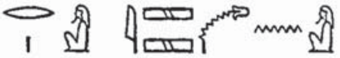
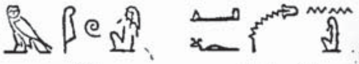
kheperu	*nebt*	*em*	*ta*	*pen*	*ȧri-nȧ*	*ȧri*
created things	any	in	land	this;	I made	whatsoever was made



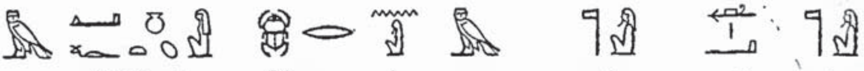
hat-nȧ	*em*	*khefā-ȧ*	*i-nȧ*
I had union	with	my clenched hand,	came to me (?)



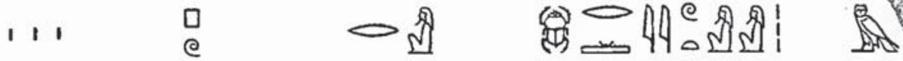
ȧb-ȧ	*em*	*ṭet-ȧ*	*āaāa*	*kher*	*em*
my heart (or, will)	out of	my hand.	The seed	[which] fell	into

 Col. xxix. 1. 

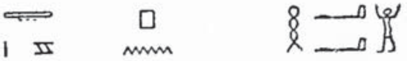
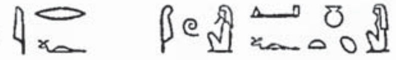
re-ȧ	*ȧshesh-nȧ*	*em Shu*	*ṭāf-nȧ*
my mouth,	I spat	in the form of Shu,	I emitted water



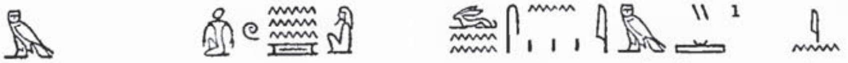
em	*Ṭāfnut*	*kheper-nȧ*	*em*	*neter*	*uā*	*neteru*
in the form of Tefnut,		I became	from	[being] god	one	gods



khemt	*pu*	*er-ȧ*	*kheperiut*	*em*
three,	that is to say,	from myself	two gods came into being	on

 2. 

ta	*pen*	*ḥāā*	*ȧref*	*Shu*	*Ṭāfnut*
earth	this.	Were raised up	therefore	Shu and Tefnut	



em	*Nu*	*unen-sen*	*ȧmi*[1]	*ȧn*
from out of	Nu (i.e., the inert primeval watery abyss)	wherein they were.		Saith

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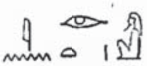
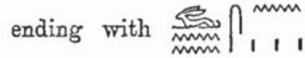
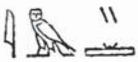
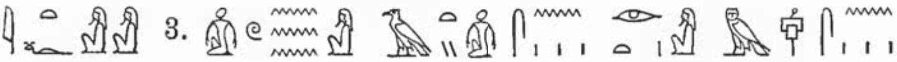
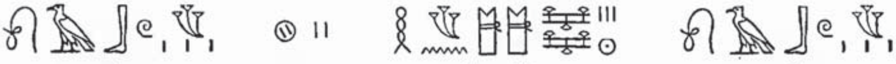
[1] The paragraph beginning  and ending with   is repeated, apparently by inadvertence, in the papyrus.



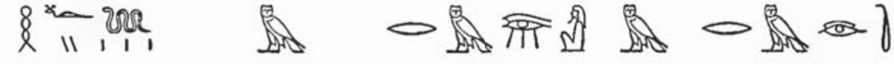
átef-á *Nu* *ati-sen* *maat-á* *em-sa* *sen*

my father Nu, "They covered up [or, made weak] my eye after them



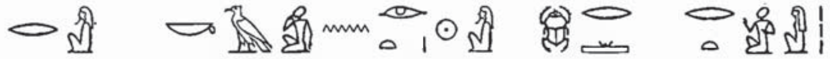
uabu *sep sen* *ḥentiu* *uabu*

[with] bushes, twice, for ḥen periods. Vegetation



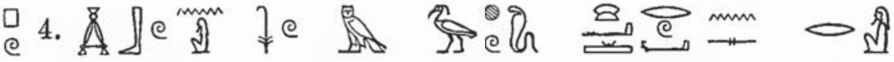
ḥefi *em* *Rem* *em* *rem-th*

and reptiles [came] from the god Rem, from the tears



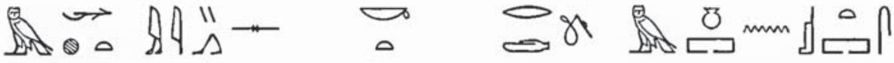
er-á *ka* *en* *maat-á* *kheper* *ret* .

[falling] from me. Cried my eye, came into being mankind.



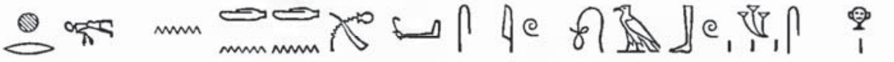
pu *ṭebu-ná* *su* *em* *khut* *khāru-nes* *er-á*

I endowed it with power. It raged at me



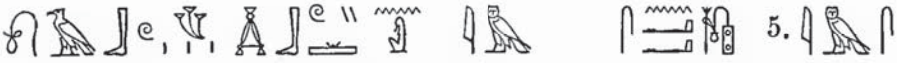
em-khet *i-s* *ket* *reṭ* *em khennu en ást-s*

after it came [finding] another growth within its place.



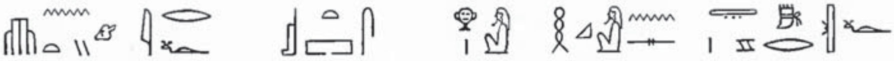
kher *en* *ṭen-ṭen-s* *áu* *uabu-s* *ḥer*

Fell its vigorous power upon its bushes, upon



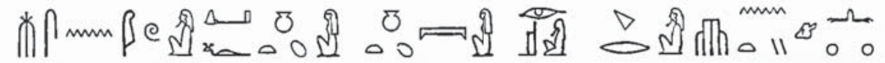
uabu *ṭebui-ná* *ám* *se-nāā* *ám-s*

the bushes [which] I placed there to make adornment in it.



khenti ȧref ȧst-s ḥrȧ-ȧ ḥeq-nes ta tcher-f

Ruling therefore [on] its seat in my face it ruleth the whole earth.

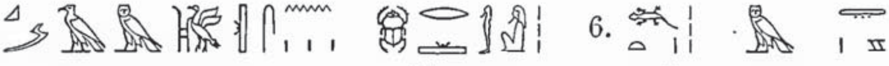


mes en Shu Ṭāfnut Nut Ȧsȧr Ḥeru-khenti-ȧn-maati

Gave birth Shu [and] Tefnut to Nut, Osiris, Ḥeru-khenti-ȧn-maati,

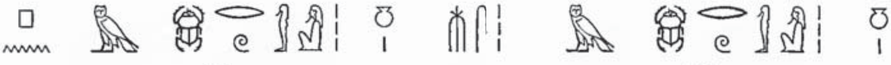
Set Ȧst Nebt-ḥet ȧn mesu-sen

Set, Isis, Nephthys, [and] behold, their children



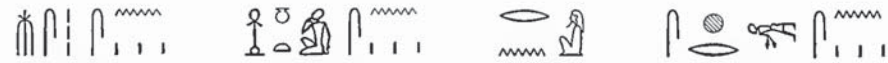
qemam-sen kheperu āsht em ta

they create beings manifold in earth



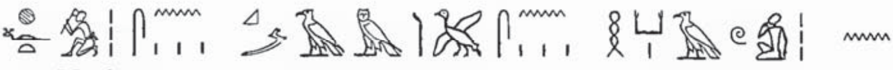
pen em kheperu nu mesu em kheperu nu

this from the beings of children, from the beings of



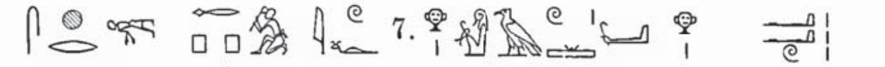
mesu-sen shent-sen ren-ȧ sekher-sen

their children. They invoke my name, they overthrow



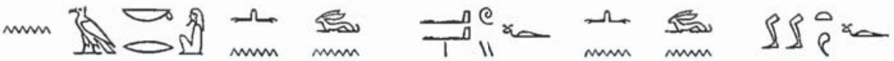
kheft-sen qemam-sen ḥekau en

their enemies, they create words of power for



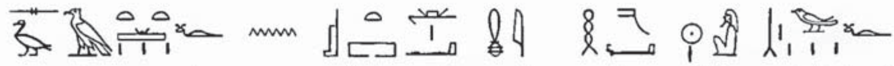
sekher Āpep ȧu-f ḥer sau ḥer āāui

the overthrow of Āpep, who is to be bound by the two hands



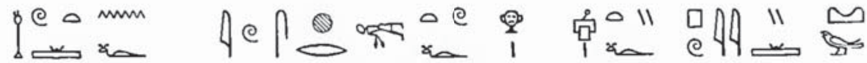
en Aker ȧn un āāui - f ȧn un reṭui - f

of Aker, not may be his two hands, not may be his two feet,



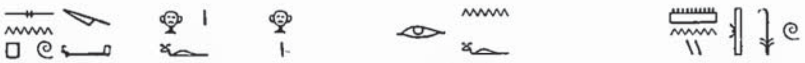
satet - f en ȧst uā mȧ ḥu Rā setchebu-f

may he be chained to one place even as inflicteth Rā his blows



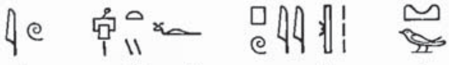
utu-nef ȧu sekher-tuf ḥer sati-f pui ṭu

decreed for him. He is overthrown on his back wicked,

8. 

senpu ḥrȧ-f ḥer ȧri-nef meni su

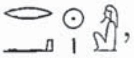
slit is his face for what he hath done, and he remaineth

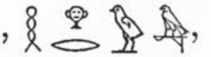
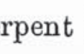


ȧu sati - f pui ṭu

upon his back evil.

CHAPTER IX

RĀ, THE SUN-GOD, , AND HIS FORMS

RĀ is the name which was given by the Egyptians of the dynastic period to the god of the sun, who was regarded as the maker and creator of everything which we see in the visible world around us, and of the gods in heaven, as well as of heaven itself, and of the Ṭuat or underworld and the beings therein; the original meaning of his name is unknown, but at one period of Egyptian history it seems to have been thought that the word *rā* indicated "operative and creative power," and that as a proper name it represented in meaning something like "Creator," this epithet being used much in the same way and with the same idea as we use the term when applied to God Almighty, the Creator of heaven and earth and of all things therein. The worship of the sun in Egypt is extremely ancient and appears to have been universal; at a very early period adoration of him was associated with that of the hawk-god Ḥeru, who was the personification of the "height" of heaven, and who appears to have been a type and symbol of the sun. The worship of the hawk-god Ḥeru, , is the oldest in Egypt, and, strictly speaking, he should have been discussed before Rā, but as Rā and the personifications of his various forms are the greatest of the gods of the Egyptians, he must be regarded as the true "father of the gods," and his attributes, and the myths which grew up round him must be considered before those of Horus. The god Rā is usually depicted with the body of a man and the head of a hawk, but sometimes he is represented in the form of a hawk; on his head he wears his symbol, , i.e., the disk of the sun encircled by the serpent *khut*, , of which mention has already been made. When he has a human body he holds the emblem of life, , in his right hand, and a sceptre, , in his left, and from the belt of his tunic hangs down the tail, which is a survival of the dress of men in predynastic times, and probably later. Viewed from a practical point of view Rā was the oldest of all the gods of Egypt, and the first act of creation was the appearance of his disk above the waters of the world-ocean; with his first rising time began, but no attempt was ever made to say when, i.e., how long ago, his first rising took place. When the Egyptians said that a certain thing had been in existence "since the time of Rā"[1] it was equivalent to saying that it had existed for ever.

The Egyptians, knowing that the sun was a fire, found a difficulty in assuming that it rose directly into the sky from out of the watery mass wherein it was brought forth, and they, therefore, assumed that it must make its journey over the waters in a boat, or boats, and as a matter of fact they believed that it passed over the first half of its course in one boat, and over the second half in another. The morning boat of the sun was called Māṭet, , i.e., "becoming strong," and the name of the evening boat was Semktet, , i.e., "becoming weak"; these are appropriate names for the rising and the setting sun.[2] The course which Rā followed in his journey across the sky was thought to have been defined at creation by the goddess called Maāt, who was the personification of the conceptions of rectitude, straightness, law, order, unfailing regularity, and the like, and there is no doubt that it was the regular and unfailing appearance of the sun each morning, as much as its light and heat, which struck wonder into primitive man, and made him worship the sun. In passing through the Ṭuat, or underworld, at night Rā was supposed to be obliged to leave his boat at certain places, and to make use of others, including even one which was formed by the body of a serpent; according to one opinion he changed his

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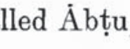
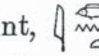
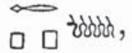
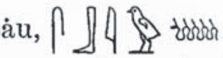
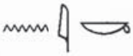
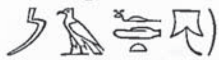
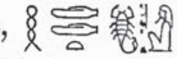
[1] .

[2] See Unȧs, l. 292.

boat every hour during the day and night, but the oldest belief of all assigned to him two boats only. Rā was accompanied on his journey by a number of gods, whose duties consisted in navigating the boat, and in helping it to make a successful passage from the eastern part of the sky to the place where the god entered the Ṭuat; the course was set by Thoth and his female counterpart Maāt, and these stood one on each side of Horus, who acted as the steersman and apparently as captain also. Before the boat of Rā, one on each side, swam the two pilot fishes called Ȧbṭu, , and Ȧnt, , respectively.[1] But, judging from the religious and mythological texts which have come down to us, not all the power of Rā himself, nor that of the gods who were with him, could ward off the attacks of certain fiends and monsters which endeavoured to obstruct the passage of his boat.

Chief among such were the serpent Āpep, , and Sebȧu, , and Nȧk, , and of these the greatest and most wicked was Āpep. In dynastic times Āpep was a personification of the darkness of the darkest hour of the night, against which Rā must not only fight, but fight successfully before he could rise in the east in the morning; but originally he was the thick darkness which enveloped the watery abyss of Nu, and which formed such a serious obstacle to the sun when he was making his way out of the inert mass from which he proceeded to rise the first time. In the *Book of the Dead* he is frequently mentioned,[2] but rather from a moral than a physical point of view. Thus in the xxxixth Chapter the deceased says: "Get thee back, "Fiend, before the darts of his beams. Rā hath overthrown "thy words, the gods have turned thy face backwards, the Lynx "(Mafṭet, ), hath torn open thy breast, the "Scorpion goddess, , hath cast fetters upon thee, and "Maāt hath sent forth thy destruction. Those who are in the "ways have overthrown thee; fall down and depart, O Āpep,

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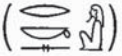
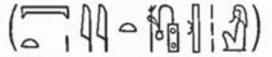
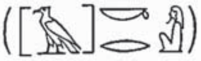
[1] *Book of the Dead.* (*Papyrus of Ani*, pl. 1, line 15.)

[2] See the *Vocabulary* to my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, under Āpep (p. 61).

"thou Enemy of Rā." A little further on the deceased says: "I "have brought fetters to thee, O Rā, and Āpep hath fallen because "thou hast drawn them tight. The gods of the South, and of the "North, of the West and of the East have fastened chains upon "him, and they have fastened him with fetters; the god "Rekes () hath overthrown him, and the god Ḥertit "() hath put him in chains. O Āpep, thou "Enemy of Rā, thou shalt never partake of the delights of love, "thou shalt never fulfil thy desire! He maketh thee to go back, "O thou who art hateful to Rā; he looketh upon thee, get thee "back. He pierceth thy head, he slitteth up thy face, he divideth "thy head where its bones join and it is crushed in thy land, thy "bones are smashed in pieces, thy members are hacked off thee, "and the god Aker () hath passed sentence of doom "upon thee."

From the "Books of Overthrowing Āpep,"[1] we obtain further information as to the destruction of the monster, and we find that this work was recited daily in the temple of Ȧmen-Rā at Thebes. The first Book was divided into Chapters, which were entitled:—1. Chapter of spitting upon Āpep. 2. Chapter of defiling Āpep with the left foot. 3. Chapter of taking a lance to smite Āpep. 4. Chapter of fettering Āpep. 5. Chapter of taking a knife to smite Āpep. 6. Chapter of putting fire upon Āpep. The following Books describe with great minuteness the details of the destruction which was to fall upon Āpep, and they are insisted on to a wearisome degree; according to these the monster, which is referred to at one time as a crocodile and at another as a serpent, is first to be speared, then gashed with knives, and every bone of his body having been separated by red-hot knives, and his head, and legs, and tail, etc., having been cut off, his remains were to be scorched, and singed, and roasted, and finally shrivelled up and consumed by fire. The same fate was to come upon Āpep's confederates, and everything which formed parts of him and of them, i.e., their shadows, souls, doubles, and spirits, were to be wiped out of existence, including any offspring which they might possess. Not content with reciting the words of power which would have the effect of destroying Āpep and his fiends, great care was taken to perform various ceremonies of a magical character, which were supposed to benefit not only Rā, but those who worshipped him on earth. Āpep was both crafty and evil-doing, and like Rā, he possessed many names; to destroy him it was necessary to curse him by each and every name by which he was known. To make quite sure that this should be done effectively the Papyrus of Nesi-Ȧmsu adds a list of such names, and as they are the foundation of many of the magical names met with in later papyri they are here enumerated:—1. Nesheṭ. 2. Ṭuṭu. 3. Ḥau-ḥrȧ. 4. Hemhemti. 5. Qeṭṭu. 6. Qerneru. 7. Iubani. 8. Āmam. 9. Ḥem-taiu. 10. Sȧaṭet-ta. 11. Khermuti. 12. Kenememti. 13. Sheta. 14. Serem-taui. 15. Sekhem-ḥrȧ. 16. Unti. 17. Karȧu-ȧnememti. 18. Khesef-ḥrȧ. 19. Seba-ent-seba. 20. Khak-ȧb. 21. Khan-ru . . . . uāa. 22. Nāi. 23. Ām. 24. Turrupa (?) 25. Iubau. 26. Uai. 27. Kharubu, the four times wicked. 28. Sau. 29. Beṭeshu.[1]

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[1] See *Archaeologia*, vol. lii. (*The Papyrus of Nesi-Ȧmsu*).

In the Egyptian texts we have at present no account of the

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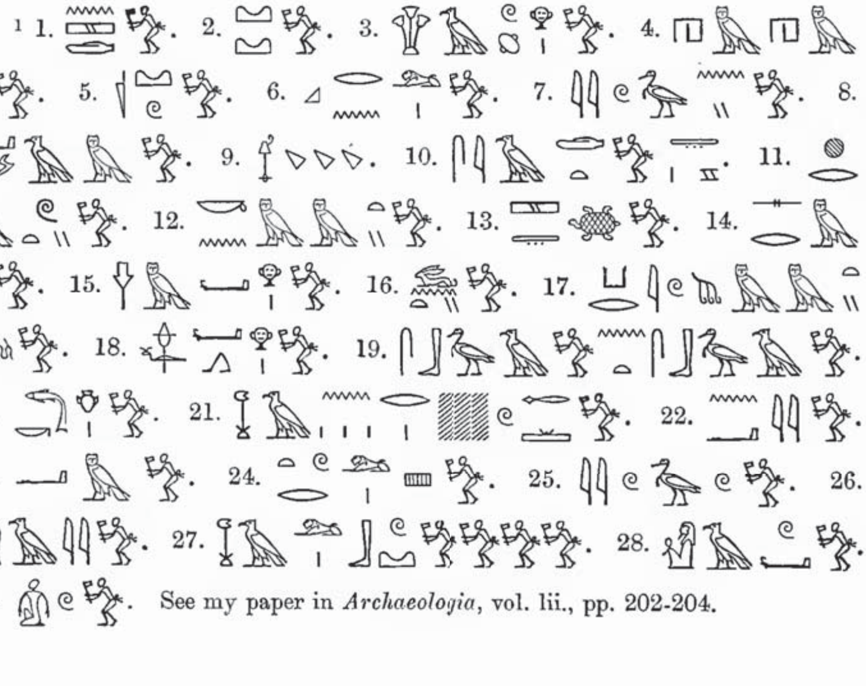
[1]

See my paper in *Archaeologia*, vol. lii., pp. 202-204.

first fight which took place between Rā and Āpep, but it is clear from several passages in the "Books of Overthrowing Āpep" that such a thing must have occurred, and that the means employed by the Sun-god for destroying his foe resembled those made use of by Marduk in slaying Tiamat. The original of the Assyrian story is undoubtedly of Sumerian origin, and must be very old, and it is probable that both the Egyptians and the Sumerians derived their versions from a common source. In the Assyrian version[1] Marduk is armed with the invincible club which the gods gave him, and with a bow, spear, net, and dagger; the lightning was before him, and fierce fire filled his body, and the four-fold wind and the seven-fold wind went with him. Marduk grasped the thunderbolt and then mounted his chariot, drawn by four swift and fiery horses which had been trained to beat down under their feet everything which came in their way. When he came to the place where Tiamat was, Kingu, whom she had set over her forces, trembled and was afraid, but Tiamat "stood firm with unbent neck." After an exchange of words of abuse the fight began, and Tiamat pronounced her spell, which, however, had no effect, for Marduk caught her in his net, and drove the winds which he had with him into her body, and whilst her belly was thus distended he thrust his spear into her, and stabbed her to the heart, and cut through her bowels, and crushed her skull with his club. On her body he took his stand, and with his knife he split it "like a flat fish into two halves," and of one of these he made a covering for the heavens. With the exception of the last, every detail of the Assyrian account of the fight has its equivalent in the Egyptian texts which concern Rā and Āpepi. An allusion to the fight is found in the apocryphal work of "Bel and the Dragon," wherein we are told that both the god and the monster were worshipped in Babylon; but the narrative says that the dragon was destroyed by means of lumps of pitch, and fat, and hair seethed together, and that these having been pushed into the creature's mouth he burst asunder. In Egyptian papyri Āpep is always represented in the form of a serpent, in each undulation of which a knife is stuck,

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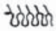
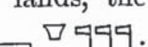
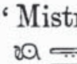
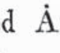
[1] See King, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 71 ff.

; in the "Book of the Gates" (see above p. 197) we see him fastened by the neck with a chain (along which is stretched the scorpion goddess Serqet), the end of which is in the hands of a god, and also chained to the ground by five chains.

It has already been said that Rā was the "father of the gods," and we find that as early as the Vth Dynasty a female counterpart, who was the mother of the gods, was assigned to him. This goddess is called in the text of Unȧs (l. 253) Rāt, , and in later times her title appears to have been "Rāt of the two lands, the "lady of heaven, mistress of the gods," ; she is also called "Mistress of Heliopolis." Her full name was, perhaps, Rāt-taiut, , i.e., "Rāt of the world." She is depicted in the form of a woman who wears on her head a disk with horns and a uraeus, and sometimes there are two feathers above the disk;[1] the attributes of the goddess are unknown, but it is not likely that she was considered to be more important than any other great goddess.

The home and centre of the worship of Rā in Egypt during dynastic times was the city called Ȧnnu, , or Ȧn by the Egyptians, On by the Hebrews, and Heliopolis by the Greeks; its site is marked by the village of Maṭarîyeh, which lies about five miles to the north-east of Cairo. It was generally known as Ȧnnu meḥt, i.e., Annu of the North, to distinguish it from Ȧnnu Qemāu, i.e., Annu of the South," or Hermonthis. Among the early Christians great store was set upon the oil made from the trees which grew there, and in the famous "Fountain of the Sun" the Virgin Mary is said to have washed the garments of her Son; the ancient Egyptians also believed that Rā bathed each day at sunrise in a certain lake or pool which was in the neighbourhood. Of the origin and beginnings of the worship of Rā at Heliopolis we know nothing, but it is quite certain that under the Vth Dynasty, about B.C. 3350, the priests of Rā had settled themselves there, and that they had obtained great power at that remote period. The

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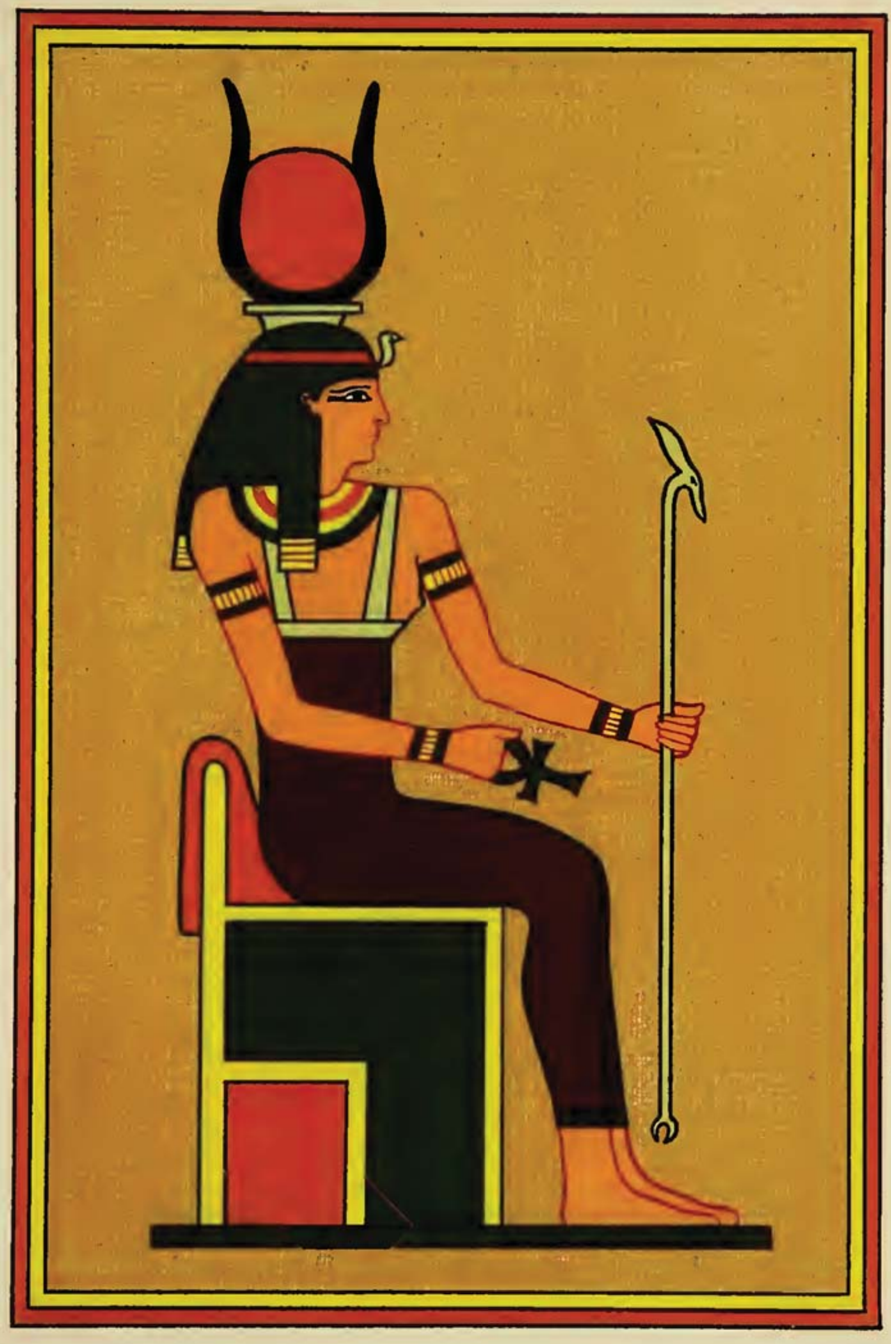
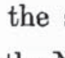
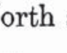
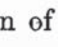
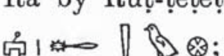
[1] See Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 186, Nos. 1-4.



THE GODDESS RĀT.

evidence derived from the Westcar Papyrus[1] indicates that User-ka-f, the first king of the Vth Dynasty, was the high-priest of Rā, and that he was the first to add "son of the Sun" to the titles of Egyptian monarchs. Up to that time a king seems to have possessed :—1. A name as the descendant or servant of Horus. 2. A name as the descendant or servant of Set. 3. A name as lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchit, . 4. A name as king of the North and South, . User-ka-f, however, introduced the title of "son of the Sun," , which was always followed by a second cartouche, and it was adopted by every succeeding king of Egypt. According to the Westcar Papyrus User-ka-f and his two immediate successors Saḥu-Rā and Kakaȧ were the sons of the god Rā by Ruṭ-ṭeṭeṭ, the wife of a priest of the god Rā of Sakhabu, ; these were brought into the world by the goddesses Isis, Nephthys, Meskhenet, and Ḥeqet, and by the god Khnemu, and it was decreed by them that the three boys should be sovereigns of Egypt.

This legend is of importance, not only as showing the order of the succession of the first three kings of the Vth Dynasty, but also because it proves that in the early Empire the kings of Egypt believed themselves to be the sons of Rā, the Sun-god. All chronological tradition affirms that Rā had once ruled over Egypt, and it is a remarkable fact that every possessor of the throne of Egypt was proved by some means or other to have the blood of Rā flowing in his veins, or to hold it because he was connected with Rā by marriage. The bas-reliefs of Queen Ḥātshepset at Dêr al-Baḥarî, and those of Ȧmen-ḥetep III. at Luxor, and those of Cleopatra VII. in the temple at Erment (now destroyed, alas!) describe the process by which Rā or Ȧmen-Rā became the father of the kings and queens of Egypt. From these we see that whenever the divine blood needed replenishing the god took upon himself the form of the reigning king of Egypt, and that he visited the queen in her chamber and became the actual father of the child who was subsequently born to her. When the child was born it was regarded as a god incarnate, and in due course was presented, with appropriate ceremonies, to Rā or Åmen-Rā, in his temple, and this god accepted it and acknowledged it to be his child. This clever priestly device gave the priests of Rā great power in the land, but their theocratic rule was not always the best for Egypt, and on one occasion they brought about the downfall of a dynasty. The first rise to power of the priests of Rā took place at the beginning of the Vth Dynasty, when the cult of Rā became dominant in the land. About the time of Userkaf we find that a number of shrines, which united the chief characteristics of the low rectangular tomb commonly known by its Arabic name of *masṭaba*, i.e., "bench," and of the pyramid, 𓉴, were built in honour of the god;[1] but, according to Prof. Sethe, the custom of building such only lasted for about one hundred years, i.e., from the reign of Userkaf to that of Men-kau-Ḥeru. Be this as it may, the priesthood of Heliopolis succeeded in making their worship of Rā to supersede generally that of almost every other god of Egypt, and in absorbing all the local gods of importance throughout the country into their theological system, wherein they gave them positions subordinate to those of Rā and his company of gods.

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[1] See Erman, *Westcar Papyrus*, pl. ix. ff.

Originally the local god of the city was Tem, who was worshipped there in a special temple, but they united his attributes to those of Rā and formed the double god Rā-Tem, 𓇳𓍃𓏏 (Unȧs, l. 222). With the close of the VIth Dynasty the power of the priests of Rā declined, and it was not until the reign of Usertsen I., about B.C. 2433, that the sanctuary at Heliopolis was rebuilt, or perhaps entirely refounded. This king dedicated the temple which he built there to Rā and to two forms of this god, Horus and Temu, who were supposed to be incarnate in the famous Bull of Mnevis, which was worshipped at Heliopolis as Apis was worshipped at Memphis. In front of the temple he set up two massive granite obelisks, each 66 feet high, the pyramidions of which were covered with copper; these were still *in situ* about A.D. 1200. Between the XIIth and the XXth Dynasties we hear little of Heliopolis, but

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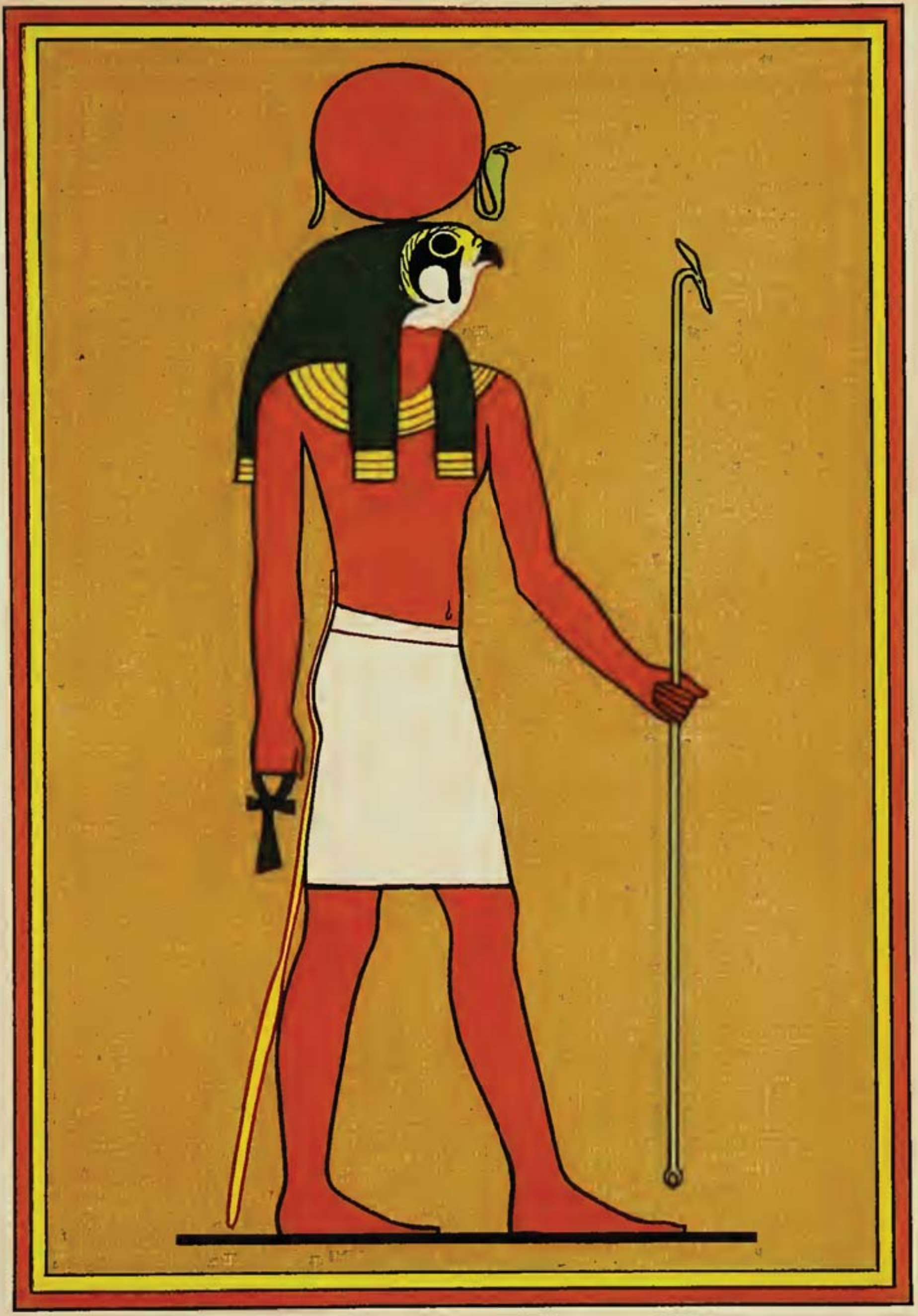
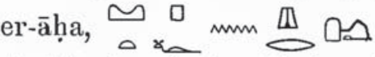
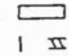
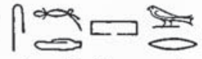
[1] See an interesting paper on this subject by Sethe in *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1889, p. 111 ff. (*Die Heiligthümer des Re‘ im alten Reich*).



AMEN-RĀ – ḤERU – KHUTI.

AMEN-RĀ – (HARMACHIS).

a further restoration of the temple buildings took place under Rameses III., who set apart large revenues for the maintenance of the worship of Rā and the dignity of his priests and servants. When Piānkhi invaded Egypt, about B.C. 750, he visited Heliopolis after the capture of Memphis, going by way of the mountain of Kher-āḥa, , and he performed certain ceremonial ablutions in the "Lake of cold water," , and washed his face in the "milk of Nu wherein Rā was wont to "wash his face;"[1] this "Lake" is clearly the fountain of the sun which we have already mentioned.

At a place called Shāi-qa-em-Ȧnnu[2] he "made great offerings "at Shā-qa-em-Ȧmen to Rā at sunrise, viz., white oxen, milk, *ānti* "unguent, incense, and sweet-smelling woods, and then he passed "into the temple of Rā, which he entered bowing low in "adoration to the god. The chief *kher ḥeb* priest, , "offered up prayer on behalf of the king, that he might be able to "repulse his enemies, and then having performed the ceremony "connected with the 'Star-room,' , he took the seṭeb girdle, "and purified himself with incense, and poured out a libation, "when one brought to him the flowers which are offered up in the "Ḥet-Benbenet,[3] . He took the flowers and went "up the steps [leading to] the 'great tabernacle,' , "to see Rā in Ḥet-Benbenet. He stood [on the top] there by "himself, he pushed back the bolt, he opened the doors [of the "tabernacle], and he saw his father Rā in Ḥet-Benbenet. He "made adoration to the Māṭet Boat of Rā (i.e., the boat of the "rising sun), and to the Sektet boat of Tem (i.e., the boat of the "setting sun). He then drew close the doors again, and having "affixed thereto the clay for a seal he stamped it with the seal of

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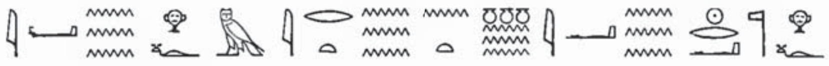
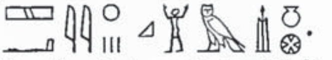
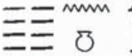
[1]  (Stele of Piānkhi, l. 102).

[2] .

[3] I.e., the shrine or holy of holies of the temple of Rā.

"the king himself. He then admonished the priests [saying], 'I "have set [my] seal here, let no other king enter herein [or] stand "here.' And they cast themselves on their bellies before his "majesty, saying, 'May Horus who loveth Ånnu (Heliopolis) be "firm and stable, and may he never come to an end.' And the "king went into the Temple of Tem, and he performed all the "ceremonies and service connected with the worship of father "Tem-Kheperå, , the prince of Ånnu."

From the above it is certain that the sacred boats of Rā were kept in a sort of wooden tabernacle with two doors, , that could be fastened by a bolt, and from what we know from pictures of these boats it is equally certain that the Māṭet boat contained a hawk-headed figure of Rā, and that the Sektet boat contained a man-headed figure of Rā. The text says that the tabernacle, , was situated on the top of a flight of steps, and this is what we should expect, for we know that the support was intended to represent the high ground in or near the city of Khemennu,  (Hermopolis), whereon Rā established himself on the day when he proceeded from the watery abyss of Nu, before the pillars of Shu were set up. In the *Book of the Dead* this high ground is called "Qaqa in Khemennu," . During the period of the Persian invasion the prosperity of the priesthood of Heliopolis declined, and it is said that later, during the reign of Ptolemy II. (B.C. 285-247) many of its members found an asylum at Alexandria, where their reputation for learning caused them to be welcomed. A tradition says Solon, Thales, and Plato all visited the great college at Heliopolis, and that the last-named actually studied there, and that Manetho, the priest of Sebennytus, who wrote a history of Egypt in Greek for Ptolemy II., collected his materials in the library of the priesthood of Rā. Some time, however, before the Christian era, the temple buildings were in ruins, and the glory of Heliopolis had departed, and it was frequented only by those who went there to carry away stone or anything else which would be useful in building or farming operations.

We have now to consider briefly what was the nature of the doctrine which was the distinguishing characteristic of the teaching of the priests of Heliopolis. In the first place it proclaimed the absolute sovereignty of Rā among the gods, and it made him the head of every company of the gods, but it did not deny divinity to the older deities of the country. The chief authorities for the Heliopolitan doctrine are the Pyramid Texts, to which allusion has so often been made, and from these we see that the priests of Rā displayed great ingenuity and tact in absorbing into their form of religion all the older cults of Egypt, together with their magical rites and ceremonies. Apparently they did not attempt to abolish the old, indigenous gods; on the contrary, they allowed their cults to be continued, provided that the local priesthoods would make their gods subordinate to Rā. [Thus Osiris and Isis, and their companion gods, were absorbed into the great company of the gods of Heliopolis, and the theological system of the priests of Osiris was mixed with that of the priests of Rā. Nothing is known of the origin of Osiris worship, but the god himself and the ceremonies which accompanied the celebration of his festivals suggest that he was known to the predynastic dwellers in Egypt. The belief in the efficacy of worship of the Man-god, who rose from the dead, and established himself in the underworld as judge and king, was indelibly impressed on the minds of the Egyptians at a very early period, and although the idea of a heaven of material delights which was promised to the followers of Osiris did not, probably, commend itself in all particulars to the imaginations of the refined and cultured folk of Egypt, it was tacitly accepted as true and was regarded as a portion of their religious inheritance by the majority of the people.] On the other hand, the priests of Rā declared that the souls of the blessed made their way after death to the boat of Rā, and that if they succeeded in alighting upon it their eternal happiness was assured. No fiends could vex and no foes assail them successfully, so long as they had their seat in the "Boat of Millions of Years;" they lived upon the food on which the gods lived, and that food was light. They were apparelled in light, and they were embraced by the god of light. They passed with Rā in his boat through all the dangers of the Ṭuat, and when the god rose each morning they were free to wander about in heaven or to visit their old familiar habitations on earth, always however taking care to resume their places in the boat before nightfall, at which time evil spirits had great power to injure, and perhaps even to slay, the souls of those who had failed to arrive safely in the boat.

But although the priests of Rā under the Early Empire, and the priests of Ȧmen-Rā under the Middle and New Empires, were supported by all the power and authority of the greatest kings and queens who ever sat upon the throne of Egypt, in their proclamation of a heaven, which was of a far more spiritual character than that of Osiris, they never succeeded in obliterating the belief in Osiris from the minds of the great bulk of the population in Egypt. The material side of the Egyptian character refused to be weaned from the idea of a Field of Peace, which was situated near the Field of Reeds and the Field of the Grasshoppers,[1] where wheat and barley grew in abundance, and where a man would possess a vine, and fig trees, and date palms, and be waited upon by his father and his mother, and where he would enjoy an existence more comfortable than that which he led upon this earth. The doctrine of a realm of light, where the meat, and drink, and raiment were light, and the idea of becoming a being of light, and of passing eternity among creatures of light did not satisfy him. The result of all this was to create a perpetual contest between the two great priesthoods of Egypt, namely, those of Rā and Osiris; in the end the doctrine of Osiris prevailed, and the attributes of the Sun-god were ascribed to him. In considering the struggle which went on between the followers of Rā and Osiris it is difficult not to think that there was some strong reason for the resistance which the priests of Rā met with from the Egyptians generally, and it seems as if the doctrine of Rā contained something which was entirely foreign to the ideas of the people. The city of Heliopolis appears always to have contained a mixed population, and its situation made it a very convenient halting-place for travellers passing from Arabia and Syria into Egypt and *vice*

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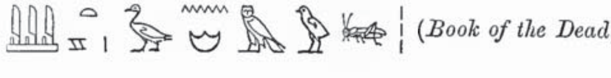
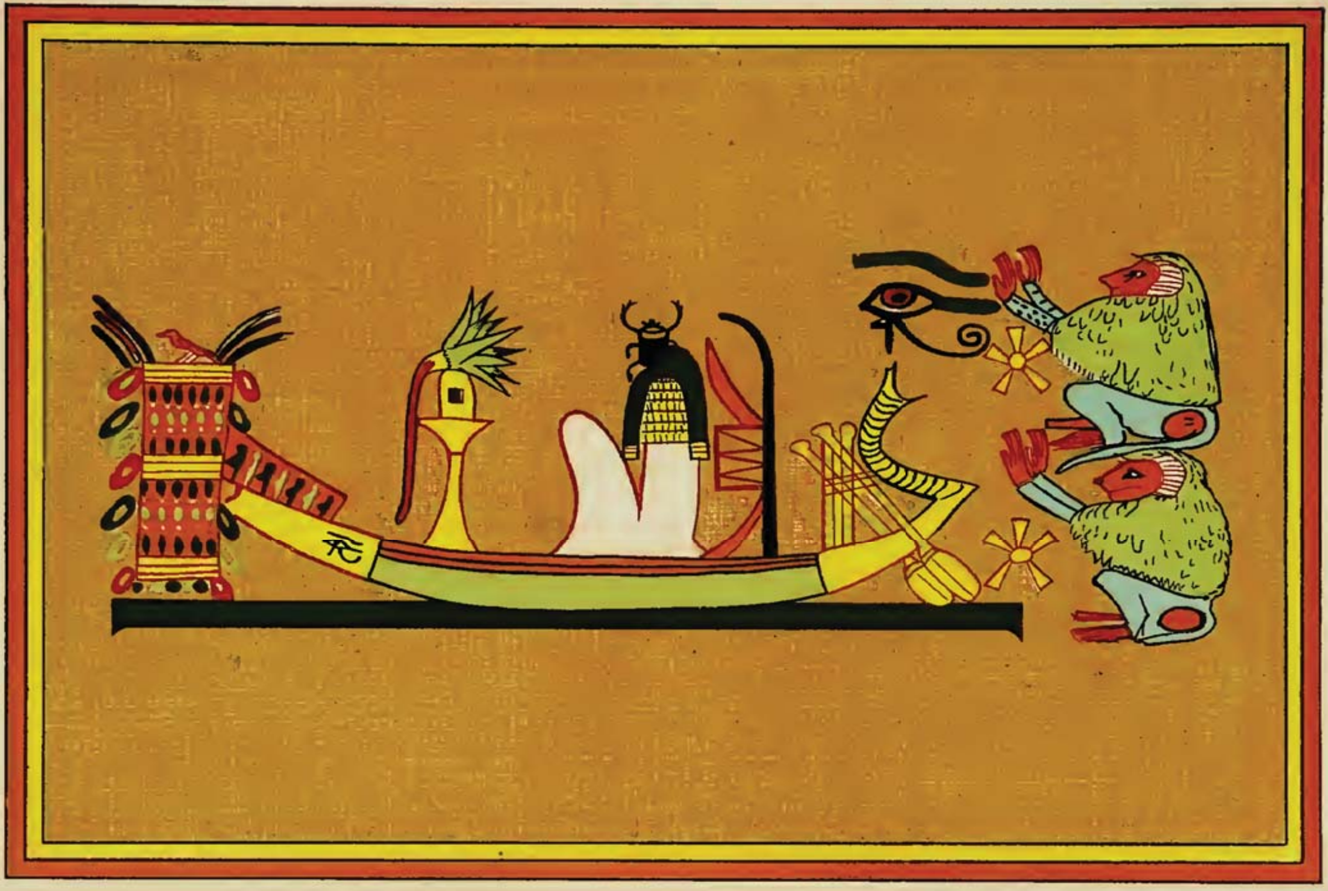
[1]  (*Book of the Dead*, cxxv. 19).



The God KHEPERA seated in his Boat.

versâ; it is, then, most probable that the doctrine of Rā as taught by the priests of Heliopolis was a mixture of Egyptian and Western Asiatic doctrines, and that it was the Asiatic element in it which the Egyptians resisted. It could not have been sun-worship which they disliked, for they had been sun-worshippers from time immemorial.

The above paragraphs contain a statement of the facts concerning the worships of Rā and Osiris which appear to be fairly deducible from the extant religious literature of the Egyptians, but it is time to let the hymns to these gods declare the attributes which were assigned to them during the most flourishing period of Egyptian history. More hymns were addressed to these two than to any other gods, a fact which proves that they were considered to be the chief means of salvation for the Egyptians. The following hymns are taken from the Papyri of Hunefer, and Ani, and Nekht[1] :—

"Homage to thee, O thou who art Rā when thou risest, and "Temu when thou settest. Thou risest, thou risest, thou shinest, "thou shinest, thou who art crowned king of the gods. Thou art "the lord of heaven, thou art the lord of earth; thou art the "creator of those who dwell in the heights and of those who "dwell in the depths. Thou art the God One who didst come "into being in the beginning of time. Thou didst create the earth, "thou didst fashion man, thou didst make the watery abyss of the "sky, thou didst form Ḥāpi (the Nile), thou didst create the "watery abyss, and thou dost give life unto all that therein is. "Thou hast knit together the mountains, thou hast made mankind "and the beasts of the field to come into being, thou hast made "the heavens and the earth. Worshipped be thou whom Maāt "embraceth at morn and at eve. Thou dost travel across the sky "with heart swelling with joy; the Lake of Testes becometh "contented thereat. The serpent-fiend Nȧk hath fallen, and his "two arms are cut off. The Sektet boat receiveth fair winds, and "the heart of him that is in the shrine thereof rejoiceth. Thou art "crowned prince of heaven, and thou art the One dowered [with

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[1] See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* (Translation), pp. 8, 36.

"all attributes] who comest forth from the sky. Rā is he whose "word when uttered must come to pass. O thou divine Youth, "thou heir of everlastingness, thou self-begotten one, thou who "didst give thyself birth! O thou One, thou mighty [one] of "myriad forms and aspects, King of the world, Prince of Ȧnnu "(Heliopolis), lord of eternity and ruler of everlastingness, the "company of the gods rejoice when thou risest and when thou "sailest across the sky, O thou who art exalted in the Sektet "boat." (From the Papyrus of Hunefer, sheet 1.)

"Hail, thou Disk, thou lord of rays, who risest on the horizon "day by day! Homage to thee, O Ḥeru-khuti, who art the god "Kheperȧ, the self-created; when thou risest on the horizon and "sheddest thy beams of light upon the lands of the North and "of the South, thou art beautiful, yea beautiful, and all the gods "rejoice when they behold thee, the King of heaven. The goddess "Nebt-unnut is stablished upon thy head; and her uraei of the "South and of the North are upon thy brow; she taketh up her "place before thee. The god Thoth is stablished in the bows of "thy boat to destroy utterly all thy foes. Those who are in the "Ṭuat come forth to meet thee, and they bow in homage as they "come towards thee to behold thy beautiful form. And I have "come before thee that I may be with thee to behold thy Disk "every day. May I not be shut up in [the tomb], may I not be "turned back, may the members of my body be made new when I "view thy beauties, even as [are those of] all thy favoured ones, "because I am one of those who worshipped thee upon earth. May "I come in unto the land of eternity, may I come even unto the "everlasting land, for behold, O my lord, this hast thou ordained "for me.

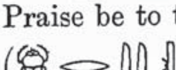
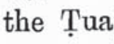
"Homage to thee, O thou who risest in the horizon as Rā, "thou restest upon law unchangeable and unalterable. Thou "passest over the sky, and every face watcheth thee and thy "course, for thou hast been hidden from their gaze. Thou dost "show thyself at dawn and at eventide day by day. The Sektet "boat, wherein is thy Majesty, goeth forth with light; thy beams "are upon all faces; the [number] of thy red and yellow rays "cannot be known, nor can thy bright beams be told. The lands "of the gods, and the lands of Punt must be seen, ere that which "is hidden [in thee] may be measured. Alone and by thyself thou "dost manifest thyself when thou comest into being above Nu. "May I advance, even as thou dost advance; may I never cease to "go forward as thou never ceasest to go forward, even though it be "for a moment; for with strides thou dost in one little moment "pass over the spaces which would need millions and millions of "years [for men to pass over; this] thou doest and then thou dost "sink to rest. Thou puttest an end to the hours of the night, and "thou dost count them, even thou; thou endest them in thine "own appointed season, and the earth becometh light. Thou "settest thyself therefore before thy handiwork in the likeness of "Rā [when] thou risest on the horizon.

"Thou art crowned with the majesty of thy beauties; thou "mouldest thy limbs as thou dost advance, and thou bringest them "forth without birth-pangs in the form of Rā, as thou dost rise "up into the upper air. Grant thou that I may come unto the "heaven which is everlasting, and into the mountain where dwell "thy favoured ones. May I be joined unto those shining beings, "holy and perfect, who are in the Underworld; and may I come "forth with them to behold thy beauties when thou shinest at "eventide and goest to thy mother Nu. Thou dost place thyself "in the west, and my two hands are [raised] in adoration of thee "when thou settest as a living being. Behold, thou art the "maker of eternity, and thou art adored when thou settest in the "heavens. I have given my heart unto thee without wavering, "O thou who art mightier than the gods. A hymn of praise to "thee, O thou who risest like unto gold, and who dost flood the "world with light on the day of thy birth. Thy mother giveth "thee birth, and thou dost give light unto the course of the Disk. "O thou great Light, who shinest in the heavens, thou dost "strengthen the generations of men with the Nile-flood, and thou "dost cause gladness in all lands, and in all cities, and in all "temples. Thou art glorious by reason of thy splendours, and "thou makest strong thy Double with divine foods. O thou "mighty one of victories, thou who art the Power of Powers, who "dost make strong thy throne against evil fiends; who art glorious "in majesty in the Sektet boat, and who art exceedingly mighty "in the Ātet boat, make thou me glorious through words which "when spoken must take effect in the Underworld; and grant thou "that in the nether world I may be without evil. I pray thee to "put my faults behind thee; grant thou that I may be one of thy "loyal servants who are with the shining ones; may I be joined "unto the souls which are in Ta-tchesertet, and may I journey "into the Sekhet-Ȧaru by a prosperous and happy decree." (From the *Papyrus of Ani*, sheet 20 f.)

"Homage to thee, O thou glorious being, thou who art "dowered with all attributes, O Tem-Ḥeru-khuti, when thou risest "in the horizon of heaven, a cry of joy cometh forth to thee from "the mouth of all peoples. O thou beautiful being, thou dost "renew thyself in thy season in the form of the Disk within thy "mother Hathor; therefore in every place every heart swelleth "with joy at thy rising for ever. The regions of the North and "South come to thee with homage, and send forth acclamations at "thy rising in the horizon of heaven; thou illuminest the two "lands with rays of turquoise light. O Rā, thou who art Ḥeru-"khuti, the divine man-child, the heir of eternity, self-begotten "and self-born, king of earth, prince of the Ṭuat, governor of "the regions of Ȧuḳert; thou comest forth from the water, thou "hast sprung from the god Nu, who cherisheth thee and ordereth "thy members. O thou god of life, thou lord of love, all men live "when thou shinest; thou art crowned king of the gods. The "goddess Nut doeth homage unto thee, and Maāt embraceth thee "at all times. Those who are in thy following sing unto thee "with joy and bow down their foreheads to the earth when they "meet thee, thou lord of heaven, thou lord of earth, thou king of "Right and Truth, thou lord of eternity, thou prince of ever-"lastingness, thou sovereign of all the gods, thou god of life, thou "creator of eternity, thou maker of heaven wherein thou art firmly "established.

"The company of the gods rejoice at thy rising, the earth is "glad when it beholdeth thy rays; the peoples that have been "long dead come forth with cries of joy to see thy beauties every "day. Thou goest forth each day over heaven and earth and art "made strong each day by thy mother Nut. Thou passest "through the heights of heaven, thy heart swelleth with joy; and "the Lake of Testes is content thereat. The Serpent-fiend hath "fallen, his arms are hewn off, the knife hath cut asunder his "joints. Rā liveth by Maāt the beautiful. The Sektet boat "draweth on and cometh into port; the South and the North, the "West and the East turn to praise thee, O thou primeval "substance of the earth who didst come into being of thine own "accord. Isis and Nephthys salute thee, they sing unto thee "songs of joy at thy rising in the boat, they protect thee with their "hands. The souls of the East follow thee, the souls of the West "praise thee. Thou art the ruler of all the gods, and thou hast "joy of heart within thy shrine, for the serpent fiend Nȧk hath "been condemned to the fire, and thy heart shall be joyful for "ever." (From the *Papyrus of Nekht*, sheet 21.)

Even more instructive, however, than these are the Seventy-five Praises of Rā which are found inscribed on the walls of royal tombs of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties at Thebes. In these we find enumerated a large number of most remarkable epithets and attributes, some idea of the meaning of which will be gathered from the following rendering:—

1. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem,[1] lord of the hidden "circles [of the Ṭuat], bringer of forms, thou restest in secret "places and makest thy creations in the form of the god Ṭamṭ "(, i.e., the universal god).
2. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, thou creative force "(), who spreadest out thy wings, who restest in "the Ṭuaṭ, who makest the created things which come forth "from his divine limbs.
3. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, Ta-thenen, begetter "of his gods. Thou art he who protecteth what is in him, and "thou makest thy creations as Governer of thy Circle.
4. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, looker on the "earth, and brightener of Ȧmenti. Thou art he whose forms

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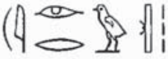
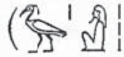
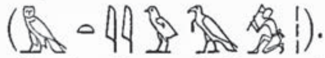
[1] Literally, "Power."

“ () are his own creations, and thou makest thy “ creations in thy Great Disk.

5. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the Word-soul, “ that resteth on his high place. Thou art he who pro- “ tecteth thy hidden spirits (), and they have form “ in thee.

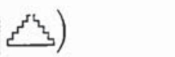
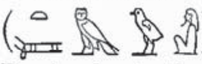
6. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, mighty one, bold of “ face, the knitter together of his body. Thou art he who “ gathereth together thy gods when thou goest into thy hidden “ Circle.

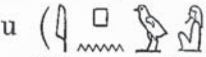
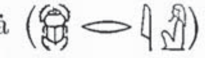
7. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem. Thou dost call to “ thine Eye, and dost speak to thy head, and dost give breath “ to the souls in their places, and they receive it and have “ their forms in him.

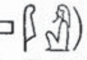
8. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, destroyer of thy “ enemies; thou art he who doth decree destruction for the “ dead ().

9. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the sender forth “ of light into his Circle; thou art he who maketh the “ darkness to be in his Circle and thou coverest those who are “ therein.”

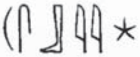
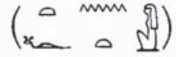
10. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the illuminer “ of bodies in the horizons; thou art he who entereth into “ his Circle.

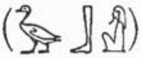
11. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, support () “ of the Circles of Ȧment; thou art indeed the body of Temu “ ().

12. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the hidden support “ of Ȧnpu (); thou art indeed the body of “ Kheperȧ ().

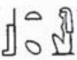
13. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, whose duration of “ life is greater than that of her whose forms are hidden; “ thou art indeed the bodies of Shu ().

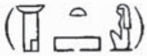
14. “ Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the guide

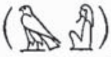
"( *sebi*) of Rā to his members; thou art indeed the "bodies of Tefnut ().

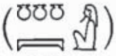
15. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou dost make "to be abundant the things which are of Rā in their seasons, "and thou art indeed Seb ().

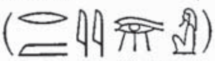
16. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the mighty one "who doth keep count of the things which are in him; thou "art indeed the bodies of Nut.

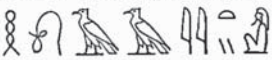
17. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the lord who "advancest; thou art indeed Isis ().

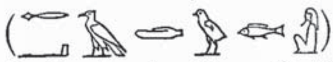
18. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, whose head "shineth more than the things which are in front of him; "thou art indeed the bodies of Nephthys ().

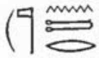
19. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, united is he in "members, One, who gathereth together all seed; thou art "indeed the bodies of Horus ().

20. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, thou shining one "who dost send forth light upon the waters of heaven; thou "art indeed the bodies of Nu ().

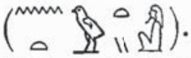
21. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the avenger of Nu "who cometh forth from what is in him; thou art indeed the "bodies of the god Remi ().

22. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art the two "Uraei who bear their two feathers [on their heads]; thou art "indeed the bodies of the god Ḥuaaiti ().

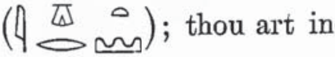
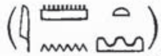
23. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou goest in "and comest out and thou comest out and goest in to thy "hidden Circle, and thou art indeed the bodies of Āaṭu "().

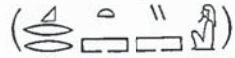
24. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the Soul who "departeth at his appointed time; thou art indeed the bodies "of Nethert ().

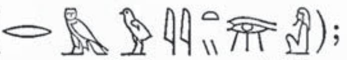
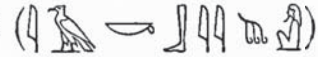
25. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, who standeth up,

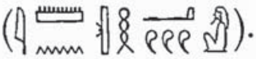
"the Soul One, who avengeth his children; thou art indeed "the bodies of Netuti ().

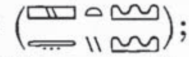
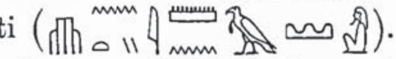
26. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou raisest thy "head and thou makest bold thy brow, thou ram, mightiest "of created things.

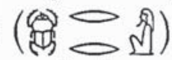
27. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the light of Shu at "the head of Ȧkert (); thou art indeed the bodies "of Ȧment ().

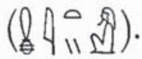
28. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, the soul that "seeth, the governor of Ȧment; thou art indeed the bodies "of the double Circle ().

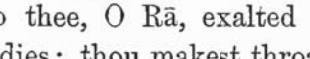
29. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art "the Soul that mourneth, and the god that crieth "(); thou art indeed the bodies of "Ȧakebi ().

30. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou makest thy "hand to pass and praisest thine Eye, and thou art indeed "the bodies of the god of hidden limbs ().

31. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art the Soul "exalted in the double hidden place (); thou art "indeed Khenti-Ȧmenti ().

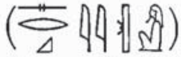
32. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, of manifold "creations in the holy house; thou art indeed the bodies of "the god Kheprer ().

33. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou placest "thine enemies in their strong fetters, and thou art indeed the "bodies of Mȧti ().

34. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou givest forth "light in the hidden place, and thou art the bodies of the god "of generation ().

35. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art the "vivifier of bodies; thou makest throats to inhale breath, and

"thou art indeed the bodies of the god Ṭebati (
").

36. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou assemblest "bodies in the Ṭuaṭ, and they gain the form of life, thou "destroyest foul humours, and thou art indeed the bodies of "the god Serqi ().

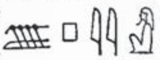
37. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, Hidden-face "( ), Seshem-Nethert ( ); thou "art indeed the bodies of Shai ( ).

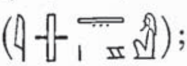
38. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, lord of might; "thou embracest the Ṭuat and thou art indeed the bodies of "Sekhen-Ba ( ).

39. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou hidest thy "body in that which is within thee, and thou art indeed the "bodies of Ȧmen-khat ( ).

40. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, more strong of "heart than those who are in his following; thou sendest fire "in the house of destruction, and thou art indeed the bodies "of the Fire-god Rekḥi ( ).

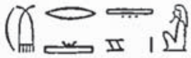
41. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou sendest forth "destruction, and thou makest beings to come into existence "in thy creations in the Ṭuat, and thou art the bodies of "Ṭuati ( ).

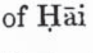
42. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, Bua-ṭep (
"), governor of his Eye; thou sendest forth light into "the hidden place, and thou art indeed the body of Shepi "().

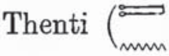
43. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, Ṭemṭ-ḥātu, "stablisher of Ȧmta (); thou art indeed the bodies "of Ṭemṭ-ḥātu ( ).

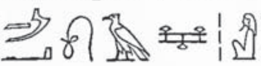
44. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, creator of hidden

"things, generator of bodies; thou art indeed the bodies of "the god Seshetai ( ).

45. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou providest "those who are in the Ṭuat with what they need in the "hidden Circles, and thou art indeed Āper-ta ().

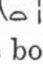
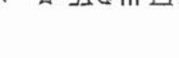
46. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thy limbs rejoice "when they see thy body, O Uash-Ba ( ), "when thou enterest thy body, and thou art indeed the bodies "of Ḥāi ().

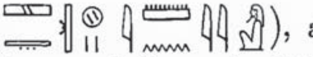
47. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, aged one of the "pupil ( ) of the Utchat, Bai ( ); thou "makest full thy splendour, and thou art indeed the bodies of "Thenti ().

48. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou makest "straight ways in the Ṭuat, and openest up roads in the "hidden place, and thou art indeed the bodies of Maā-uat "().

49. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art the Soul "who movest onwards, and thou hastenest thy steps, and "thou art indeed the bodies of Ȧkhpȧ ( ).

50. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou sendest "forth thy stars and thou illuminest the darkness in the "Circles of those whose forms are hidden, and thou art indeed "the god Ḥetchiu ( ).

51. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art the "maker of the Circles, thou makest bodies to come into being "by thine own creative vigour. Thou, O Rā, hast created "the things which exist, and the things which do not exist, "the dead (), and the gods, and the spirits; thou art "indeed the body that maketh Khati () to come "into being.

52. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art the "doubly hidden and secret god (), and "the souls go where thou leadest them, and those who follow "thee thou makest to enter in; thou art indeed the bodies of "Ȧmeni ( ).

53. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art Uben-"Ȧn ( ) of Ȧment, and the light of the "lock of hair on thee . . . .; thou art indeed the bodies of "the god Uben.

54. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art the "Aged One of forms who dost go about through the Ṭuat, to "whom the souls in their Circles ascribe praises; and thou "art indeed the bodies of Then-âru ( ).

55. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; when thou dost "unite thyself to the Beautiful Ȧment, the gods of the Ṭuat "rejoice at the sight of thee; thou art indeed the bodies of "Ȧāi ( ).

56. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art the "Great Cat, the avenger of the gods, and the judge of words, "and the president of the sovereign chiefs (or, assessors), and "the governor of the holy Circle; thou art indeed the bodies "of the Great Cat ( ).

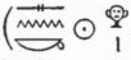
57. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; when thou fillest "thine eye, and speakest to the pupil thereof, the divine dead "bodies shed tears; thou art indeed the bodies of Meṭu-"khut-f ( ).

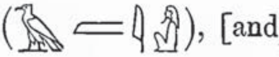
58. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art the Soul "on high and thy bodies are hidden; thou sendest forth the "light, and thou lookest upon thy hidden things (or, places); "thou art indeed the bodies of Ḥer-ba ( ).

59. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, exalted of "Soul; thou destroyest thine enemies, thou sendest fire on "the wicked, and thou art the bodies of Qa-Ba ( ).

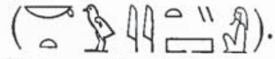
60. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, Ȧuaiu "( ), who hidest in purity; thou hast gained "the mastery over the souls of the gods, and thou art indeed "the bodies of Ȧuai.

61. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, Oldest one "( ), Great one, Governor of the Ṭuat, Creating "one ( ); thou didst create the two Setchet "( ), and thou art indeed the bodies of the two "Setchet gods ( ).

62. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem, Mighty One of "journeyings; thou orderest thy steps by Maāt, thou art the "Soul that doeth good to the body, thou art Senk-ḥrȧ "(, i.e., Face of Light), and thou art indeed the "bodies of Senk-ḥrȧ.

63. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou dost protect "(or, avenge) thy body, and thou dost hold the balance "[among] the gods as the hidden Amȧ (), [and] "as Ȧm-ta ( ), and thou art indeed the bodies of "the double god Amȧ-Ȧmta ( ).

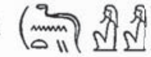
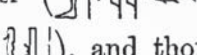
64. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art the lord "of the fetters of thine enemies, the One, the Prince of the "Apes ( ), and thou art indeed the bodies of "Ȧntetu ( ).

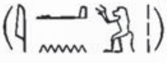
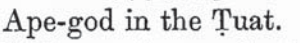
65. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou sendest "forth flames into thy furnaces ( ), and thou "cuttest off the heads of those who are to be destroyed "( ), and thou art indeed the bodies "of the two gods Ketuit ().

66. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art the "god of generation ( ), thou destroyest [thy] "offspring, thou art One, thou stablishest the two lands by

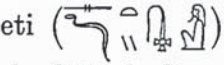
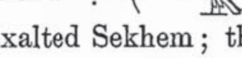
"[thy] spirit ( ), and thou art indeed the bodies "of the god Ta-Thenen ( ).

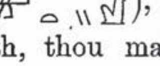
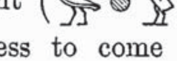
67. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou stablishest "the gods who watch the hours ( ) on their "standards, and who are invisible and secret, and thou art "indeed the bodies of the Watcher gods ( ).

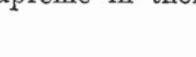
68. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art the "double Tchent god () of heaven, and the gate of "the Ṭuat, and the god Besi () [with] his "spiritual bodies ( ), and thou art the bodies "of Besi.

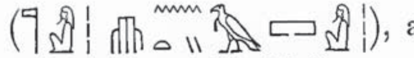
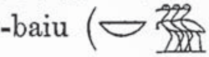
69. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art the "Apes () . . . . ., and thou art the true creative "Power of [thy] divine attributes (), and "thou art indeed the bodies of the Ape-god in the Ṭuat.

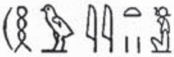
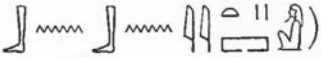
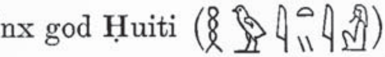
70. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou makest new "the earth, and thou openest a way for that which is therein, "thou that art the Soul which giveth names unto his limbs, "and thou art indeed the bodies of Sma-ta ( ).

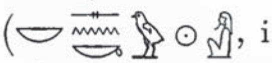
71. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art Neḥi "( ) who burnest up thine enemies, the Fire-"god Setcheti (), who burneth up fetters, and "thou art indeed the bodies of Neḥi ().

72. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art the god "of motion (), the god of light (), "who travelleth, thou makest the darkness to come into "being after thy light, and thou art indeed the bodies of "Shemti.

73. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art the lord "of souls who art in the house of thy obelisk (), "thou art the chief of the gods who are supreme in their

"districts (), and thou art indeed "the god Neb-baiu (, i.e., Lord of souls).

74. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art the "double Sphinx-god, the Double obelisk-god ( "), the Great God who lifteth up his "two Eyes, and thou art indeed the bodies of the double "Sphinx god Ḥuiti ().

75. "Praise be to thee, O Rā, exalted Sekhem; thou art the lord "of light and declarest the things which are hidden, and thou "art the Soul that speaketh with the gods who are in their "Circles, and thou art indeed the bodies of Neb-Senku "(, i.e., the Lord of light)."[1]

An impartial examination of the above translation will show the reader the lofty conceptions which were associated by the Egyptians with Rā the Sun-god, and there is not room for any reasonable doubt that they ascribed to the god, whose symbol was the sun, all the attributes which modern nations are wont to regard as the properties peculiar to God Almighty. He was One, and the maker of "gods" and men; he was the creator of heaven, earth, and the underworld; he was self-begotten, self-created, and self-produced; he had existed for ever and would exist to all eternity; he was the source of all life and light; and he was the personification of right and truth, and goodness, and the destroyer of darkness, night, wickedness, and evil. There is scarcely an attribute of importance ascribed to our God for which there is no equivalent in the hymns and texts which relate to Rā and describe his greatness and power, for he was not only the god of the living but also the god of the dead, and the god of everything unborn. His relations with Osiris, who was part god and part man, and was the cause and type of immortality for man, were at once those of a god, a father, and an equal, and when we consider that Osiris was a king who reigned over Egypt, and that every king was an

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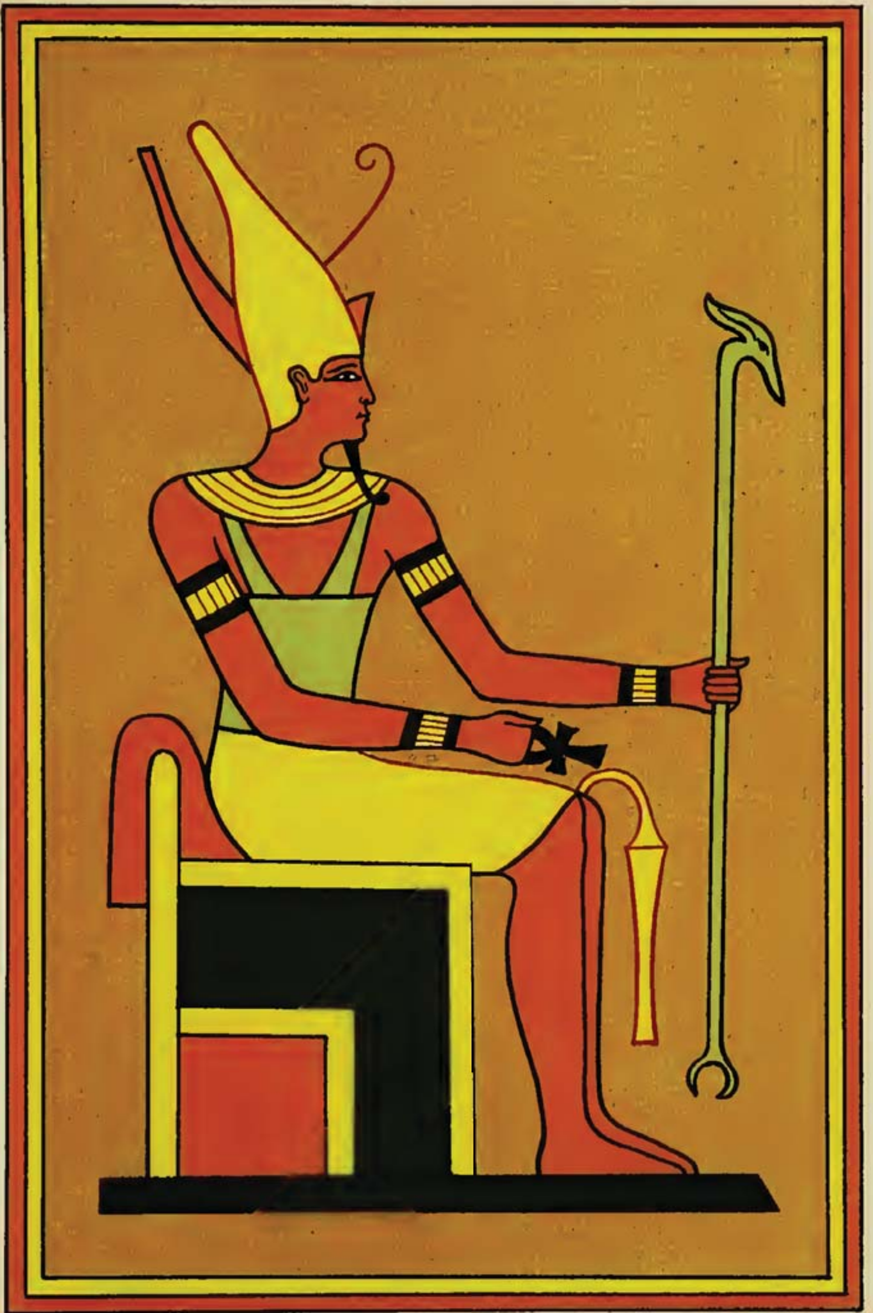
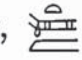
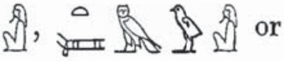
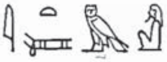
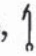
[1] For the hieroglyphic texts from the tombs of Seti I., Seti II., and Rameses IV., and a French translation, see Naville, *La Litanie du Soleil*, Leipzig, 1875.



THE GOD TEMU.

incarnation of Rā, it is easy to understand how he came to have the power to rise from the dead, and to act as the judge of the dead on behalf of his father Rā.

TEM, or TEMU, ,  or ȦTEM, .

TEM, or TEMU, or ȦTEM, was originally the local god of the city of Ȧnnu, or Heliopolis, and in the dynastic period at all events he was held to be one of the forms of the great Sun-god Rā, and to be the personification of the setting sun. In the predynastic period, however, he was, as M. Lefébure has pointed out,[1] the first man among the Egyptians who was believed to have become divine, and who was at his death identified with the setting sun; in other words, Tem was the first *living* man-god known to the Egyptians, just as Osiris was the first *dead* man-god, and as such was always represented in human form and with a human head. It is important to note this fact, for it indicates that those who formulated the existence of this god were on a higher level of civilization than those who depicted the oldest of all Egyptian gods, Horus, in the form of a hawk, or in that of a hawk-headed human body. In the papyri and on the monuments he usually wears , the crowns of the South and North, upon his head, and he holds ☥, the emblem of life, in his right hand, and the sceptre, , in his left. In the boat of Rā he is depicted in human form even when Rā is symbolized by a disk which is being rolled along by a beetle, and the god Kheperȧ is represented by a beetle, and the rising sun Ḥeru-Khuti is shown under the form of a hawk's head, from which fall rays of light.[2] Tem was, in fact, to the Egyptians a manifestation of God in human form, and his conception in their minds marks the end of the period wherein they assigned animal forms to their gods, and the beginning of that in which they evolved the idea of God, almighty, inscrutable, unknowable, the maker and creator of the universe. It is useless to attempt to assign a date to the period when the Egyptians began to worship

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[1] *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, ix., p. 175.

[2] Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 398.

God in human form, for we have no material for doing so; the worship of Tem must, however, be of very great antiquity, and the fact that the priests of Rā in the Vth and VIth Dynasties united him to their god under the name of Rā-Tem, , proves that his worship was wide-spread, and that the god was thought to possess attributes similar to those of Rā.

The Pyramid Texts show that the attributes of Temu were confounded with those of Rā, and that the protection and favour of this god were all essential for the well-being of the deceased in the Underworld; indeed, it is Tem the father who stretches out his hand to Pepi I. and sets him at the head of the gods, where he judges the great and the wise.[1] This passage shows that Tem was regarded as the father of the human race, and as he was also divine his powers to help the dead were very great. In many respects he was held to be the equal of Rā, and the prayers and hymns which were addressed to him frequently show that the Egyptians were very anxious to propitiate him. This is not difficult to understand if we remember the dogmas of the Heliopolitan priesthood about the means by which the souls of the blessed departed from this world. They taught that souls when they left this world went to the region which lay between the earth and the beginning of the Valley of the Ṭuat, and which was called Àmentet, and that they waited there until the Boat of the Setting Sun, i.e., the boat of Rā in his form of Temu, made his appearance there; as soon as it arrived the souls flocked to it, and those who had served Rā upon earth and whose bodies had been buried with the orthodox rites, and ceremonies, and prayers of the priesthood of Rā, and were, therefore, provided with the necessary words of power, were admitted to the boat of Tem, where they enjoyed the protection and favour of the god in his various forms to all eternity.

There was, moreover, another aspect of Tem which gave the god a position of peculiar importance in the minds of the Egyptians,

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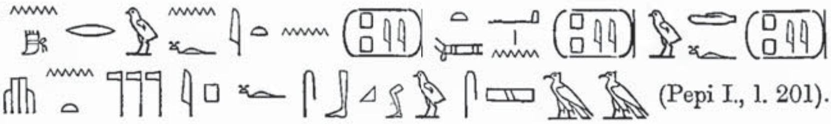
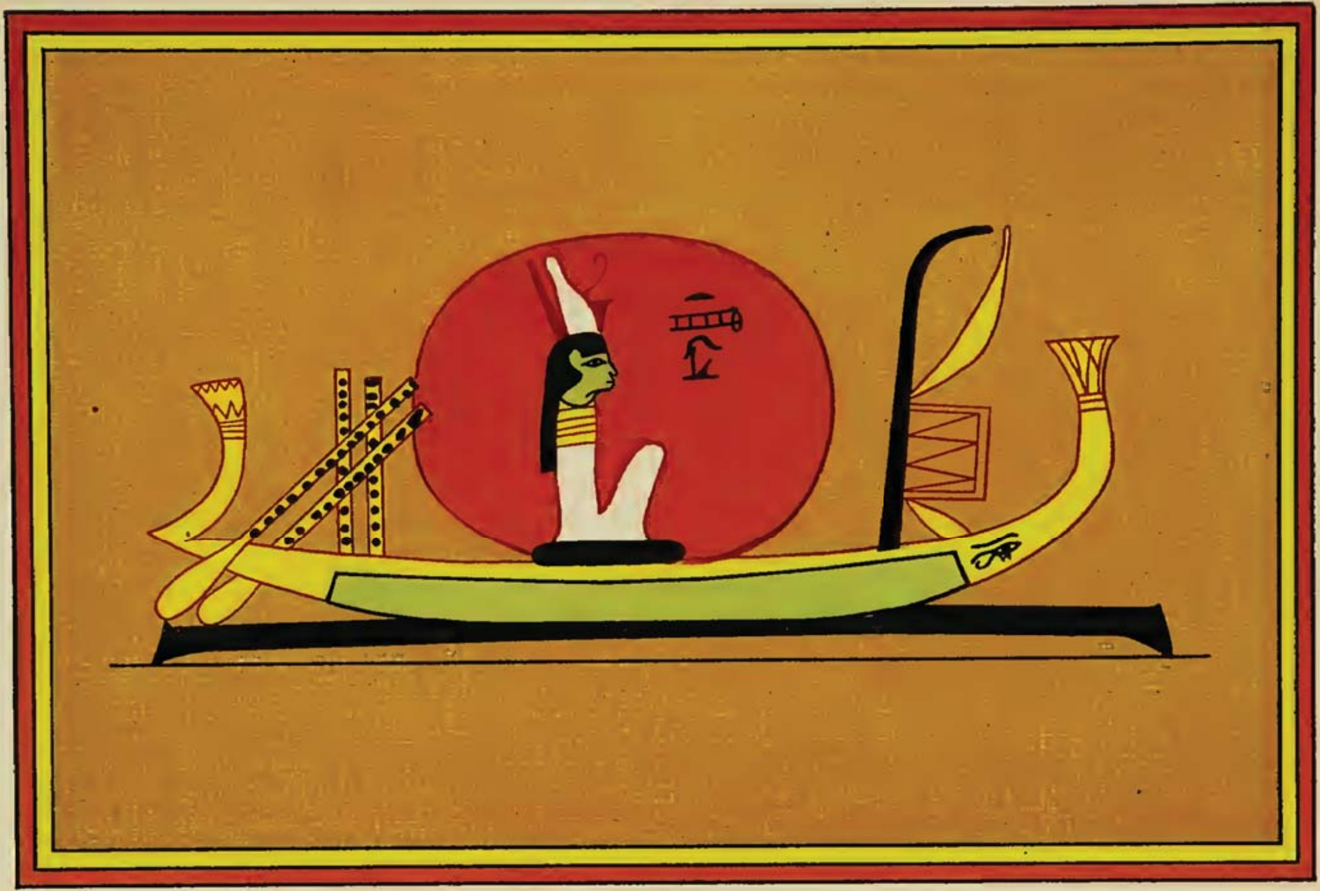
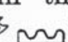
[1]  (Pepi I., l. 201).



The God TEM Seated in his Boat.

i.e., he was identified not only with the god of the dead, Osiris, but also with the young Horus, the new and rising sun of the morrow. All these ideas are well expressed in a hymn to Tem which is found in the Papyrus of Mut-ḥetep (Brit. Mus., No. 10,010, sheet 5), and which was composed to enable every spirit who recited it to "come forth by day" and in any form he pleased and to have great power in the Ṭuat. The lady Mut-ḥetep says, "O Rā-Tem, in thy " splendid progress thou risest, and thou settest as a living being " in the glories of the western horizon; thou settest in thy " territory which is in the Mount of Sunset (Manu, ). " Thy uraeus is behind thee, thy uraeus is behind thee. Homage " to thee, O thou who art in peace; homage to thee, O thou who " art in peace. Thou art joined unto the Eye of Tem, and it " chooseth its powers of protection [to place] behind thy members. " Thou goest forth through heaven, thou travellest over the earth, " and thou jonrneyest onward. O Luminary, the northern and " southern halves of heaven come to thee, and they bow low in " adoration, and they do homage unto thee, day by day. The " gods of Ȧmentet rejoice in thy beauties, and the unseen places " sing hymns of praise unto thee. Those who dwell in the Sektet " boat go round about thee, and the Souls of the East do homage " to thee, and when they meet thy Majesty they cry: 'Come, " come in peace!' There is a shout of welcome to thee, O lord " of heaven and governor of Ȧmentet! Thou art acknowledged " by Isis who seeth her son in thee, the lord of fear, the mighty " one of terror. Thou settest as a living being in the hidden " place. Thy father [Ta-]tunen raiseth thee up and he placeth " both his hands behind thee; thou becomest endowed with divine " attributes in [thy] members of earth; thou wakest in peace and " thou settest in Manu. Grant thou that I may become a being " honoured before Osiris, and that I may come to thee, O Rā-Tem! " I have adored thee, therefore do thou for me that which I wish. " Grant thou that I may be victorious in the presence of the " company of the gods. Thou art beautiful, O Rā, in thy western " horizon of Ȧmentet, thou lord of Maāt, thou being who art " greatly feared, and whose attributes are majestic, O thou who art " greatly beloved by those who dwell in the Ṭuat! Thou shinest "with thy beams upon the beings that are therein perpetually, "and thou sendest forth thy light upon the path of Re-stau. "Thou openest up the path of the double Lion-god, thou settest "the gods upon [their] thrones, and the spirits in their abiding-"places. The heart of Naàrerf (i.e., Àn-ruṭ-f, a region of the "Underworld) is glad [when] Rā setteth; the heart of Naàrerf is "glad when Rā setteth. Hail, O ye gods of the land of Àmentet "who make offerings and oblations unto Rā-Tem, ascribe ye glory "[unto him when] ye meet ḥim. Grasp ye your weapons and "overthrow ye the fiend Sebà on behalf of Rā, and repulse the "fiend Nebṭ on behalf of Osiris. The gods of the land of Àmentet "rejoice and lay hold upon the cords of the Sektet boat, and they "come in peace; the gods of the hidden place who dwell in "Àmentet triumph." In the opening words of another hymn Tem is addressed as "Rā, who in thy setting art Tem-Ḥeru-khuti "(Tem-Harmachis), thou divine god, thou self-created being, thou "primeval matter,"[1] from which we see that the attributes of self-creation, etc., which, strictly speaking, belonged to Kheperà, were ascribed to Tem.

In the Myth of Rā and Isis Rā is made to say, "I am Kheperà "in the morning, and Rā at noonday, and Temu in the evening."[2] From which we may understand that the day and the night were divided into three parts, each of which was presided over by one of the three forms of Rā here mentioned. In the time of the Middle Empire Tem is often mentioned with Ḥeru-khuti, Rā, and Kheperà, and the priests of Heliopolis always attempted to prove that he was the ancestor of all the other forms of the Sun-god.

In the *Book of the Dead* (xvii. 5 ff.) the deceased is made to identify himself with Tem as the oldest of the gods, and he says, "I am Tem in rising; I am the only One; I came into being in "Nu. I am Rā who rose in the beginning." The statement is followed by the question, "Who then is this?" and the answer is,

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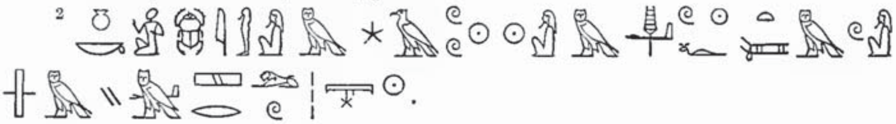
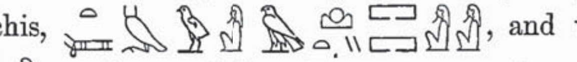
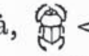
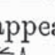
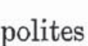
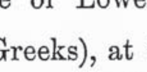
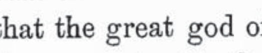
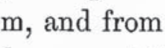
[1] Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. i., pl. 19.

[2] 

"It is Rā when at the beginning he rose in the city of Suten-"ḥenen, crowned like a king in rising. The pillars of Shu were "not as yet created when he was upon the high ground of him "that dwelleth in Khemennu" (i.e., Thoth). Thus it is clear that the Heliopolitans made out that it was Tem who was the first god to exist in primeval matter, and they consistently coupled him with Harmachis, , and with Kheperȧ, , as forms of the rising sun; on the other hand, they often, with fine inconsistency, identified him with the setting sun, and made the wind of evening, which gave refreshment to mortals and breath to the dead, to go forth from him.

It is difficult to say definitely where the original shrine of Tem was situated, but it appears to have been in the Eighth Nome of Lower Egypt, (, Nefer Ȧbt, the Heroopolites of the Greeks), at the place which is called both Thuket, , and Pa-Ȧtemt, , and it is described as the "gate of the East." Under the form "Pithom" the sacred name of the city Pa-Ȧtemt is familiar to all from the Bible. The site of Pa-Ȧtemt or Pithom was long thought to be buried beneath the ruins called by the Arabs Tell al-Maskhûtah,[1] which are situated close to the modern village of Tell el-Kebîr, and the excavations made on the spot by M. Naville prove that this view is correct. The inscriptions prove beyond all doubt that the great god of Pithom was Tem, and from the allusions which are made in them to the "Holy serpent" therein, and from the fact that one part of the temple buildings was called Pa-Qerḥet,[2] , or Ȧst-qerḥet, , that is, "the house of the snake-god Qerḥet," it is tolerably certain that one of the forms under which Tem was worshipped was a huge serpent. A town situated as Pithom was on the large canal joining the Red Sea and the Nile, and on the highway from Arabia to Heliopolis must have contained a very mixed population, which would include a number of merchants and others from Western Asia. These probably brought in with them a number of strange practices connected with the worship of their own gods, which having been adopted by the indigenous peoples in the district modified their worship. From a passage in the Pyramid Texts already quoted it seems that the original form of the worship of Tem was phallic in character, but if it was nothing is known about it; some scholars have regarded obelisks as phallic emblems, and have pointed to their earliest forms, in which their tops were surmounted by disks, in proof of the correctness of their view.

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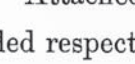
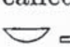
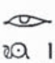
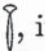
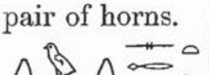
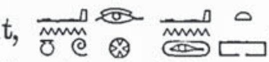
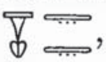
[1] تل المسخوطة.

[2] This is the Pi-hahiroth of the Bible.

Attached to the god Tem were two female counterparts called respectively IUSĀASET, , and NEBT-ḤETEP, , and they formed members of the company of the gods of Heliopolis, being mentioned with Tem, lord of the two lands of Ȧnnu, Rā, and Ḥeru-khuti.[1] Iusāaset, the Σαωσις of Plutarch, is called the "mistress of Ȧnnu," and the "Eye of Rā," , and she is regarded as the mother, and wife, and daughter of Tem according to the requirements of the texts;[2] as the wife of Tem she is said to be the mother of Shu and Tefnut. She is depicted[3] in the form of a woman who holds the sceptre, , in her right hand, and "life," , in her left; on her head she wears the vulture head-dress surmounted by a uraeus, and a disk between a pair of horns. In this form she is called the "mistress of Ȧnnu," , and was the wife of Tem-Ḥeru-khuti. The goddess Nebt-ḥetep appears to have been nothing but a form of Iusāaset, for in the scene in which she is represented in the form of a cow she is called "mistress of the gods, Iusāaset-Nebt-ḥetep."

According to Brugsch[4] Tem was joined to the god Osiris under the phase Tem-Ȧsȧr, and formed with Hathor of Ānnu, or Ānt, , and Ḥeru-sma-taui, , the head of the triad of Heroopolis. As local forms of the god Tem-Rā he enumerates Khnemu in Elephantine, Khnemu-Ḥeru-shefit in Heracleopolis Magna, and Khnemu-Ba-neb-Ṭeṭṭeṭ in Mendes.

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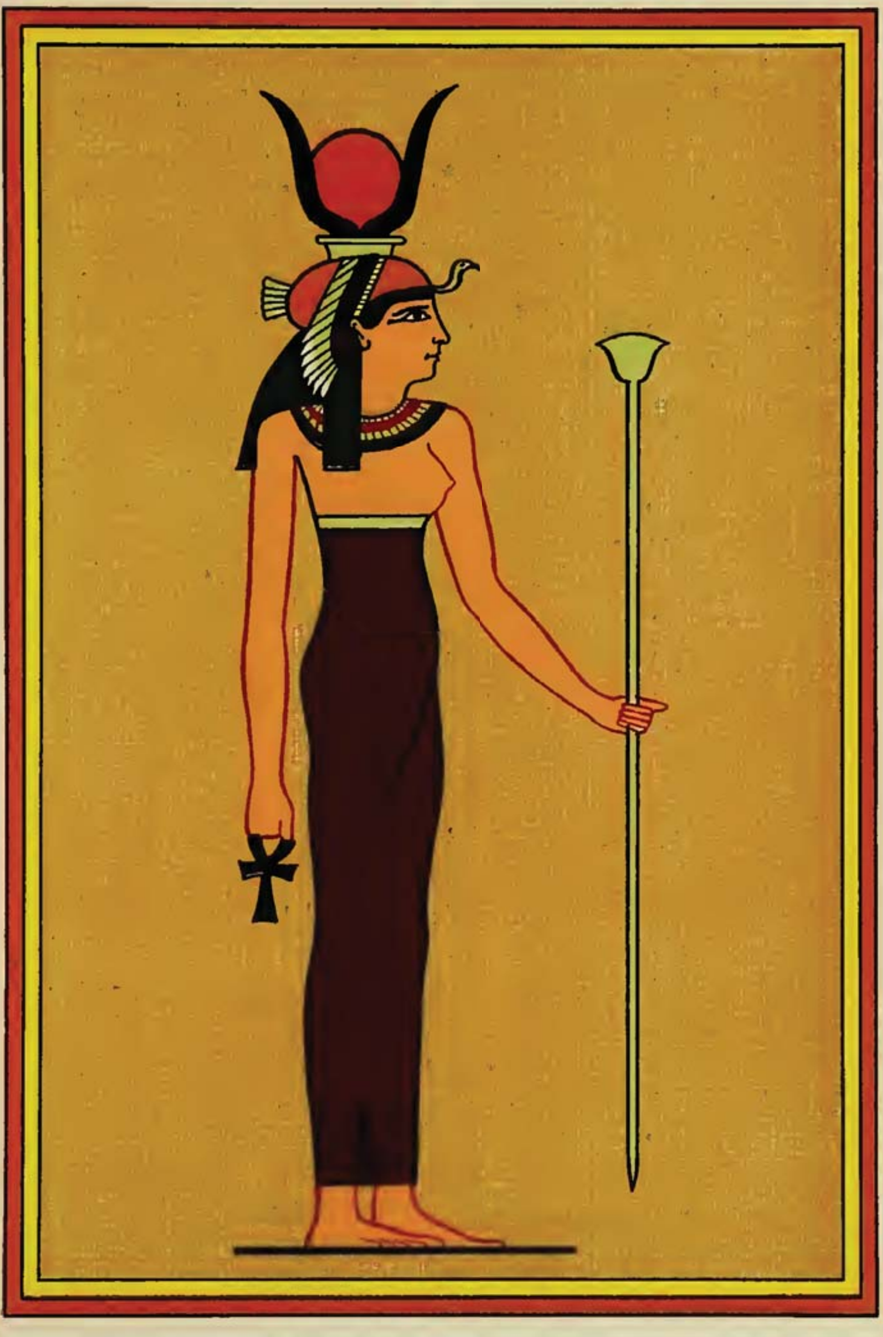
[1] *Great Harris Papyrus*, sheet i., line 4.

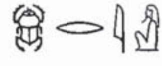
[2] Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 284.

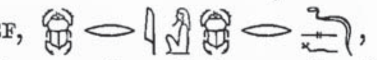
[3] Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 51.

[4] Op. cit., p. 290.



THE GODDESS IUSĀSET.

KHEPERÀ .

The third form of Rā, the Sun-god, was KHEPERÀ KHEPER-TCHESEF, , i.e., Kheperà the self-produced, whose type and symbol was a beetle; he is usually represented in human form with a beetle upon the head, but sometimes a beetle takes the place of the human head. In one scene figured by Lanzone he is represented seated on the ground, and from his knees projects the head of the hawk of Horus, which is surmounted by ☥, "life."[1] In the section which treats of the Creation we have already translated and discussed the text which tells how the Sun-god Rā came into being under the form of Kheperà from out of the primeval watery mass of Nu, and how by means of his soul, which lived therein with him, he made a place whereon to stand, and straightway created the gods Shu and Tefnut, from whom proceeded the other gods. The worship of the beetle was, however, far older than that of Rā in Egypt, and it is pretty certain that the identification of Rā with the beetle-god is only another example of the means adopted by the priests, who grafted new religious opinions and beliefs upon old ones. The worship of the beetle, or at all events, the reverence which was paid to it, was spread over the whole country, and the ideas which were associated with it maintained their hold upon the dynastic Egyptians, and some of them appear to survive among the modern inhabitants of the Nile valley. The particular beetle which the Egyptians introduced into their mythology belongs to the family called *Scarabæidae* (Coprophagi), of which the *Scarabaeus sacer* is the type. These insects compose a very numerous group of dung-feeding Lamellicorns, of which, however, the majority live in tropical countries; they are usually black, but many are adorned with bright, metallic colours. They fly during the hottest hours of the day, and it was undoubtedly this peculiarity which caused the primitive Egyptians to associate them with the sun. Thus as far back as the VIth Dynasty the dead king Pepi is said "to fly like a bird, and to alight like a

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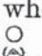
[1] Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 329.

"beetle upon the empty throne in the boat of Rā."[1] According to Latreille[2] it was the species of a fine green colour (*Ateuchus Aegyptiorum*) which was first identified with the sun. The insect lays a vast numbers of eggs in a mass of dung, which it proceeds to push about with its legs until it gradually assumes the form of a ball, and then rolls it along to a hole which it has previously dug.

A ball of dung containing eggs varies in size from one to two inches in diameter, and in rolling it along the beetle stands almost upon its head, with its head turned away from the ball; in due course the larvae are hatched by the heat of the sun's rays beating down into the hole wherein it has been placed by the beetle, and they feed upon the covering of dung which protected them. The mind of the primitive Egyptian associated the ball of the beetle containing potential germs of life with the ball of the sun, which seemed to be rolled across the sky daily, and which was the source of all life. The beetle shows great perseverance in conveying the egg-laden balls of dung to the holes in which the larvae are to be hatched, and they frequently carry them over rough ground on the broad, flat surface of their heads, and seek, when unable singly to complete the work, the assistance of their fellows. It is this habit of the beetle which is represented in mythological scenes where we see the disk or ball of the sun on the head of the beetle, . A curious view was held by the ancient writers Aelian,[3] Porphyry,[4] and Horapollo[5] to the effect that beetles were all males (Κάνθαρος γὰς πᾶς ἄῤῥην), and that as there were no females among them, the males were, like the Sun-god Rā, self-produced. This erroneous idea probably sprang up because the male and female scarabaeus are very much alike, and because both sexes appear to divide the care of the preservation of their offspring equally between them, but in any case, it is a very ancient one, for in the Egyptian story of the Creation the god, whose type and symbol

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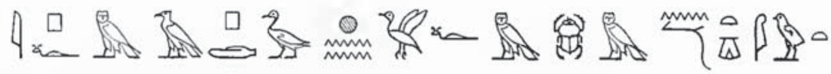
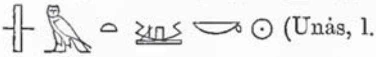
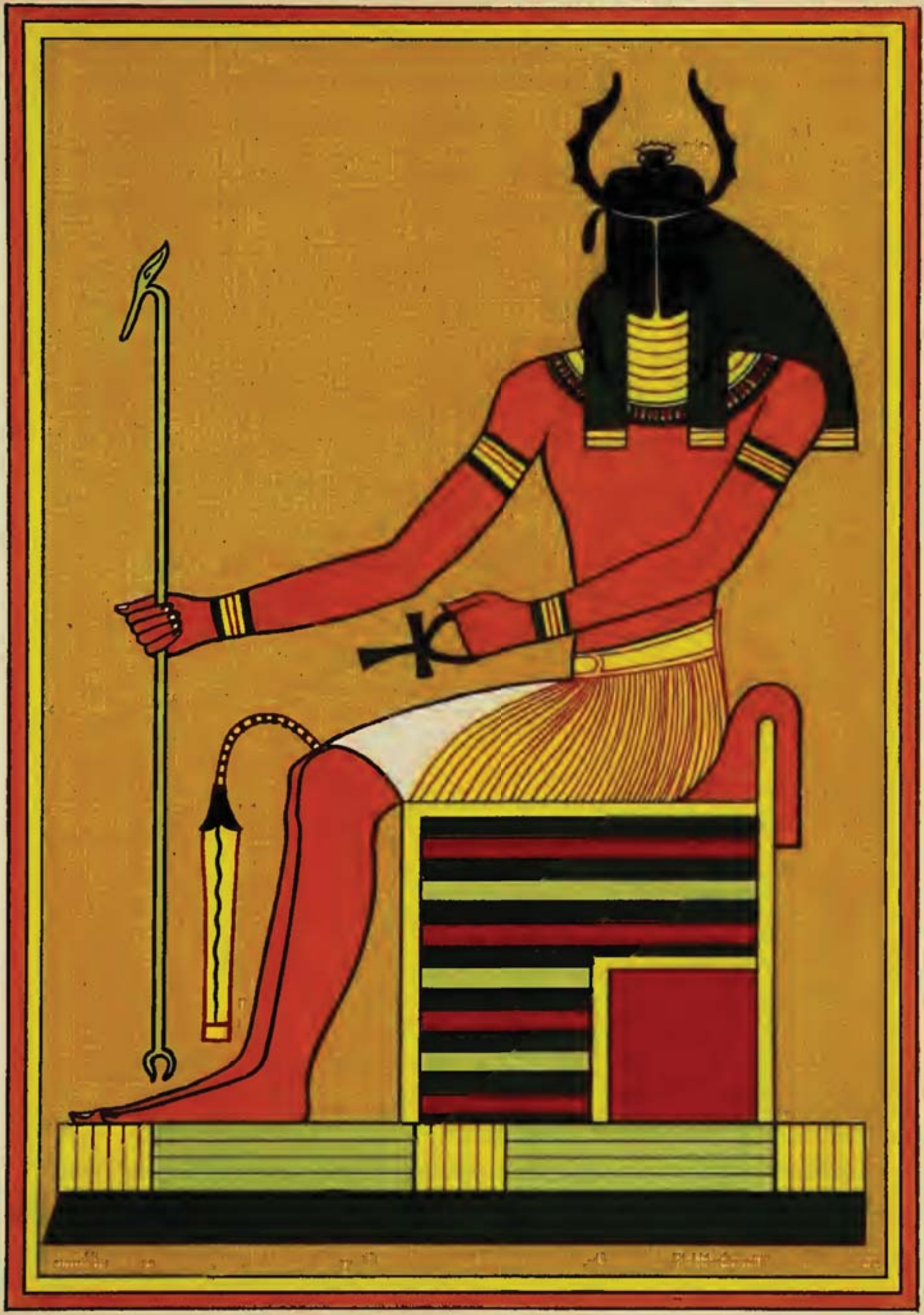
[1] 
 (Unàs, l. 477).

[2] Cailliaud, *Voyage*, tom. ii., p. 311.

[3] *De Nat. Animal.*, x. 15.

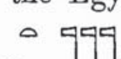
[4] *De Abstinentia*, iv. 9.

[5] Ed. Leemans, p. 11.



THE GOD KHEPERA.

was a beetle, not only produced himself, but also begot, conceived, and brought forth two deities, one male (Shu), and the other female (Tefnut).

In the Egyptian texts Kheperà is called the "father of the gods," , and in the *Book of the Dead* (xvii. 116) the deceased addresses him, saying, "Hail, Kheperà in thy boat, the "double company of the gods is thy body," but the form of the Sun-god with which he is most closely allied is that of Ḥeru-khuti, or Harmachis. In the *Book of the Dead* Kheperà plays a prominent part in connection with Osiris; he is called the "creator of the gods" (Ani, 1, 2); "Ḥeru-khuti-Temu-Ḥeru-Kheperà" (Qenna, 2, 15), and whatever forms he takes, or has taken, the deceased claims the right to take also. Moreover, the god Kheperà becomes in a manner a type of the dead body, that is to say, he represents matter containing a living germ which is about to pass from a state of inertness into one of active life. As he was a living germ in the abyss of Nu, and made himself to emerge therefrom in the form of the rising sun, so the germ of the living soul, which existed in the dead body of man, and was to burst into a new life in a new world by means of the prayers recited during the performance of appropriate ceremonies, emerged from its old body in a new form either in the realm of Osiris or in the boat of Rā. This doctrine was symbolized by the germs of life rolled up in the egg-ball of the beetle, and the power which made those to become living creatures was that which made man's spiritual body to come into being, and was personified in the god Kheperà. Thus Kheperà symbolized the resurrection of the body, and it was this idea which was at the root of the Egyptian custom of wearing figures of the beetle, and of placing them in the tombs and on the bodies of the dead; the myriads of scarabs which have been found in all parts of Egypt testify to the universality of this custom. As to its great antiquity there is no doubt whatsoever, for the scarab was associated with burial as far back as the period of the IVth Dynasty. Thus in the Papyrus of Nu (Brit. Mus., No. 10,477, sheet 21) we are told in the Rubric that Chapter lxiv. of the *Book of the Dead* was found inscribed in letters of real lapis-lazuli inlaid in a block "of iron of the south" under the feet of the god (i.e., Thoth), during the reign of Men-kau-Rā (Mycerinus), by the prince Ḥeru-ṭā-ṭā-f in the city of Khemennu.

At the end of the second paragraph this Chapter is ordered to be recited by a man "who is ceremonially clean and pure, who "hath not eaten the flesh of animals or fish, and who hath not had "intercourse with women." The text continues, "And behold, "thou shalt make a scarab of green stone, with a rim of gold, and "this shall be placed in the heart of a man, and it shall perform "for him the 'Opening of the Mouth.' And thou shalt anoint it "with *ānti* unguent, and thou shalt recite over it the following "words of power." The "words of power" which follow this direction form Chapter XXX B. of the *Book of the Dead*, wherein the deceased addresses the scarab as "my heart, my mother; my "heart, my mother! My heart whereby I came into being." He then prays that it will not depart from him when he stands in the presence of the "guardian" of the Balance wherein his heart is to be weighed, and that none may come forward in the judgment to oppose him, or to give false or unfavourable evidence against him, or to "make his name to stink." Curiously enough he calls the scarab "his double" (*ka*). Another Rubric makes the lxivth Chapter as old as the time of Ḥesepti (SEMTI), the fifth king of the Ist Dynasty, and the custom of burying green basalt scarabs inside or on the breasts of the dead may well be as old as his reign. Be this as it may, scarabs were worn by the living as protective amulets, and as symbols of triumphant acquittal in the Judgment Hall of Osiris, and as emblems of the resurrection which was to be effected by the power of the god Kheperà whom they represented, and the words of power of Chapter XXX B made them to act the part of the *ka* or double for the dead on the day of the "weighing of words" before Osiris, and his officers, and his sovereign chiefs, and Thoth the scribe of the gods, and the two companies of the gods. If scarabs were placed under the coffin no fiend could harm it, and their presence in a tomb gave to it the protection of the "father of the gods."

CHAPTER X

THE MYTHS OF RĀ

IN the preceding pages it has been shown how among theologians and thoughtful Egyptians Rā was regarded as God, but among certain classes, that is to say magicians, and astrologers, and soothsayers, quite other views were held about his nature and attributes. It will be remembered that among such men in ancient times it was customary to prescribe as antidotes to poison and sicknesses the recital or wearing of certain magical texts; the power of such texts was thought to be very great, especially if it contained a narrative of how some god or divine being had been delivered by the power of a great being from death by poison or by a sickness caused by poison. We may note in passing that such beliefs were not confined to the Egyptians, and that we find exactly the same ideas existent in Babylonia and Assyria; this is illustrated by the following interesting extract from a Babylonian tablet recently published by Mr. R. Campbell Thompson.[1] The text reads:—"From Anu [came the heavens], the heavens created "[the earth], the earth created the rivers, the rivers created the "canals, the canals created the marshes, and the marshes created "the Worm. Then came the Worm before Shamash, the Sun-god, "weeping, and before Ea came up her tearful plaint, [saying], "'What wilt thou give me to eat? What wilt thou give me to "gnaw?' [The gods said], 'I will give thee dry bones [to eat], "'and the pungent *khashkhar* wood.' [The Worm said], 'What "'are thy dry bones to me? Or, what is thy *khashkhar* wood to "'me? Let me drink among the teeth [of men], and give me "'my place in [their] gums, that I may suck the blood of the teeth,

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[1] *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, part xvii., pl. 50; and see R. C. Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, vol. i., Introduction, at the end.

" 'and that I may tear asunder the flesh of the gums. In this wise " 'I shall have power over the bolt of the door' (i.e., the mouth of a "man). Therefore, O sick man, shalt thou say the following words, " 'O Worm, may Ea smite thee with all his might.'" Following these words come the rubrical directions which order the patient to mix together a prescription compounded of beer, oil, and the juice of a certain plant, and when the incantation has been recited over the man with the toothache three times, the mixture is to be rubbed on the tooth. In the one case the object of the narrative was to cure the man who had been bitten by a venomous serpent, and in the other to ease the pain in the teeth and the inflammation of the gums which were supposed to be caused by a worm, a descendant of the original Worm which claimed before Ea the right to make teeth decay and to suck the blood of the gums.

The Egyptian texts which were written for magical purposes have preserved for us some very curious and interesting myths of Rā, and among these may be quoted the following story about him and the goddess Isis.[1] The title reads:—"The Chapter of the divine "god, the self-created being, who made the heavens and the earth, "and the winds which give life, and the fire, and the gods, and men, "and beasts, and cattle, and reptiles, and the fowl of the air, and the "fish of the sea; he is the king of men and of gods, he hath but "one period to his life, and with him a double *ḥen* period (i.e., one "hundred and twenty years) is as a single year; his names are "manifold and unknown, the gods even know them not." The story runs:—"Now Isis was a woman who possessed words of "power; her heart was wearied with the millions of men, there-"fore she chose the millions of the gods, but she esteemed more "highly the millions of the spirits. And she meditated in her "heart, saying, 'Cannot I by means of the sacred name of God " 'make myself mistress of the earth and become a goddess of like " 'rank and power to Rā in heaven and upon earth?' And

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[1] The hieratic text will be found in Pleyte and Rossi, *Le Papyrus de Turin*, 1869-1876; pll. 31-37, and 131-138; and a transcript into hieroglyphics with a transliteration and translation in my *First Steps in Egyptian*, 1895, pp. 241-256. A French translation by Lefébure was published in *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1883, pp. 27 ff.; and for English renderings see my *Papyrus of Ani*, 1895, p. lxxxix., and *Egyptian Magic*, p. 137.

"behold, each day Rā entered at the head of his holy mariners "and established himself upon the throne of the two horizons; "but the divine one (i.e., Rā) had grown old, he dribbled at the "mouth, his spittle fell upon the earth, and his slobbering dropped "upon the ground. And Isis kneaded [some] thereof with earth "in her hand, and formed therewith a sacred serpent in the form "of a dart; she did not set it upright before her face, but let it "lie upon the ground in the path whereby the great god went "forth, according to his heart's desire, into his double kingdom. "Now the holy god arose, and the gods who followed him as "though he were Pharaoh went with him; and he came forth "according to his daily wont; and the sacred serpent bit him. "The flame of his life departed from him; and he who dwelt "among the cedars was overcome. The holy god opened his "mouth, and the cry of his majesty reached unto heaven; his "company of the gods said, 'What hath happened?' and his "gods exclaimed, "What is it?' But Rā could not answer, for "his jaws trembled and all his members quaked, the poison spread "swiftly through his flesh just as Nile rusheth through all his "land. When the great god had stablished his heart, he cried "unto those who were in his train, saying, 'Come unto me, O ye "'who have come into being from my body, ye gods who have "'come forth from me, make ye known unto Kheperà that a dire "'calamity hath fallen upon me. My heart perceiveth it, but my "'eyes see it not; my hand hath not caused it, nor do I know "'who hath done this unto me. Never have I felt such pain, "'neither can sickness cause more woe than this. I am a prince, "'the son of a prince, the sacred essence which hath proceeded "'from God. I am the great one, the son of the great one, and "'my father planned my name; I have multitudes of names, and "'multitudes of forms, and my being is in every god. I have "'been proclaimed by the heralds Temu and Horus; and my father "'and my mother uttered my name; but it hath been hidden "'within me by him that begat me, who would not that the words "'of power of any seer should have dominion over me. I came "'forth to look upon that which I had made, I was passing through "'the world which I had created, when lo! something stung me,

" 'but what I know not. Is it fire? Is it water? My heart is " 'on fire, my flesh quaketh, and trembling hath seized all my " 'limbs. Let there be brought unto me my children, the gods " 'who possess the words of power and magical speech, and mouths " 'which know how to utter them, and also powers which reach " 'even unto the heaven.'

"Then the children of every god came unto him uttering " cries of grief. And Isis also came, bringing with her her words of " magical power, and her mouth was full of the breath of life; for " her talismans vanquish the pains of sickness, and her words make " to live again the throats of those who are dead. And she spake, " saying, 'What hath come to pass, O holy Father? What hath " 'happened? Is it that a serpent hath bitten thee, and that a " 'thing which thou hast created hath lifted up his head against " 'thee? Verily it shall be cast down by my effective words of " 'power, and I will drive it away from before the sight of thy " 'sunbeams.' The holy god opened his mouth and said, 'I was " 'passing along my path, and I was going through the two " 'regions of my lands according to my heart's desire, to see that " 'which I had created, when lo! I was bitten by a serpent which " 'I saw not. Is it fire? Is it water? I am colder than water, " 'I am hotter than fire. All my flesh sweateth, I quake, mine " 'eye hath no strength, I cannot see the sky, and the sweat " 'rusheth to my face even as in the time of summer.' Then said " Isis unto Rā, 'O tell me thy name, holy Father, for whosoever " 'shall be delivered by thy name shall live.' And Rā said, 'I " 'have made the heavens and the earth, I have knit together " 'the mountains, I have created all that is above them, I have " 'made the water, I have made to come into being the goddess " 'Meḥt-urt, and I have made the Bull of his mother, from whom " 'spring the delights of love, I have made the heavens, I have " 'stretched out the two horizons like a curtain, and I have placed " 'the souls of the gods within them. I am he who, if he openeth " 'his eyes, doth make the light, and, if he closeth them, darkness " 'cometh into being. At his command the Nile riseth, and the " 'gods know not his name. I have made the hours, I have " 'created the days, I bring forward the festivals of the year, I

" 'create the Nile-flood. I make the fire of life, and I provide " 'food in the houses. I am Kheperà in the morning, I am Rā at " 'noon, and I am Temu at even.' Meanwhile the poison was not "taken away from his body, but it penetrated deeper, and the "great god could no longer walk.

"Then said Isis unto Rā, 'What thou hast said is not thy " 'name. O tell it unto me, and the poison shall depart; for " 'he shall live whose name shall be revealed.' Now the poison "burned like fire, and it was fiercer than the flame and the "furnace, and the majesty of the great god said, 'I consent that " 'Isis shall search into me, and that my name shall pass from me " 'into her.' Then the god hid himself from the gods, and his "place in the Boat of Millions of Years was empty. And when "the time had arrived for the heart of Rā to come forth, Isis spake "unto her son Horus, saying, 'The god hath bound himself by " 'oath to deliver up his two Eyes (i.e., the Sun and the Moon).' "Thus was the name of the great god taken from him, and Isis, "the lady of words of magical power, said, 'Depart, thou poison, " 'go forth from Rā. O Eye of Horus, go forth from the god, and " 'shine outside his mouth. It is I who work, it is I who make to " 'fall down upon the earth the vanquished poison, for the name " 'of the great god hath been taken away from him. Let Rā live, " 'and let the poison die! Let the poison die, and let Rā live!' "These are the words of Isis, the mighty lady, the mistress of the "gods, who knew Rā by his own name." The above text was to be recited over figures of Temu, "the Bull of his mother," and Horus, and Isis and Horus, and there is little doubt that these figures were made to represent the various scenes which took place when Rā was poisoned, and when the goddess Isis succeeded in taking from him his name.

Another myth of Rā of considerable interest is that which describes the destruction of mankind, and tells how men scorned the great Sun-god because he had become old;[1] the text of this, in a mutilated condition, is found inscribed upon the walls of the tombs of Seti I. and Rameses IV. at Thebes, and from it the following is clear. "[Rā is] the god who created himself after he "had risen in sovereignty over men, and gods, as well as over "things, the One. And mankind was uttering words of complaint, "saying, 'Behold now, his Majesty, life, strength, and health [to "'him]! hath become old, his bones are like silver, his limbs are "'like gold, and his hair is like unto real lapis-lazuli.' Now his "majesty heard the words which mankind spake [concerning "him], and he said unto those who were following him, 'Cry out, "'and bring ye unto me mine Eye, and Shu, and Tefnut, and "'Seb, and Nut, and the fathers and the mothers who were with "'me when I was in Nu, together with my god Nu. Let him "'bring his ministers with him, and let them be brought silently, "'so that mankind may not perceive it and take to flight with "'their hearts. Come thou with them to the Great House, and "'let them declare their plans, for I will go forth from Nu unto "'the place wherein I performed creations, and let those [gods] be "'brought unto me there.' Now the gods were on both sides of "Rā, and they bowed down even to the ground in presence of his "Majesty, and he spake his words in the presence of the father of "the firstborn gods, the maker of men, and the king of those who "have knowledge. And they spake before his Majesty, [saying], "'Speak unto us, for we are listening'; and Rā spake unto Nu, "saying, 'O thou firstborn god, from whom I came into being, O "'ye gods [my] ancestors, behold ye what mankind is doing, they "'who were created by mine Eye are uttering murmurs against "'me. Give me your attention, and seek ye out a plan for me, "'and I will not slay them until ye shall say [what I am to do] "'concerning it.'

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[1] For the hieroglyphic text see Lefébure, Tombeau de Seti I., part iv., pll. 15-18; Brugsch, *Die neue Weltordnung*, Berlin, 1881; Naville in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, iv., pp. 1 ff.; viii., pp. 412 ff.; Bergmann, *Hist. Inschrift.*, pll. 75-82; and my *First Steps in Egyptian*, pp. 218-230.

"Then the Majesty of the god Nu, the son of Rā, spake "[saying], 'Thou art the god who art greater than he that made "'thee, and who art the sovereign of those who were created by "'him, thy throne is set, and the fear of thee is great; let "'then thine Eye be upon those who have uttered blasphemies "'against thee.' And the Majesty of Rā spake [saying], "'Behold ye how they have taken flight into the mountain!

"'Their hearts are afraid because of what they have said.' "'Then the gods spake before his Majesty, saying, 'Make "'thine Eye to go forth, and let it destroy for thee those who "'utter evil words of blasphemy against thee. There is not an "'eye upon all this earth which can resist thine when it "'descendeth in the form of Hathor.' And the goddess [Hathor] "went forth and slew the people on the mountain, and the Majesty "of this god spake, [saying], 'Come, come in peace, Hathor, the "'work is accomplished.' And the goddess said, 'Thou livest for "'me. When I had gained the mastery over men it was well "'pleasing to my heart.' And the Majesty of Rā spake, [saying], "'I will gain the mastery over them as king, and [I] will destroy "'them'; and it came to pass that Sekhet waded about in the "night season in their blood, beginning at Suten-ḥenen (Herakleo-"polis Magna). Then the Majesty of Rā spake, [saying], 'Cry out "'and fetch me swift and speedy messengers who can run like the "'wind'; and straightway one brought these messengers. And "the Majesty of this god spake, [saying], 'Let them go to Ābu "'(Elephantine), and bring me mandrakes in great number'; and "one brought to him these mandrakes, and the Majesty of this god "gave them to Sekhet who [dwelleth] in Ȧnnu (Heliopolis) to "crush. And behold, when the women were crushing the barley "to [make] beer, he placed these mandrakes in the vessels which "were to hold the beer, and some of the blood of the men [who "had been slain]. Now they made seven thousand vessels of "beer.

"Now when the king of the South and North, Rā, had come "with the gods to look at the beer, and the daylight appeared "after the goddess had slaughtered mankind in their season as she "sailed up the river, the Majesty of Rā said, 'It is doubly good, "'but I must protect mankind against her.' And Rā spake, "[saying], 'Let them take up the vases and carry them to the "'place where men and women are being slaughtered.' Then the "Majesty of the king of the South and North, Rā, commanded "them to pour out from the vessels during the [time of the] "beauty of the night the beer which made [men] wish to lie down, "and the regions of the four heavens were filled therewith even "according to the Will of the Majesty of this god. Now when the "goddess Sekhet came in the morning and found the regions flooded, "her face beamed with joy, and she drank of the beer and blood, "and her heart was glad, and she became drunk, and she took no "further heed of mankind. And the Majesty of Rā spake unto "this goddess, [saying] 'Come, come in peace, O fair and gracious "'goddess;' [and henceforth] there were young and beautiful "women in the city of Amen.[1] Then the Majesty of Rā said unto "this goddess, 'There shall be prepared for thee vases of drink "'which shall make thee wish to sleep at every festival of the New "'Year, and the number thereof shall be in proportion to the "'number of my handmaidens;' and from that day until this "present men have been wont to make on the occasions of the "festival of Hathor vases of beer which will make them sleep, in "number according to the number of the handmaidens of Rā. "And the Majesty of Rā spake unto this goddess, [saying], "'Behold, the pain of the burning heat of sickness hath come "'upon me; whence cometh [this] pain?' Then the Majesty of "Rā said, 'I am alone, but my heart hath become exceedingly "'weary of being with them (i.e., with men); I have slain [some "'of] them, but there is a remnant of worthless ones, and the "'destruction which I wrought among them was not commensurate "'with my power.' And the gods who were in his train said "[unto him], 'Tarry not in thy weariness, for thy might is in "'proportion to thine own will.' Then the Majesty of this god "said unto the Majesty of Nu, 'For the first time my limbs have "'lost their power, and I will never permit this thing to happen "'a second time.'"

At this point the inscription becomes much broken, and it is difficult to make out the general meaning which is to be attached

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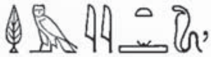
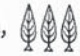
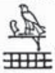
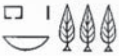
[1] Here there is a pun on the appellation of the goddess *Amit* , and on the name of the city Amen, , i.e., the capital of the nome, , Ȧment, where the goddess Hathor was worshipped. The city is also called , and the "city of Apis."

to the scattered words; according to the late Dr. Brugsch,[1] the myth ends somewhat as follows:—When Rā had described his weariness to Nu, this god commanded Shu to perform the work of Rā and to take the place of his Eye, and directed the sky goddess Nut to help Rā. Nut asked Nu how this was to be done, and he told her to take Rā upon her back; thereupon Nut took the form of a cow, and Rā seated himself upon her back. In due course mankind saw Rā on the back of Nut, and they were filled with remorse at their former behaviour towards him, and they wished to see slain his enemies who had blasphemed him, but his Majesty did not tarry, and he went on into the temple. On the following day as soon as the morning had come, men went forth armed with bows and spears in order to do battle with the enemies of Rā, and as soon as the god saw this he said to them, "Your sins are "forgiven you, for the sacrificial slaughters which ye have made "have done away with the murders [which mine enemies have "committed]." Then Rā raised himself from the back of the goddess Nut into the sky, where he made for himself a kingdom in which all people were to be assembled. Finally he ordered a Field to come into being, *ḥetep sekhet*, and straightway the Field of Ḥetep ("Peace"), *Sekhet-ḥetep*,[2] came into being, and the Majesty of the god said, "I will plant "(*ȧarȧṭ-ȧ*, literally, I will make to grow) "green herbs therein," and straightway there came into being Sekhet-ȧaru,[3] , "and I will plenish "it with objects which sparkle,[4] that is to say with stars." Thereupon the goddess Nut quaked in all her members, and Rā declared that he would make supports to come into existence to strengthen her, and straightway supports appeared. Rā next

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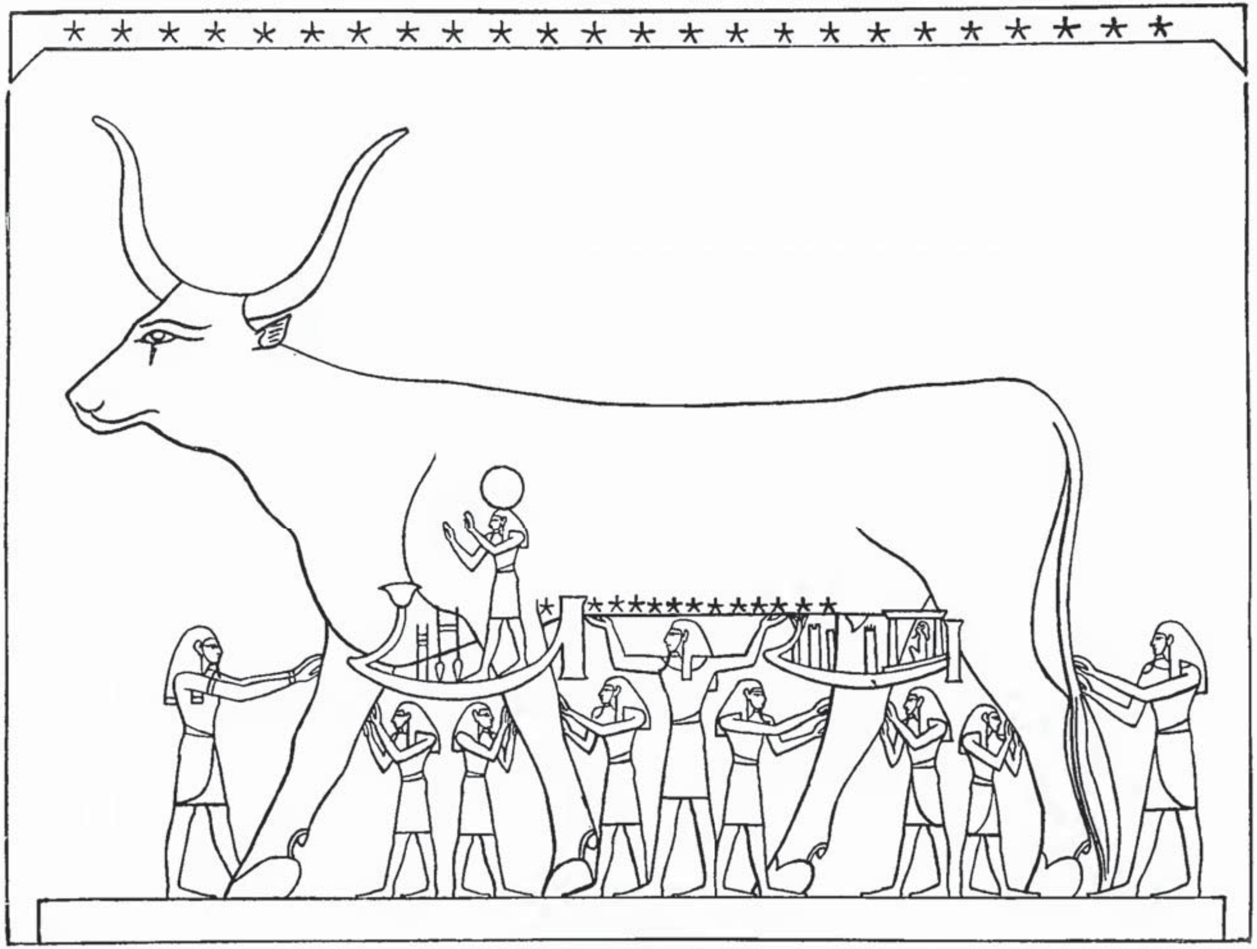
[1] *Die Neue Weltordnung nach Vernichtung des sündigen Menschengeschlechtes*, von H. Brugsch, Berlin, 1881, p. 23.

[2] Note the jingle in the words *sekhet* and *ḥetep*.

[3] Note the play on the verbal *ȧaraṭ-ȧ* and the noun *ȧaru*.

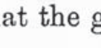
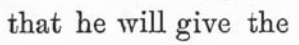
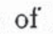
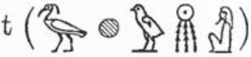
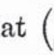
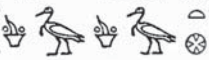
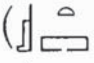
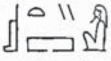
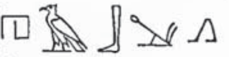
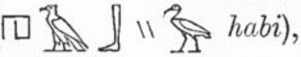
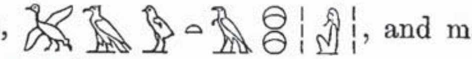
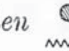
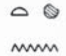
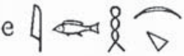
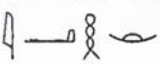
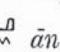
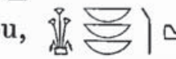
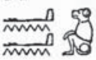
[4] Note the jingle in *khet*, "objects," and "things which sparkle."



The Cow-goddess Nut.

ordered his son Shu to place himself beneath the goddess Nut, who was trembling, in such a way as to support her body, and he ordered him to take heed to the supports, or pillars, whereon the goddess rested, and to protect them, and to keep Nut stayed upon his head.

Near this place in the text we have a representation of the great cow-goddess Nut, i.e., the heavens and the sky (see opposite). Along the belly of the cow, which is emblematic of the sky, and is supported by the god Shu, are thirteen stars, and immediately below are the two boats of the Sun-god. In the Māṭet boat stands a figure of Rā as god of the day, with a disk upon his head, and in the Sektet boat we see the god seated in a shrine; the former boat is between the fore-legs of the cow of Nut, and the latter by her udders. Each leg of the cow is supported by two gods, one in front and one behind, and each god who is with the cow has a special name, which is duly set forth in the text which runs in vertical columns on each side of the scene.[1]

When the narrative recommences (line 56) we are told that the Majesty of the god Rā commanded Thoth to give the order that the god Seb, or Sab,  (whom Brugsch calls "Keb"), should come into his presence forthwith, and when he had done so, and Seb had appeared before him, Rā told him that strife had arisen by reason of the worms (or snakes), , which were in his (i.e., Seb's) territory, and, he added, "May they fear me as long as I am alive." Rā also told him to find out what their plans were, and then to go to the place wherein was his father Nu, and to warn him to be careful about what was on the earth and in the water. The text which immediately follows is full of difficulty, but its general meaning seems to be that Rā expects Seb to keep watch on the serpents in the earth, and that although he is about to betake himself to the uppermost regions of heaven his light will find them in their holes, and will watch them. Moreover, Rā promises that he will give the men who have knowledge of words of power, , dominion over them, and that he will furnish them with spells and charms which shall draw them from their holes. After these things the Majesty of the god Rā ordered that Thoth should come into his presence speedily, and when he had arrived he said to him, "Come, let us depart "from heaven, and from my place, because I am about to create "a thing of light () of the god of light (), "in the Ṭuat () and in the Land of Babat (). "And there thou shalt write down for punishment among the "dwellers therein those who have committed deeds of rebellion, "and those whom my heart hateth. And thou shalt be in my "place ( *ȧst*), and thou shalt be called Ȧsti (), "that is to say, the deputy of Rā. And it shall be permitted to "thee to send for thy messenger ( *hab*), and at "these words the ibis ( *habi*), which is the envoy "of Thoth, came into being." Rā next tells Thoth that he will give him the power to lift up his hand before the great companies of the gods, , and makes a play on the words *khen* , and *Tekhni* , a bird sacred to Thoth; he also promises to make Thoth to embrace  *ȧnḥ*, the two heavens with his beauties, and straightway the Moon, , came into being. Thoth is to drive back,  *ān*, the Ḥa-nebu, , and straightway the Ape,  *ānān*, of the god came into being; and finally Thoth is to be wholly the representative of Rā upon earth.

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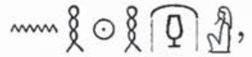
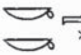
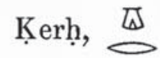
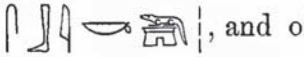
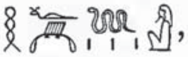
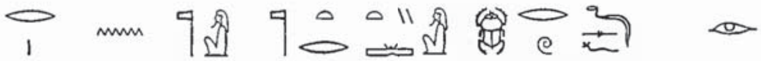
[1] See Lefébure, *Tombeau de Seti I.*, part iv., pl. 16, ll. 47 ff.

From the observations which follow the words of Rā we can see how holy these words were considered to be. Any one who wished to repeat them must anoint his face with oil, and rub his hands and the places behind his ears with incense, and cleanse his mouth with natron, and wash his new apparel in Nile water, and put on white sandals, and lay a figure of Maāt upon his tongue; and he must cleanse himself with a sevenfold cleansing each day for three whole days. Finally, the king (Seti I.) for whom these texts were written declares that his soul is the soul of Shu, and [Khnemu], and Neḥeḥ, , and Kek, , and Ḳerḥ, , and Nu, and Rā, and Ȧsȧr-Ba-Ṭeṭṭeṭ, and the souls of the Sebȧk gods, , and of the Crocodiles, and the soul of every god in the form of a serpent, , and the soul of Āpep, and of Rā in all the earth.

CHAPTER XI

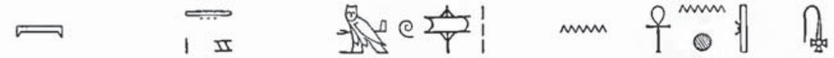
THE LEGEND OF RĀ AND ISIS

HIEROGLYPHIC TEXT WITH TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION



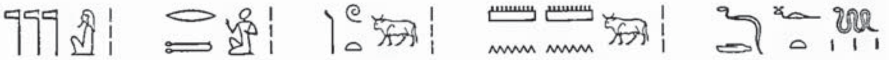
Re en neter neterti kheperu tchesef ȧri

Chapter of the god divine (?) self-produced, the maker



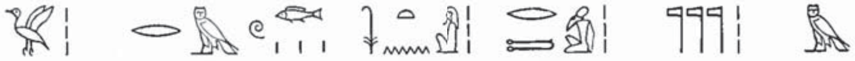
pet ta māu en ānkh khet

of heaven, [and] earth, [and] the breath of life, of fire,



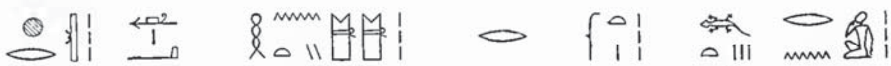
neteru reth āut menmen tchetfet

of gods, of men, of beasts, of cattle, of reptiles and creeping things,



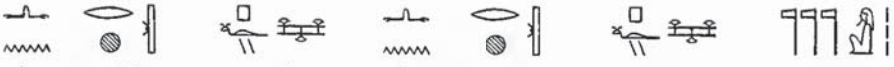
apṭ remu suten reth neteru em

of the fowl of the air, [and] of fishes, the king of men [and] of gods, in



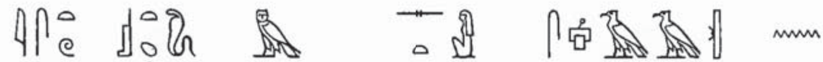
kher uā ḥenti er renput āsht renu

form one, [to whom] periods of 120 years [are] as years, of many names,



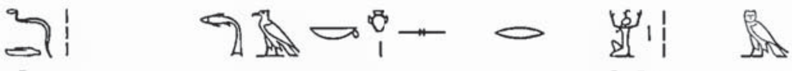
ȧn rekh pefi ȧn rekh pefi neteru

not known is that [god], not known is that [god to] the gods.



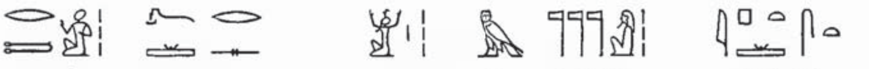
ȧstu Ȧst em set saa en

Behold, Isis was in the form of a woman [who was] skilled in



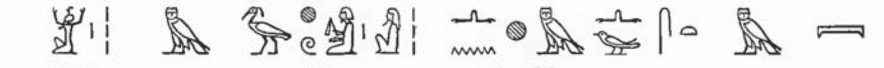
tcheṭu khak-ȧb-s er ḥeḥu em

words (i.e., matters). Her heart rebelled at the millions of



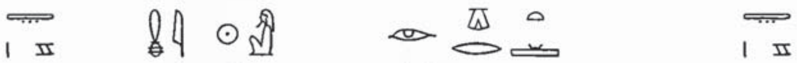
reth setep eres ḥeḥu em neteru ȧpt-set

men, she chose rather the millions of the gods, and she esteemed



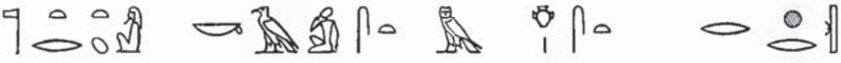
ḥeḥu em khu ȧn khem set em pet

the millions of the spirits [of more value]. "Could she not be in heaven



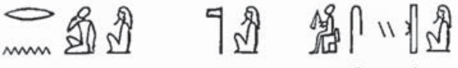
ta mȧ Rā ȧri ḳert ta

[and] earth like Rā [and] make herself mistress of the earth



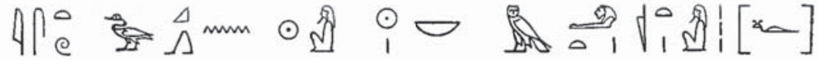
netert ka-set em ȧb-set er rekh

and a goddess," she meditated in her heart, "by knowing



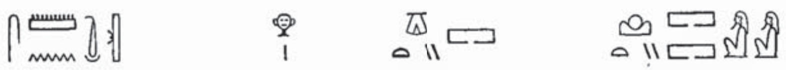
ren neter shepsi

the name of the god holy?"



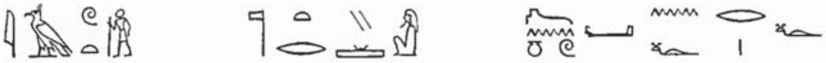
ȧstu āq en Rā hru neb em ḥāt qet - [f]

Behold, came in Rā every day in front of [his] sailors,



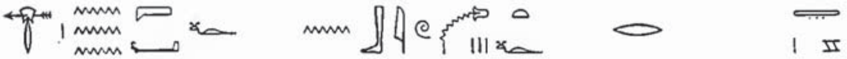
smen-thȧ ḥer nest khuti

and was stablished upon the throne of the two horizons.



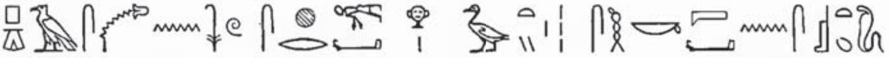
ȧaut netri ennu - nef re - f

Had become old the divine one, he dribbled at his mouth,



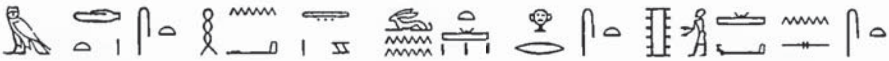
sat - f nebȧut - f er ta

he poured out his exudations upon the ground,



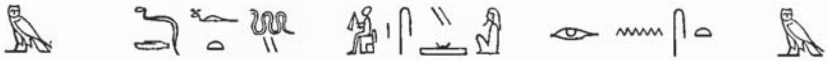
peḳas en su sekher ḥer sat sek-nes Ȧst

and his spittle fell upon the earth. Isis she kneaded [it]



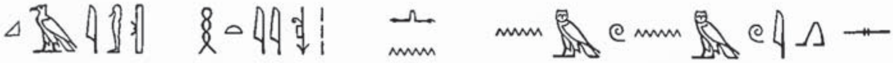
em ṭet-set ḥenā ta unenet ḥer-set qeṭ-nes-set

in her hand with earth which was on it, she fashioned it



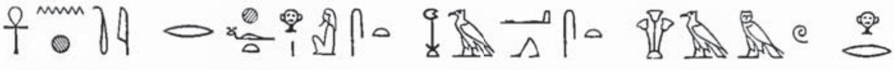
em tchetfeti shepsi ȧri en set em

in the form of a serpent sacred, [and] she made [it] in



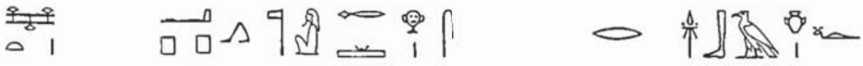
qaȧ ḥeti ȧn nemunemuȧ-s

the form of a dart. Not did it move along



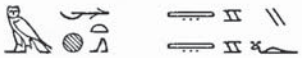
ānkh-thȧ er kheft-set khaā-set ḥamu ḥer

alive before her, [and] she left [it] lying on



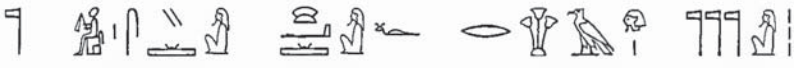
uat āpep neter āa ḥer-s er ȧba - f

the path whereon journeyed the great god according to his desire



em khet taui - f

through his two lands.



neter shepsi khā - f er ḥa neteru

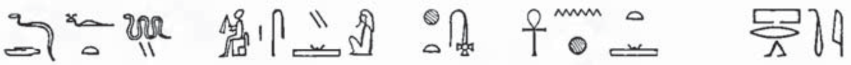
The god holy rose up, behind the gods

em Āa-perti ānkh utcha senb em khet- f

in the great double house, life, strength, health! [were] following him,

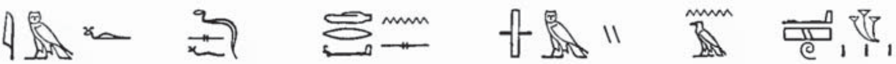
seftseft - f mȧ hru neb unkhu-set em

[and] he marched on as [he did] every day [when] bit [him]



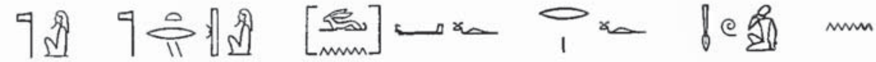
tchetfeti shepsi khet ānkhet per-thȧ

the serpent sacred; the fire of life was coming out

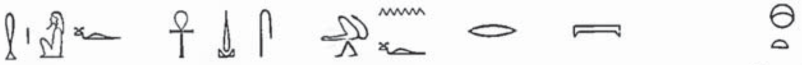


ȧm - f tchesef ṭer-nes ȧmi na āshu

from him himself, it destroyed the dweller in the cedars.



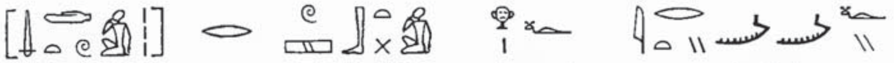
neter	*netri*	*[un] - f*	*re - f*	*kheru*	*en*
The god	divine	he opened	his mouth,	the voice	of



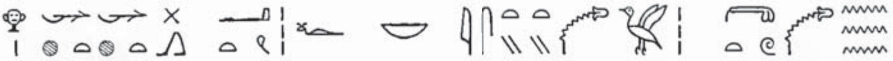
ḥen - f	*ā. u. s.*	*peḥ-nef*	*er*	*pet*	*Paut*
his Majesty	L. S. H.!	reached	unto	heaven.	The company

neteru	*tuf*	*ḥer*	*mā pu-u*	*neteru - f*
of the gods	was	for [saying],	“What is it?”	His gods [were]

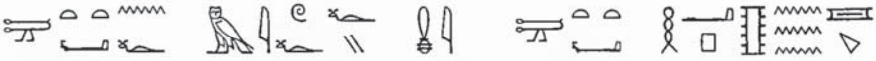
ḥer	*petrȧ-u*	*ȧn*	*qem - f*
for [saying]	“What is the matter?”	Not	found he



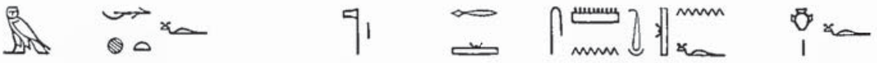
meṭtu	*er*	*ushebt*	*ḥer - f*	*ȧrti-fi*
words	to	answer	about it.	His two jaws



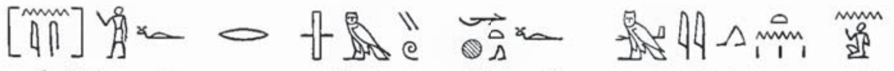
ḥer khetkhet	*āt - f*	*neb*	*ȧstiti*	*metu*
rattled,	his limbs	all	trembled,	the poison



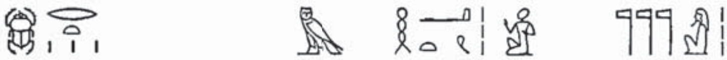
thetet-nef	*em ȧufi*	*mȧ*	*thetet*	*Ḥāp*
took possession	of his body	as	taketh possession	the Nile



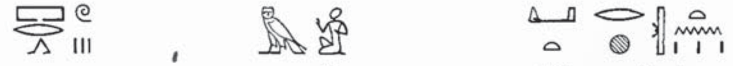
em	*khet - f*	*neter*	*āa*	*smen-nef*	*ȧb - f*
of	his river bed.	The god	great	stablished	his heart,



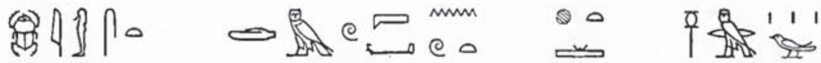
[nȧs] - f	*er*	*ȧmiu*	*khet - f*	*māi-ten*	*nȧ*
he [cried] out	to	those in	his train :—	"Come	to me,



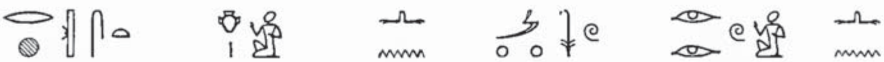
khepert	*em*	*ḥāt-ȧ*	*neteru*
O ye who have come into being	from	my members,	[ye] gods



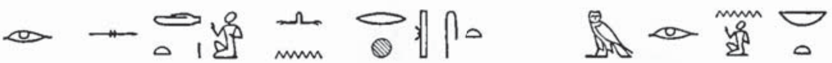
peru	*em-ȧ*	*ṭāt*	*rekh-ten*
who have proceeded	from me,	and I will make	you to know



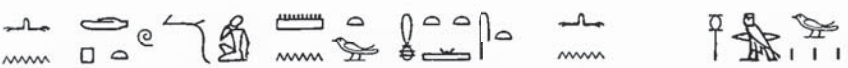
kheperȧ-set	*ṭemu-entu*	*khet*	*meru*
what hath happened :	I am wounded	by something	deadly,



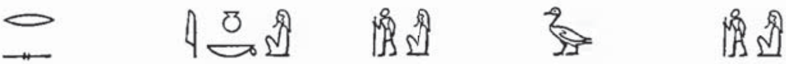
rekh-set	*ȧb-ȧ*	*ȧn*	*maa su*	*maa-ȧ*	*ȧn*
knoweth it	my heart.	Not	have seen it	my eyes,	not



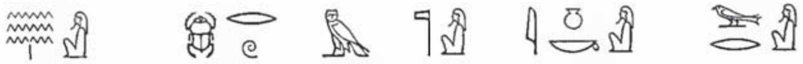
ȧri	*set ṭet-ȧ*	*ȧn*	*rekh-set*	*em ȧri-nȧ*	*nebt*
made it	my hand,	not	know [I] it	who hath done [this] to me	anyone,



ȧn	*ṭeptu-ȧ*	*ment*	*mȧtet-set*	*ȧn*	*meru*
not	have I tasted	pain	like it,	never was	deadly [anything]

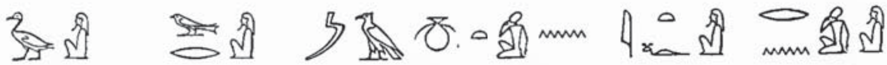


er-s	*ȧnuk*	*ser*	*sa*	*ser*
more than it.	I am	a prince,	the son	of a prince,



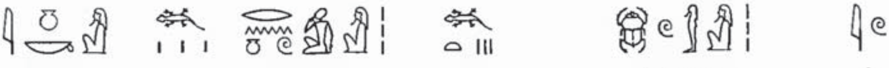
mu kheperu em neter ȧnuk ur

the divine issue produced by a god. I am a great one,



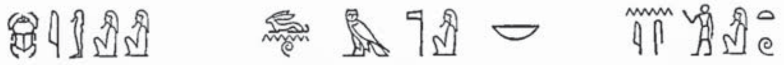
sa ur maut en ȧtef-ȧ ren-ȧ

the son of a great one, thought out my father my name.



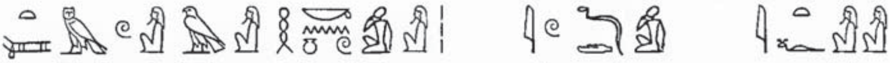
ȧnuk āshu rennu āsht kheperu ȧu

I am of many names, of many forms (or, existences) is



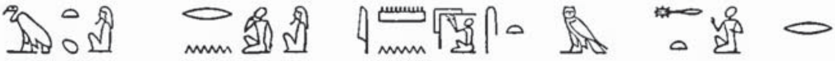
kheperȧ-ȧ unu em neter neb nȧs-ȧ-tu

my form (or existence) living in god every. I have proclaimed



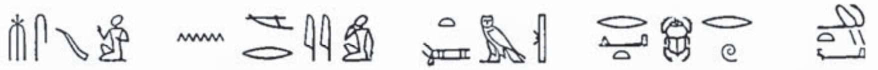
Temu Ḥeru ḥekennu ȧu tcheṭ ȧtef-ȧ

Temu and Ḥeru Ḥekennu. Have uttered my father



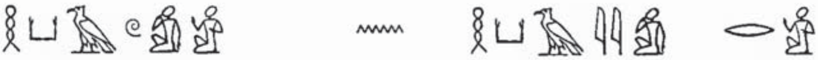
mut-ȧ ren-ȧ ȧmen-set em khat-ȧ er

and my mother my name, hidden was it in my body by



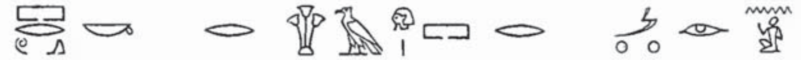
mes-ȧ en meri tem erṭāt kheperu peḥti

my begetter who wished not to let have power



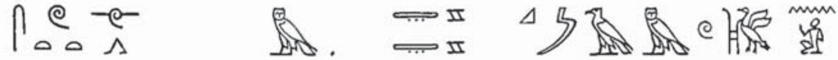
ḥekau-ȧ en ḥekai er-ȧ

him who would enchant me by enchantments over me.



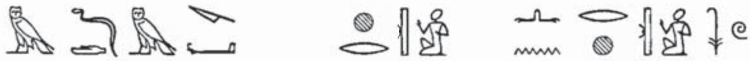
peru-k er ḥa er maa ȧri-nȧ

I had come forth from the abode to see what I had made



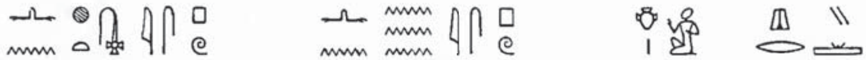
sutet em taui qemamu-nȧ

[and] was being led through the lands [which] I had created,



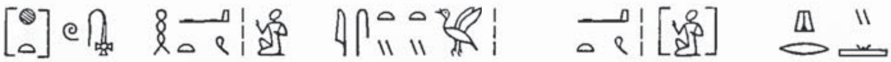
em tcheṭem kher-ȧ ȧn rekh-ȧ su

when [something] aimed a blow at me [and] I know not what it is.



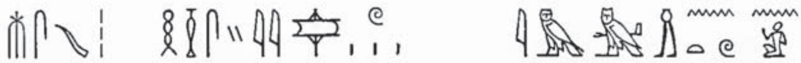
ȧn khet ȧs pu ȧn mu ȧs pu ȧb-ȧ kheri

Behold it is not fire, behold it is not water. My heart contains



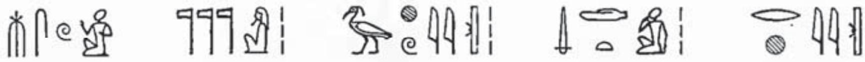
[khet]u ḥāt-ȧ ȧstiti āt-[ȧ] kheri

fire, my limbs [are] trembling, [my] members contain



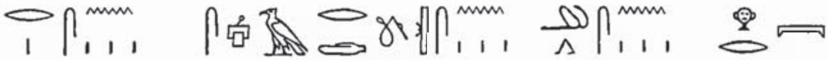
mesu ḥesiu ȧmmā ȧntu-nȧ

the children of quakings. I pray you let be brought to me



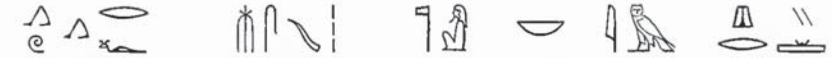
mesu-ȧ neteru khui meṭet rekhi

my children, the gods mighty of words, skilful



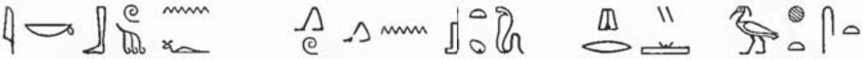
re-sen sarṭ-sen peḥ-sen ḥer

with their mouths, their powers, they reach to heaven.



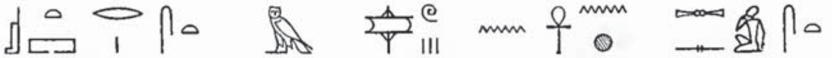
iu-eref mesu neter neb ȧm kheri

Came to him [his] children, god every there with



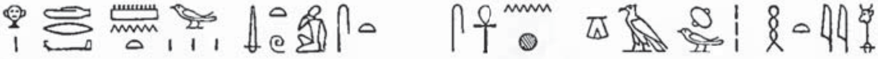
ȧkebu-nef iu en Ȧst kheri khut-set

his cries of weeping. Came Isis with her power



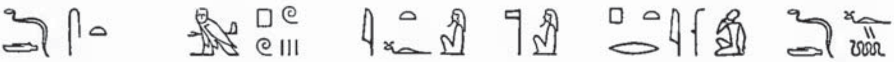
ȧst re-set em nifu en ānkh thes-set

and her skilled mouth, with the breath of life, her incantations



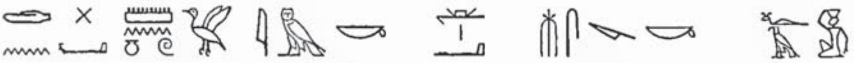
ḥer ṭer ment meṭtu-set sānkh ḳa ḥeti

destroy diseases, her word maketh to live stinking throats (i.e., throats of the dead).



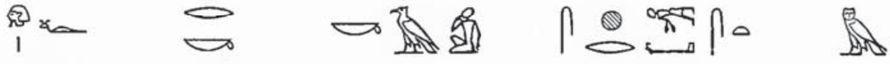
tcheṭ-set mā pu-u ȧtef neter petrȧ tcheṭfi

She said, What is this, O father god? What is it? A snake



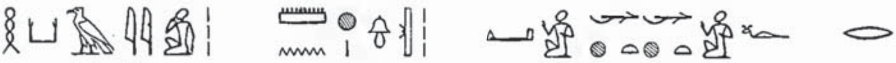
ṭen mennu ȧm-k uā mes-k fa

hath shot sickness into thee. A thing made by thee hath lifted up



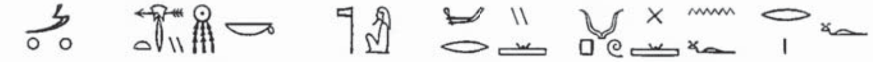
ṭep - f erek ka sekher-set em

its head against thee. Verily it shall be overthrown by



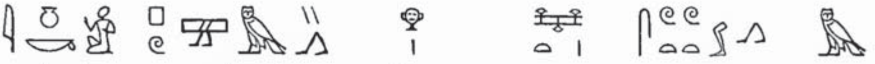
ḥekaiu menkhiu ṭā-ȧ khetkhet - f er

words of power beneficent, I will make it to depart from



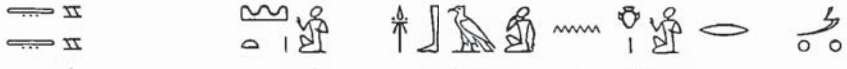
maa *sati-k* *neter* *tcheseri* *àpu-nef* *re - f*

the sight of thy rays. The god holy opened his mouth:



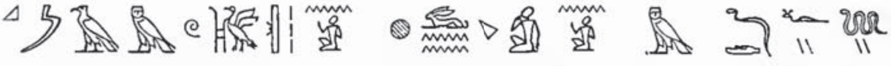
ànuk *pu* *shemi* *ḥer* *uat* *sutut* *em*

I was passing over the way going through



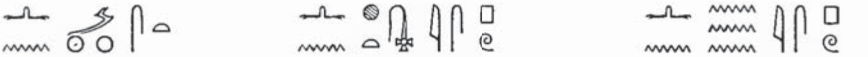
taui *set-à* *àba* *en* *àb-à* *er* *maa*

the two lands of my country, wished my heart to see



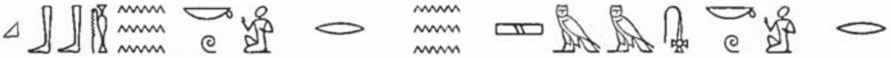
qemamu-nà *khunen-nà* *em* *tchetfi*

what I had created [when] I was bitten by a snake



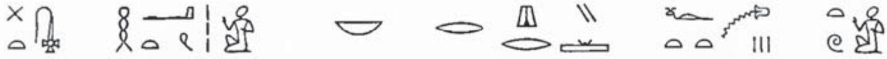
àn *maa* *set* *àn* *khet* *às* *pu* *àn* *mu* *às* *pu*

invisible. Behold it is not fire, behold it is not water.



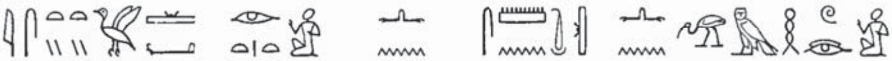
qebebḥ-kuà *er* *mu* *shemem-kuà* *er*

I am colder than water, I am hotter than



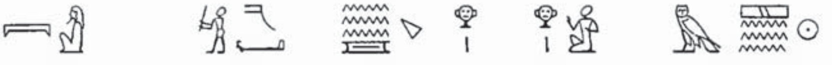
seshet *ḥāt-à* *neb* *er* *kheri* *fetet* *tuà*

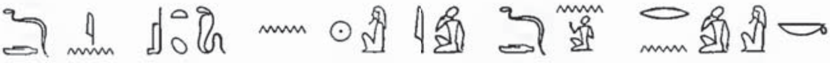
fire, my limbs all are full of sweat, I



àstiti *maat-à* *àn* *smen* *àn* *qemḥu-à*

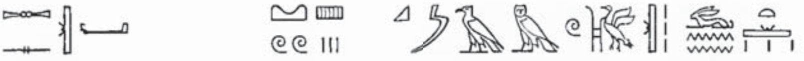
tremble, my eye is without stability, I cannot see


pet ḥu mu ḥer ḥrȧ-ȧ em shemu
the heavens, bursteth out water on my face [as] in summer.

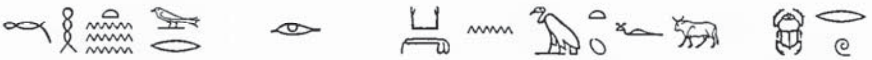

tcheṭ ȧn Ȧst en Rā ȧ tcheṭ-nȧ ren-k
Said Isis to Rā, O tell me thy name,

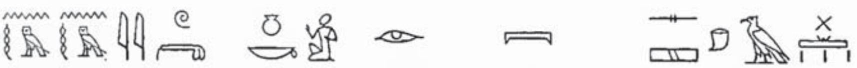
ȧtef neter ānkh sa ṭemu-tu ḥer
father god; liveth the person who hath declared

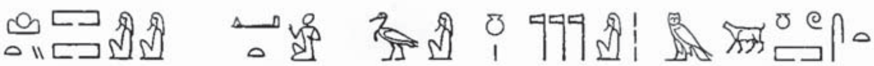
ren - f ȧnuk ȧri pet ta
his name. [Said Rā] I am the maker of heaven [and] earth,


thes ṭuu qemamu unnet
the knitter together of the mountains, the creator of what exists

ḥer - f nuk ȧri mu khepertu
upon it. I am the maker of the water making to exist

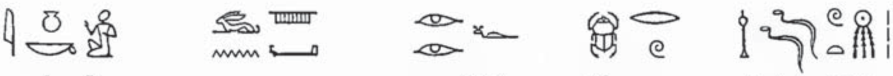

Meḥt-ur ȧri ka en mut - f kheperu
Meḥt-ur, acting [as] bull of his mother, the creator


netchem netchemiu nuk ȧri pet sesheta
of the joys of love. I am the maker of heaven and have covered over



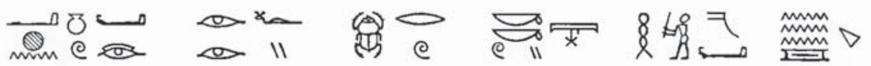
khuti *ṭā-ȧ* *ba* *nu* *neteru* *em-khennu-set*

the two horizons, I have set the soul of the gods within them



ȧnuk *un* *maati-f* *kheperu* *ḥetchetchtu*

I am he who openeth his eyes, becometh the light;

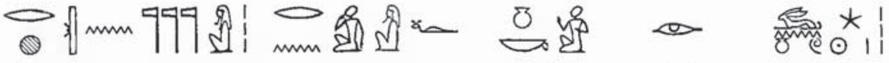


ākhennu *maati-f* *kheperu* *kekui* *ḥu* *mu*

shutteth [he] his eyes, becometh the dark. Riseth the flood

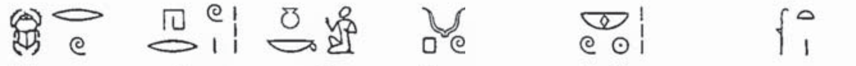
Ḥāp *kheft* *utu-nef* *ȧn*

of Ḥāp (Nile) when he giveth the command, not



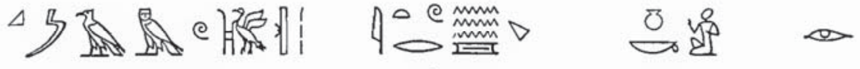
rekh en neteru *ren - f* *nuk* *ȧri* *unnu*

know the gods his name. I am the maker of hours,



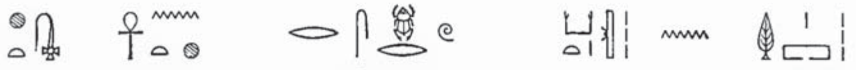
kheperu *hru* *nuk* *ȧpu* *ḥebu* *renpit*

the creator of days, I am the opener of the festivals of the year,



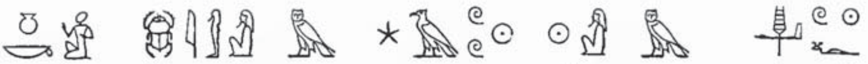
qemamu *ȧtru* *nuk* *ȧri*

the creator of streams of water. I am the maker



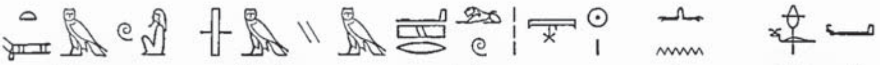
khet *ānkhet* *er sekheperu* *kat* *en* *amu*

of flame of life making to be performed works in the houses.



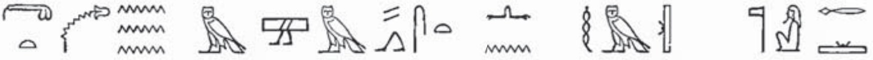
nuk Kheperȧ em ṭuauu Rā em āḥāu-f

I am Kheperȧ in the morning, Rā in his noontide,



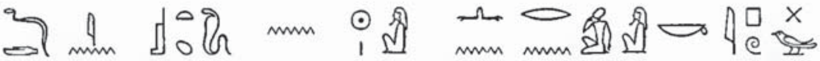
Temu ȧmi māsheru ȧn khesef

Temu in the evening. [But] not was driven



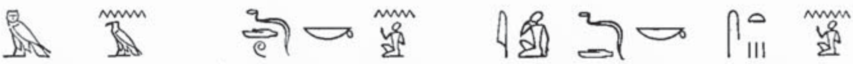
met em shemi-set ȧn netchem neter āa

the poison out of its course, not was relieved the great god.



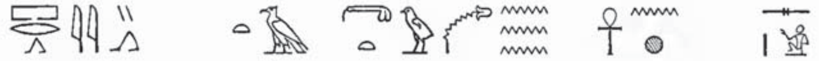
tcheṭ ȧn Ȧst en Rā ȧn ren-k ȧpu

Said Isis to Rā :—Thy name is not enumerated



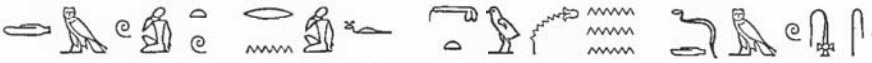
em na tcheṭu-k-nȧ ȧ tcheṭ-k set nȧ

among the things which thou hast said to me; O tell thou it to me,



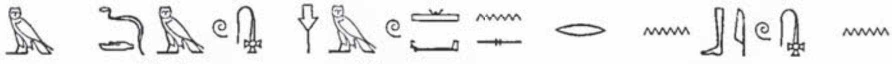
peri ta metu ānkh sa

and shall come out the poison. Shall live a person



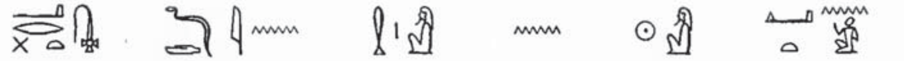
ṭemu-tu ren - f metu tcheṭemu-set

having uttered his name. The poison it burned



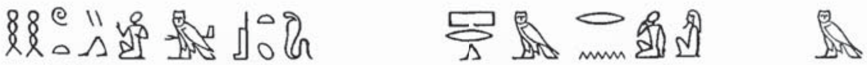
em tcheṭemu sekhemu-nes er nebȧu en

with burnings, it was stronger than the flame of



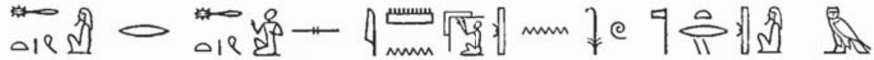
ārt tcheṭ ȧn ḥen en Rā ṭāt-nȧ

fire. Said the majesty of Rā, I give myself



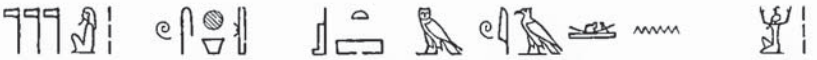
ḥeḥui mā Ȧst per em ren-ȧ em

to be searched out by Isis, shall come forth my name from



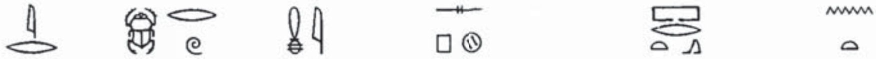
khat-ȧ er khat-s ȧmen en su netri em

my body into her body. Hid himself the divine one from



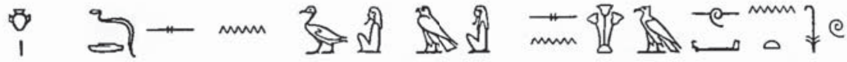
neteru usekh ȧst em uȧa en ḥeḥ renput

the gods, empty was the place in the Boat of millions of years.



ȧr kheperu mȧ sep pert ent

When it became about the time of the coming forth of

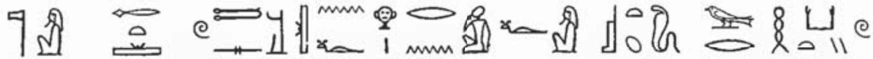


ȧb tcheṭ-s en sa Ḥeru senḥa ent su

the heart she said to [her] son Horus:—Let him bind himself by an oath

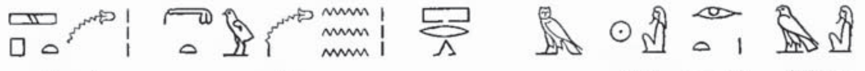
em ānkh neter erṭāt neter maati-f

sworn by the life of the god that the god will give his two eyes.



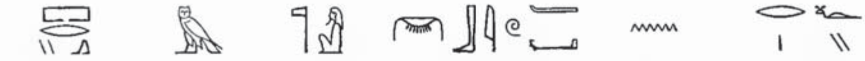
neter āat uthes - nef ḥer ren - f Ȧst urt-ḥekauti

The god great was removed from his name, Isis, great in words of power [said]:—



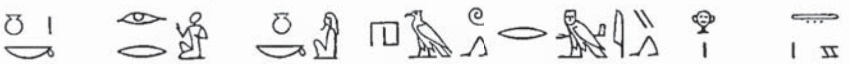
shept metu per em Rā maat Ḥeru

Run out, poison, come forth from Rā, Eye of Horus,



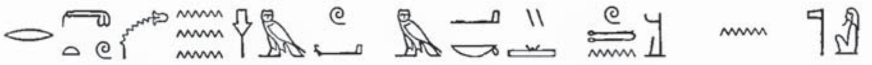
peri em neter nubȧu en re - f

come forth from the god, and shine without his mouth.



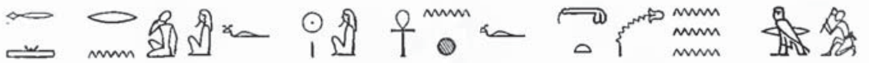
nuk ȧri-ȧ nuk hau er māȧi ḥer ta

I, I have worked, I make to fall down upon the ground



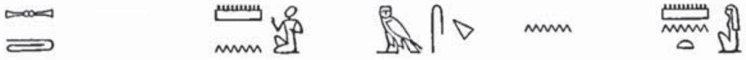
er metu sekhemu māki uthes en neter

the poison which is defeated, verily was removed from the god



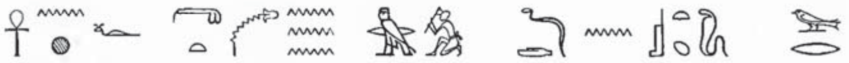
āa ren - f Rā ānkh - f met mit

great his name. Rā may he live, the poison may it die



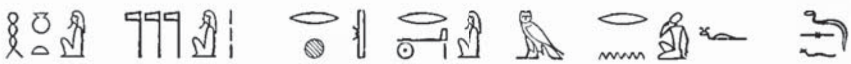
thes rer men mes en ment

and conversely. A certain one, the son of a certain woman,



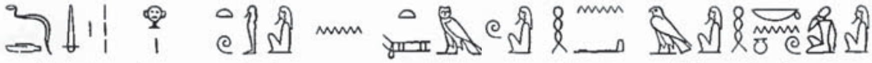
ānkh - f metu mit tchet en Ȧst ur

may he live, the poison may it die. [Thus] said Isis, great lady,



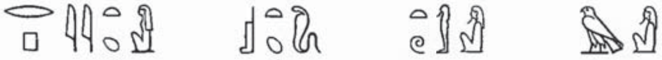
ḥent neteru rekh Rā em ren - f tchesef

mistress of the gods, who knew Rā by his name his own.



tcheṭ ḥer tut en Temu ḥenā Ḥeru-ḥekennu

To be said over an image of Temu and Ḥeru-ḥekennu,



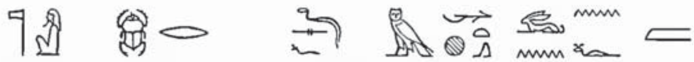
erpit Ȧst tut Ḥeru

and [over] a figure of Isis, and an image of Horus.

CHAPTER XII

THE DESTRUCTION OF MANKIND

EGYPTIAN TEXT WITH TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

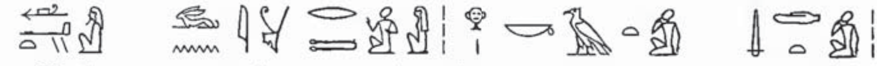


. . . . *neter* *kheper* *tchesef* *em-khet* *un-nef* *em*

. . . . god, who created himself. After he was in

sutenit *reth* *neteru* *em khet*

the sovereignty of men, and of gods, and of creation,

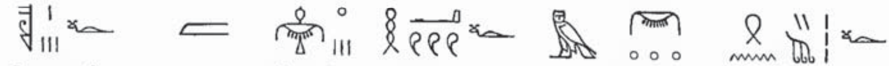


Uāti *un* *ȧn* *reth* *ḥer* *kat* *meṭet*

the One, men and women were blaspheming and saying,

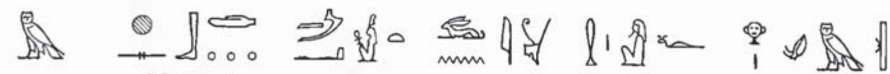
ȧstu *eref* *ḥen* *ānkh* *utcha* *senb* *ȧauu*

Behold, his majesty, life, strength, health, has grown old,



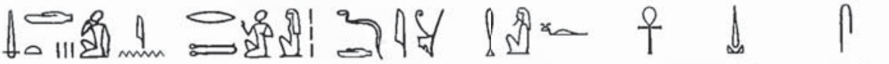
kesu-f *em* *ḥetch* *ḥāu - f* *em* *nub* *sheni - f*

his bones are like silver, his limbs like gold, his hair



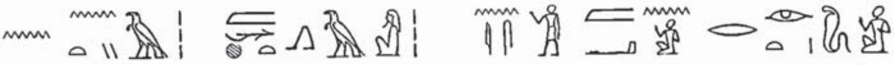
em *khesbeṭ* *maāt* *un* *ȧn* *ḥen-f* *ḥer* *setem*

is like lapis-lazuli real; was his majesty listening to



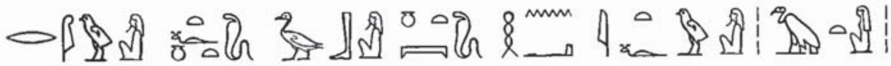
meṭet àn reth tcheṭ àn ḥen-f ānkh utcha senb

what said mankind. Said his majesty, life, strength, health,



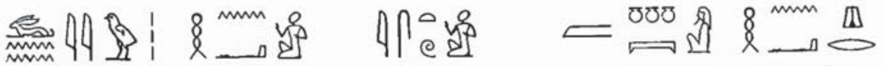
er enti emkhetti-f nàs mā-nà er maat-à

to those who were in his train. Call, bring me my Eye,



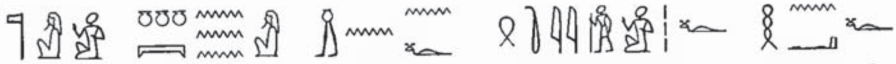
er Shu Tefnut Seb Nut ḥenā àtefiu mut

and Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, and the father and mother gods



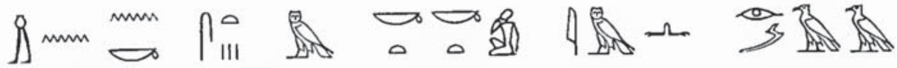
uneniu ḥenā-à àstu-à em Nu ḥenā kher

who lived with me when behold I was in Nu, together with



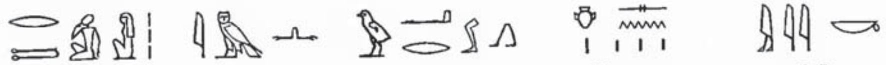
neter-à Nu àn-nef shenthi - f ḥenā - f

my god Nu. Let him bring his ministers with him.



àn-nek set em ketket àm maa

Bring thou them in silence, that not may see

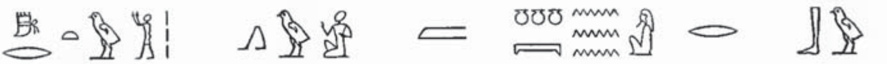


reth àm uār àb-sen i-k

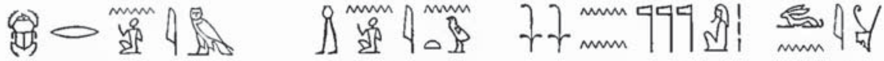
mankind, not may flee their hearts. Come thou

ḥenā-sen er ḥet-āat tcheṭ-sen sekheru-sen

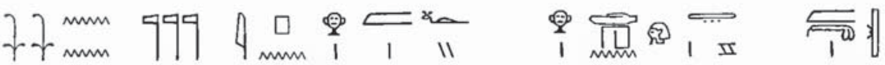
with them into the great temple, let them declare their counsel



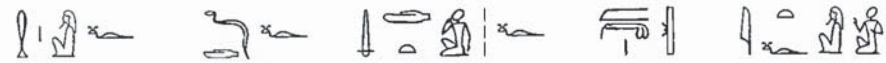
tchertu	*iu-à*	*em*	*Nu*	*er*	*bu*
fully;	I will enter	into	Nu	to	the place



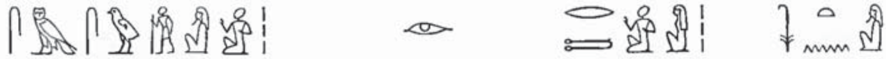
kheper-nà àm	*àn-nà àn-tu*	*enen neteru*	*un àn*
wherein I was born,	let be brought to me	those gods.	Were



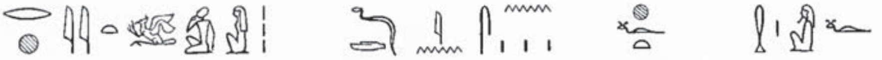
enen	*neteru àpen ḥer ḳesui-f*	*ḥer ṭehen ta*	*em-baḥ*
those	gods on both sides of him,	bowing to the earth	before



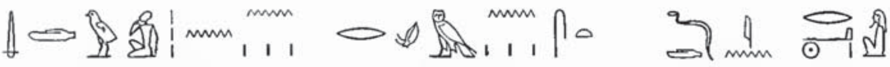
ḥen - f	*tcheṭ-f*	*meṭet - f*	*em-baḥ*	*àtef*
his majesty.	He spake	his words	before	the father



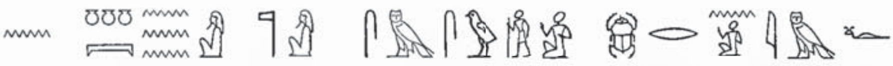
semsu	*àri*	*reth*	*suten*
of the firstborn gods,	the maker	of men,	the king



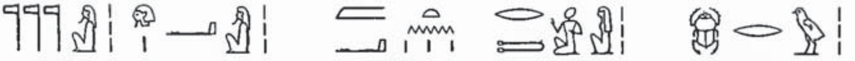
rekhit	*tcheṭ àn sen*	*kheft*	*ḥen - f*
of rational beings.	They said	before	his majesty,



meṭu-en-n	*er setem-en-set*	*tcheṭ àn*	*Rā*
Speak to us,	for we are listening to them.	Said	Rā

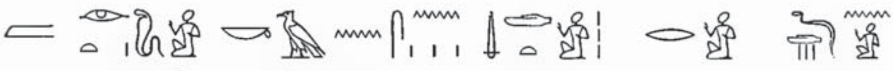


en	*Nu*	*neter*	*semsu*	*kheper-nà àm - f*
to	Nu,	O god	firstborn,	from whom I came into being,



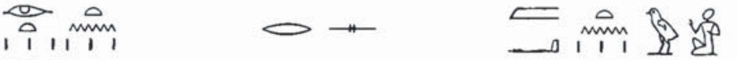
neteru ṭep-āu mā-ten reth kheperu

and ye ancestor gods, take ye heed to mankind who came into being



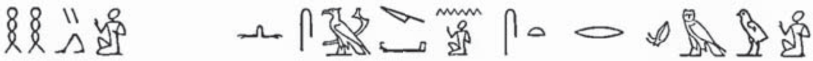
em maat-ȧ ka-en-sen meṭet er-ȧ tcheṭ-nȧ

from my eye, they speak words against me. Tell me



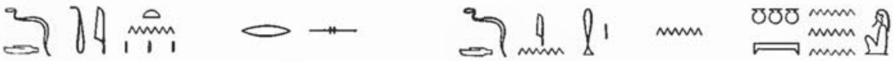
ȧrit-ten er-s mā-ten-uȧ

[what] ye would do about it, take ye heed to it for me,



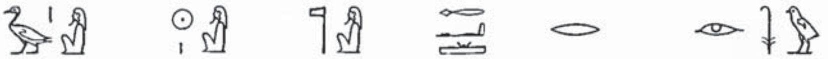
ḥeḥi-ȧ ȧn sma-nȧ set er setemu-ȧ

seek out a plan for me. Not will I slay them until I hear



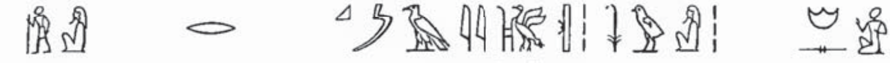
tcheṭ-thȧ ten er-s tcheṭ ȧn ḥen en Nu

what ye say concerning it. Said the majesty of Nu,



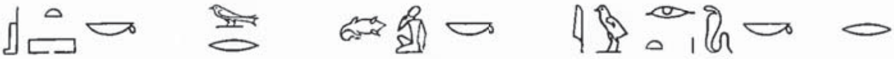
sa Rā neter āa er ȧri su

the son of Rā :— God greater than he who made him,



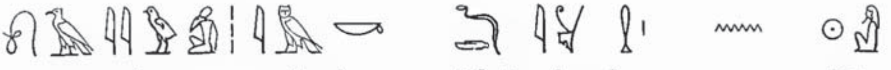
ur er qema[m]-iu-su ḥems

mightier than those who were created with him, sit on



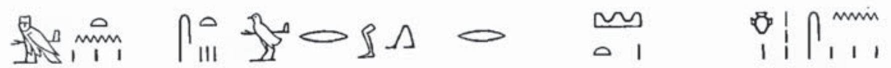
ȧst-k ur senṭ-k ȧu maat-k er

thy throne, great is the fear of thee, let thine Eye be upon



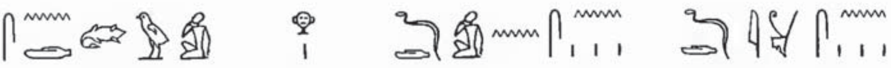
uaiu ȧm-k tcheṭ ȧn ḥen en Rā

those who blaspheme thee. Said the majesty of Rā:—



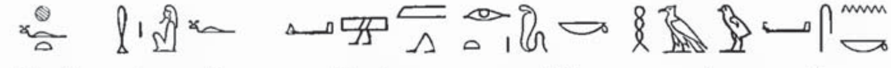
mā-ten set uār er set ȧb-sen

Behold ye them fleeing into the mountain, their hearts



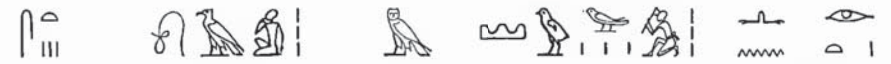
senṭu ḥer tcheṭ en sen tcheṭ ȧn-sen

are afraid because of what they have said. They said



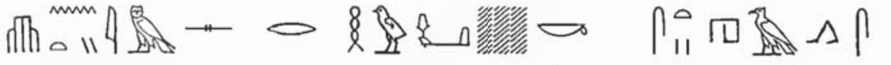
kheft ḥen-f ṭā shem maat-k ḥau-s-nek

before his majesty:— Let go forth thine Eye, let it destroy for thee



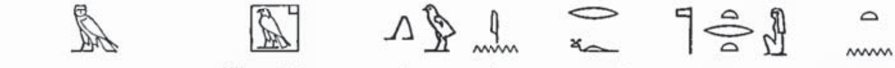
set uaiu em ṭu ȧn maat

those who blaspheme with wickedness, not an eye



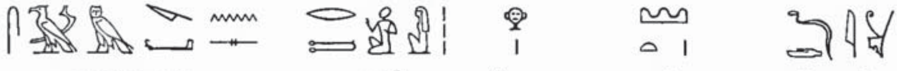
khenti ȧm-s er ḥu . . . . .-k set ha-s

can precede it in resistance . . . . . [when] it goeth down



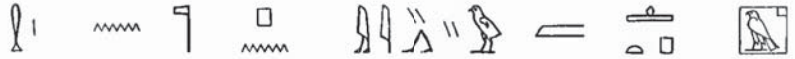
em Ḥet-Ḥert iu ȧn eref netert ten

in the form of Hathor. Went forth then goddess this,



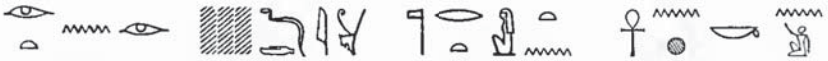
smam-nes reth ḥer set tcheṭ ȧn

she slew mankind on the mountain. Said



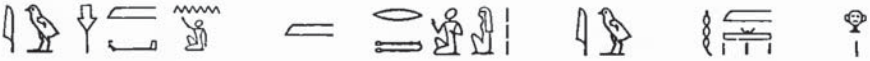
ḥen en neter pen iāi-ui em ḥetep Ḥet-Ḥert

the majesty of this god:— Come, come in peace, Hathor,



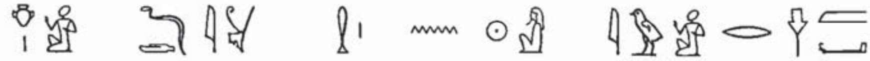
ȧrit en ȧrit tcheṭ ȧn netert ten ānkh-k nȧ

for the deed is done. Said this goddess:—Thou gavest me life,



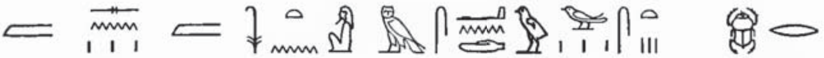
ȧu sekhem-nȧ em reth ȧu netchem ḥer

when I had power over mankind it was pleasing to



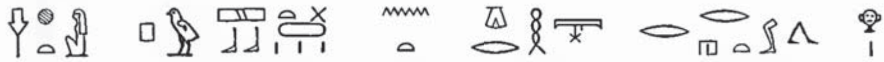
ȧb-ȧ tcheṭ ȧn ḥen en Rā ȧu-ȧ er sekhem

my heart. Said the majesty of Rā:— I will be master



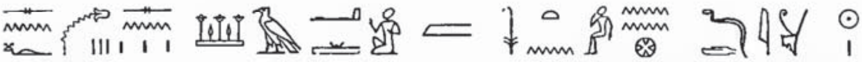
em sen em suten em sānṭu-set kheper

over them as king destroying them. It came to pass that



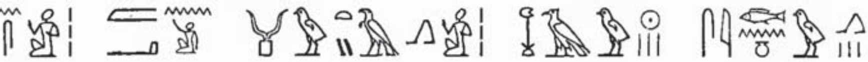
Sekhet pu shebebet ent ḳerḥ er rehet ḥer

Sekhet of the offerings of the night waded about in



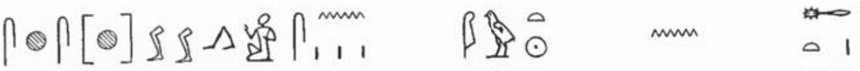
senf-sen shaā em Suten-ḥenen tcheṭ ȧn Rā

their blood beginning in Suten-ḥenen. Said Rā:—



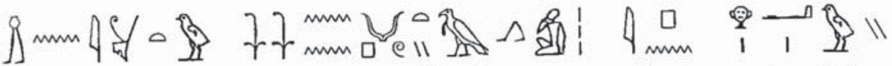
nȧs mā-nȧ ȧputi khau sȧnnu

Call, bring to me messengers swift [and] speedy,



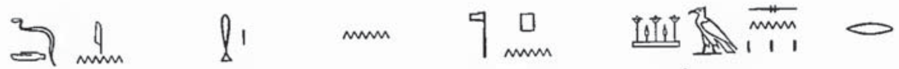
sekhsekh-sen shut en khat

they shall run [like] the wind of the body;



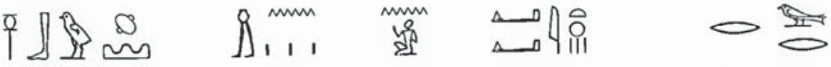
ȧn ȧn-tu enen ȧputi ȧpen ḥer āui

one brought messengers these straightway.



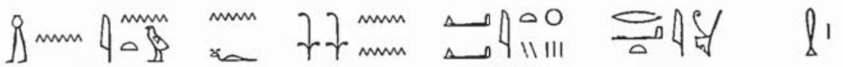
tcheṭ ȧn ḥen en neter pen sha-sen er

Said the majesty of this god:— Let them go to



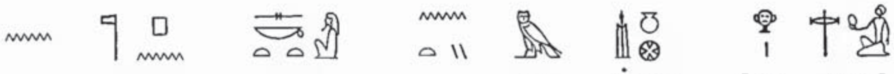
Ābu ȧn nȧ ṭāṭāāt er ur

Elephantine [and] bring me mandrakes in great number.



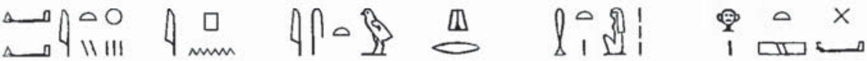
ȧn ȧn-tu nef enen ṭāṭāāt erṭāt ȧn ḥen

One brought to him these mandrakes, gave the majesty



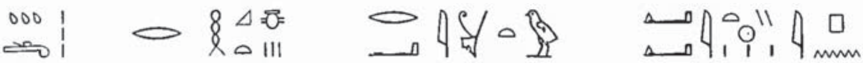
en neter pen Sektet enti em Ȧnnu ḥer netch

of this god to Sektet who is in Heliopolis to crush



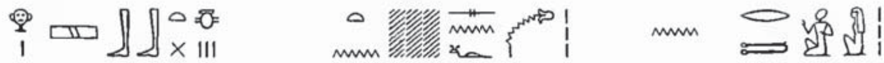
ṭāṭāāt ȧpen ȧstu kher ḥent ḥer tesh

mandrakes these. Behold, when the women were bruising



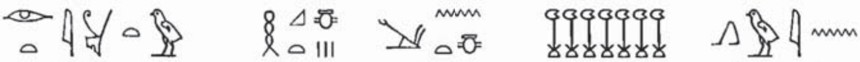
pertu er ḥeqt erṭā ȧn-tu ṭāṭāāt ȧpen

the barley for beer, and they were placing mandrakes these



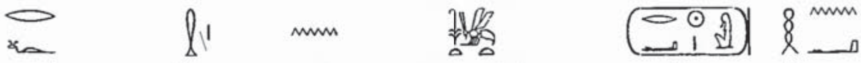
ḥer shebebet *ten senf* *en* *reth*

in the beer vessels, [they became] blood of men.



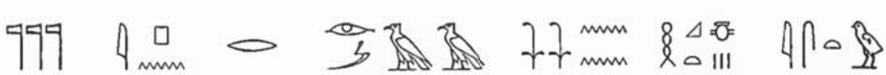
ȧrit-ȧn-tu *ḥeqt* *ārnet* 7000 *iu* *ȧn*

Having been made of beer vessels seven thousand, came



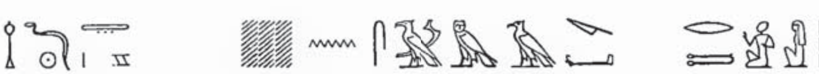
eref *ḥen* *en* *suten bȧt* *Rā* *ḥenā*

therefore the majesty of the king of the South and North Rā with



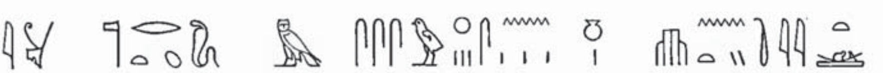
neteru *ȧpen* *er* *maa* *enen* *ḥeqet* *ȧstu*

gods these to see this beer. Behold,



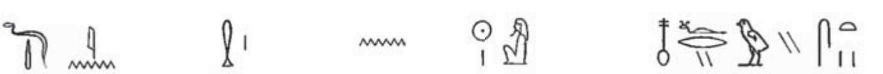
ḥetch ta *en* *smama* *reth*

when it was dawn, after had slaughtered men



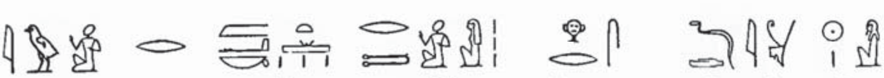
ȧn *netert* *em* *sesu-sen* *nu* *khentithit*

the goddess during their period of sailing up the river,



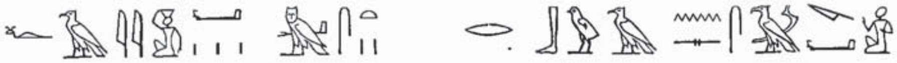
metch ȧn *ḥen* *en* *Rā* *neferui* *set*

said the majesty of Rā :— It is good, it is good.



ȧu-ȧ *er* *māket* *reth* *ḥer-s* *tcheṭ ȧn* *Rā*

I am for protecting mankind against her. Said Rā :—

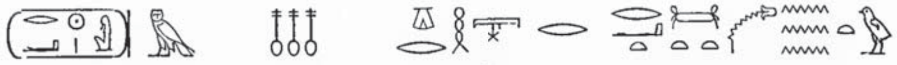


fai *mā set* *er* *bua* *nes sma*

Let them carry and bring them to the place she slew

reth *åm* *hep ån* *ḥen* *en* *suten båt*

mankind therein. Commanded the majesty of the king of the South and North

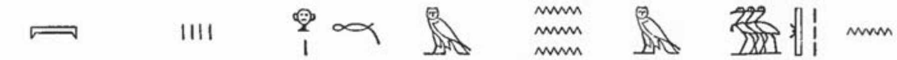


Rā *em* *neferu* *ḳerḥ* *er* *erṭāt satet-tu*

Rā during the beauties of the night to cause to be poured out

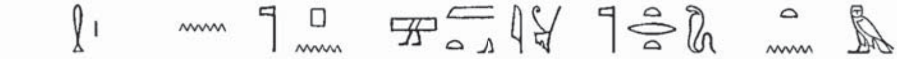
enen *setchert* *un ån* *aḥet* *enti*

these vases of sleep-causing beer, were the fields of



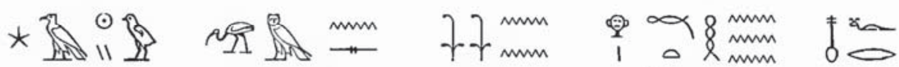
pet *ftu* *ḥer meḥ* *em* *mu* *em* *baiu* *en*

heaven the four filled with water by the Will of



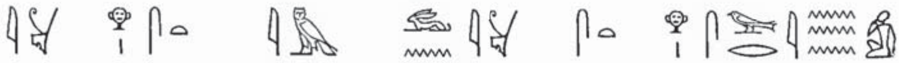
ḥen *en* *neter pen* *shemt ån* *netert* *ten* *em*

the majesty of this god. Came goddess (i.e., Sekhet) this in



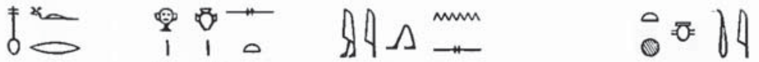
ṭuaiu *qem-nes* *enen* *ḥer meḥt* *nefer*

morning, found she this [heaven] flooded, joyful



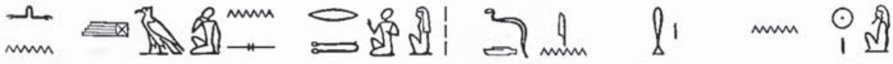
ån *ḥrå-set* *åm* *un ån* *set* *ḥer surå*

was her face because of it, was she drinking,



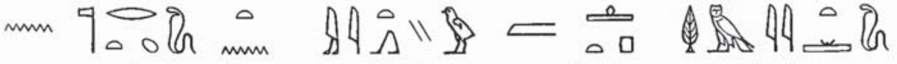
nefer ḥer ȧb-set i-nes tekh-thȧ

merry was her heart, she came to a condition of drunkenness,



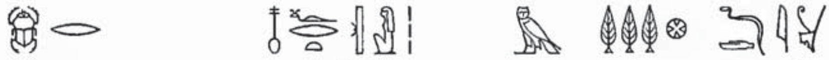
ȧn sa-nes reth tchet ȧn ḥen en Rā

not knew she mankind. Said the majesty of Rā



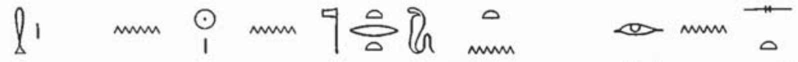
en netert ten it-ui em ḥetep Amit

to goddess this:— Come, come in peace, O Beautiful one;



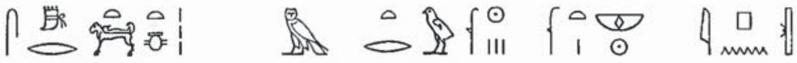
kheper nefert em Am tchet ȧn

and there became beautiful young women in Am. Said



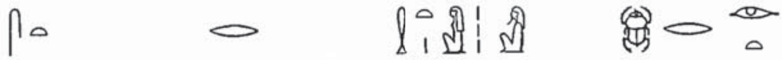
ḥen en Rā en netert ten ȧri en set

the majesty of Rā to goddess this:— Let be made for her



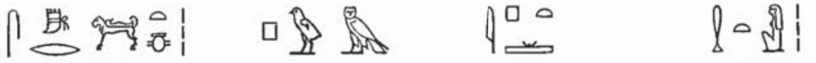
setchertet em trȧiu renpet ȧpen

vases of sleep-causing beer at seasons of the year these;



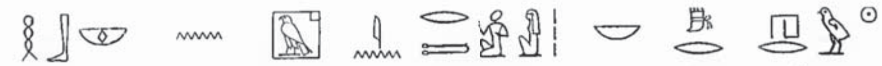
set er ḥent-ȧ kheper ȧrit

they [shall be] in proportion to my handmaidens. There were made



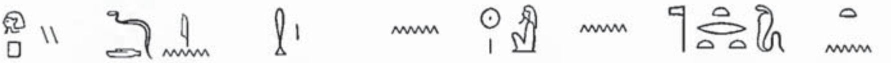
setchert pu em ȧpt ḥent

vases of sleep-causing beer according to the number of the handmaidens



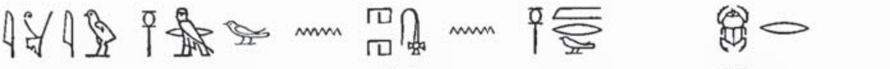
ḥeb en Ḥet-ḥert ȧn reth neb tcher hru

of the festival of Hathor by mankind all since the day



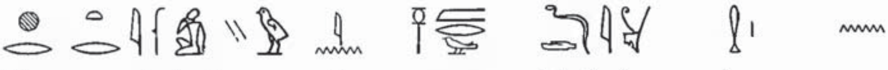
ṭepi tcheṭ ȧn ḥen en Rā en netert ten

first. Said the majesty of Rā to goddess this:—



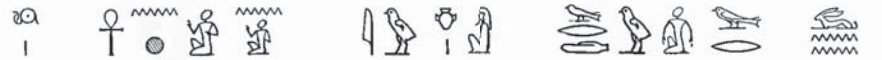
ȧn ȧu mer en heh en mer kheper

Behold a pain of fire of sickness hath come [on me],



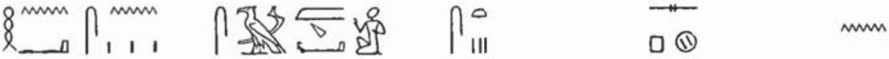
kher trȧ-ui ȧn mer tcheṭ ȧn ḥen en

whence, O whence is the pain? Said the majesty of



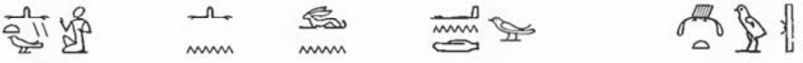
Rā ānkh-nȧ ȧu ȧb-ȧ urṭu ur unen

Rā:— I live, [but] my heart is very weary of being



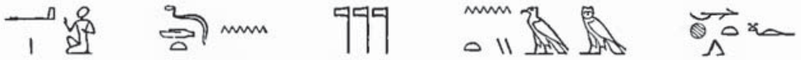
ḥenā-sen smam-ȧ set sep en

with them. I slew them, [but] there remain of



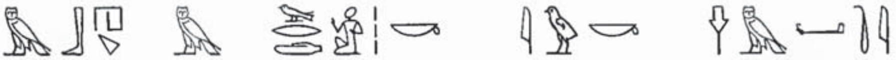
ȧti ȧn un ānṭ āutu

the worthless, for not was the destruction as wide-spreading



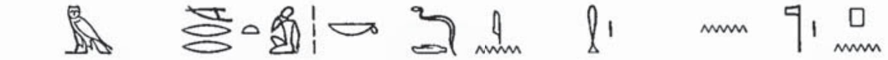
ā-ȧ tcheṭet en neteru enti am- khet-f

[as] my power. Said the gods who were in his train:—



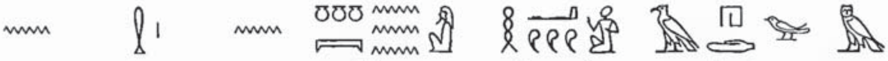
em beh *em* *urṭ-k* *àu-k* *sekhem-thà*

Tarry not in thy weariness [for] thou art mighty



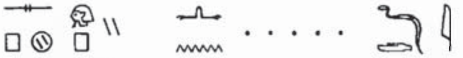
em *merret-k* *tcheṭ àn* *ḥen* *en* *neter pen*

according to thy will. Said the majesty of this god



en *ḥen* *en* *Nu* *ḥāu-à* *aheṭ* *em*

to the majesty of Nu:— My members are weak for



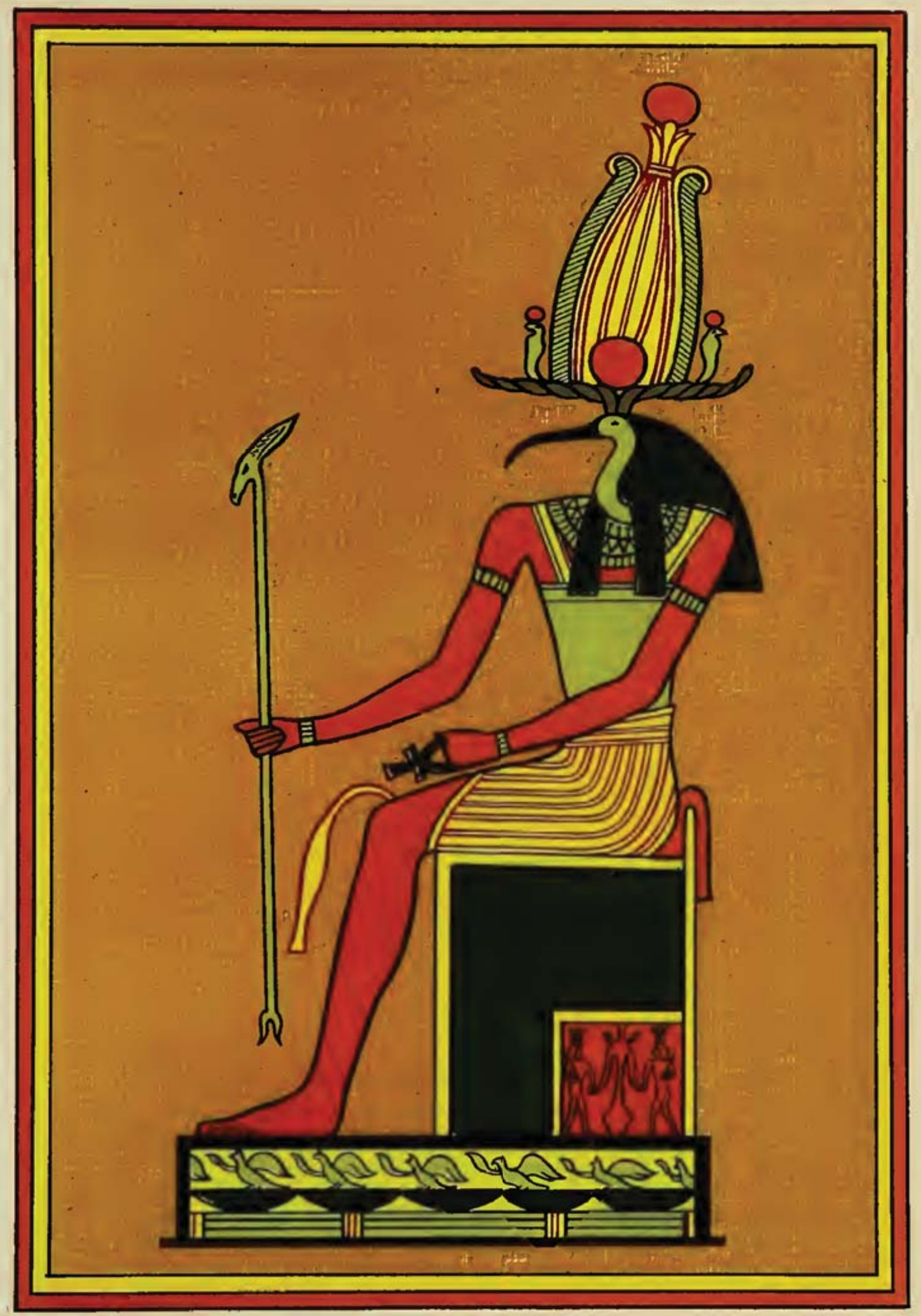
sep ṭepi *àn* . . . . .

the first time, not . . . . .

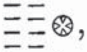
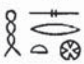
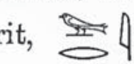
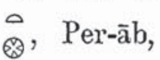
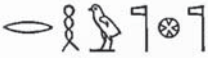
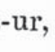
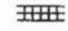
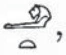
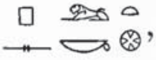
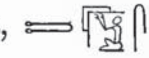
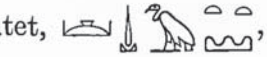
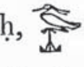
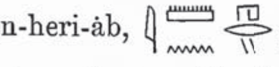
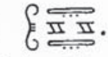
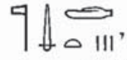
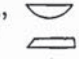
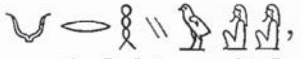
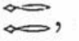
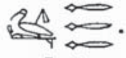
CHAPTER XIII

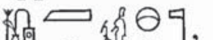
THOTH (TEḤUTI), AND MAĀT, , AND THE OTHER GODDESSES WHO WERE ASSOCIATED WITH HIM

THE hymns to Rā which are found in the *Book of the Dead* and in other funeral works of the ancient Egyptians state that the deities THOTH and MAĀT stand one on each side of the great god in his boat, and it is clear that they were believed to take some important part in directing its course; and as they were with Rā when he sprang up from the abyss of Nu their existence must have been coeval with his own. The conceptions which the Egyptians formed about Thoth and Maāt were both material and spiritual, and it is impossible to arrive at any conclusion concerning the functions of these deities without enumerating the facts about them which may be derived from the texts; speaking generally, Maāt may be considered the female counterpart of Thoth. In the Pyramid Texts, our earliest authorities, the functions of Thoth are of a purely funereal character, that is to say, he appears only as a god who is willing to be a helper of the deceased kings, and, although it is certain from many passages that his assistance was eagerly awaited by souls in the Underworld, there is no description given in these early works of the functions of the god. We must, then, rely upon the inscriptions of the later dynastic period for our knowledge of the powers of Thoth, and from these we learn that he was called, "Lord of "Khemennu, self-created, to whom none hath given birth, god "One;" "he who reckons in heaven, the counter of the stars, the "enumerator of the earth and of what is therein, and the measurer "of the earth;" and the "heart of Rā which cometh forth in the



THOTH, THE SCRIBE OF THE GODS.

"form of the god Thoth."[1] The chief shrine of the god was in Khemennu, , called Hermopolis by the Greeks, and Eshmûnên by the Arabs, but he also had shrines in Abydos, Ḥesert, , Urit, , Per-āb, , Reḥui, , Ta-ur, , Sep, , Ḥāt, , Pselket, , Talmis, , Åa-tcha-Mutet, , Bāḥ, , Åmen-heri-åb, , and Ta-kens, . As lord of these places he was "lord of divine words," , "lord of Maāt," , and "judge of the two combatant gods," , i.e., Horus and Set; and among other titles we find him called "Twice great," , and "Thrice great," . From this last were derived the epithets "Trismegistos" and "ter maximus" of the classical writers.

The above facts prove that Thoth was regarded as a god who was self-begotten and self-produced, that he was One, that he made the calculations concerning the stablishing of the heavens, and the stars, and the earth, that he was the heart of Rā, that he was the master of law both in its physical and moral conceptions, and that he had the knowledge of "divine speech." From many passages we see also that he was the inventor and god of all arts and sciences, that he was the "lord of books," and the "scribe of the gods," and "mighty in speech," i.e., his words took effect, and he was declared to be the author of many of the funeral works by which the deceased gained everlasting life. In the *Book of the Dead* he plays a part which gives him a unique position among the gods, and he is represented as the possessor of powers which are greater than those of Osiris, and even those of Rā himself. Before, however, we go on to consider these the forms in which he appears on the monuments must be mentioned. Usually he appears in human form with the head of an ibis, but he also appears as an ibis. When in human form he holds in his hands the sceptre and emblem of "life" common to all gods, but his headdress varies according to the particular form of the god in which the artist wishes to depict him. As the reckoner of times and seasons he has upon his head the crescent moon and disk, ; as a form of Shu and Ån-Ḥer he wears the headdresses of these gods; he is also seen wearing the *atef* crown, , and the united crowns of the South and the North.[1] In the *Book of the Dead* he appears as the "scribe of Maāt of the company of the gods," , and then he holds in his hands the writing reed and palette of the scribe; but his connection with Rā and his first rising in primeval times is indicated sometimes by the *utchat* , i.e., the power or strength, of the Eye of Rā, which he is seen carrying along in his hands.

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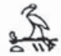
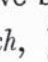
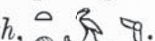
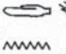
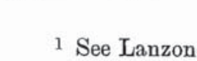
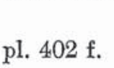
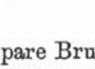
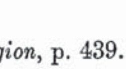
[1] See Lanzone, op. cit., p. 1265.

The name of the god Thoth, , Teḥuti, appears to be derived from the supposed oldest name of the ibis in Egypt, i.e., *teḥu*, to which the termination *ti* has been added, with the idea of indicating that the king called Teḥuti possessed the qualities and attributes of the ibis.[2] A derivation of the name which appears to have been favoured by the Egyptians connected it with the word *tekh*, , "a weight," and in passages quoted by Lanzone[3] we find the god actually called *tekh*, . Now the determinative for the word *tekh*, a weight, is the sign for "heart," , and we know that the bird called *tekh* or *tekhnu*, which closely resembled the ibis, the bird sacred to Thoth, was in the opinion of some ancient writers connected with the heart. Thus Horapollo says (i. 36) that when the Egyptians wish to write "heart" they draw an ibis, for this bird was dedicated to Hermes (i.e., Thoth) as the lord of all knowledge and understanding; and Ælian (*De Nat. Animal.* x. 29) supports his testimony by adding several curious and interesting facts about the habits of the ibis. Other names given to Thoth were,[4] Å, , and Sheps, lord of Khemennu, , Åsṭen, , Khenti, , Meḥi, ,

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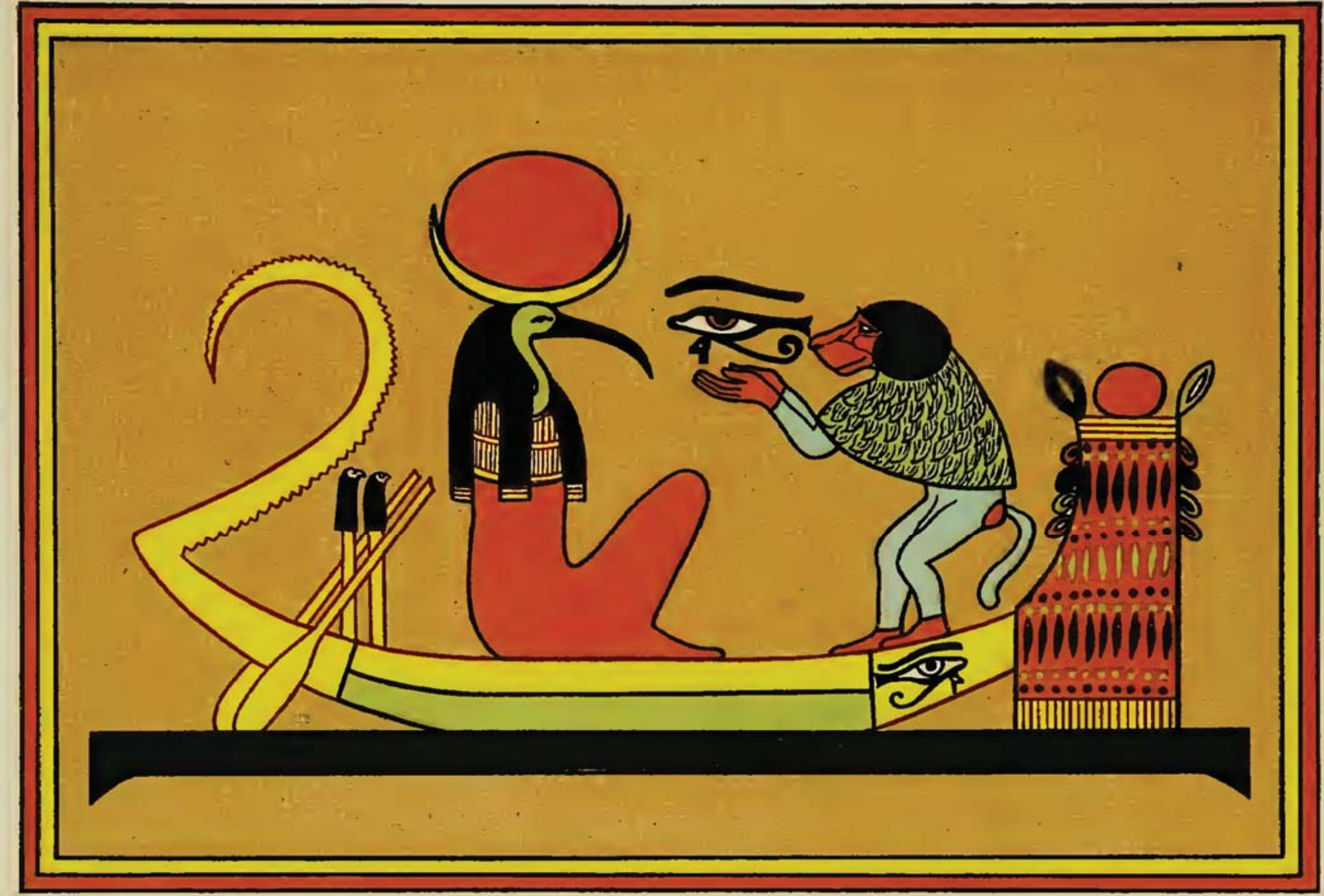
[1] See Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 402 f.

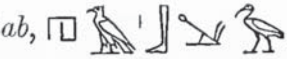
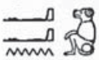
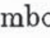
[2] Compare Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 439.

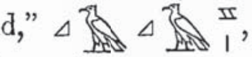
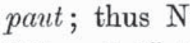
[3] Op. cit., p. 1265.

[4] See Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 441.



ÅĀḤ-TEḤUTI AND HIS ASSOCIATE THE APE.

etc. The commonest name given to Thoth is *hab*, , "ibis," a word which finds its equivalent in the Coptic ϩⲓⲃⲱⲓ, and one of his commonest forms is the dog-headed ape, , which occupies such a prominent position in the Judgment Scene in the *Book of the Dead*. Here we see him seated on the top of the support of the beam of the Balance in which the heart of the deceased is weighed, where his duty is to watch the pointer, and tell the ibis-headed Thoth when the beam is exactly level; according to Brugsch, this ape is a form of Thoth as the god of "equilibrium,"[1] and he appears to be a symbol of the equinoxes. The ape *āān* is also connected with the moon, for he is often seen with the lunar crescent and disk, , upon his head; but there is no doubt that he represented Thoth in his character of "lord of divine words and the scribe [of the gods]," for in a scene reproduced by Lanzone[2] we see him holding in one paw the god's palette and writing reeds, and these titles are given to him. Besides these forms of Thoth may be also mentioned those in which he possesses the attributes of other gods. Thus as a god of Mendes he has a human body with the head of a bull surmounted by a disk and uraeus; as Shu he is depicted in the form of a man wearing the crown of Shu; as Ȧn-ḥer he is depicted in the form of a man wearing the crown of this god; as Sheps he has the head of a hawk;[3] the ibis and the ape *āān* are his commonest forms.

The principal seat of the worship of Thoth was Khemennu, or Hermopolis, a city famous in Egyptian mythology as the place containing the "high ground," , on which Rā rested when he rose for the first time. Here he was regarded as the head of the company of the gods of the city, who were eight in number: Nu and Nut, Ḥeḥu and Ḥeḥut, Kek and Keket, and Ḳerḥ and Ḳerḥet (or Nau and Nait), i.e., four pairs of deities, each pair consisting of a male and a female deity. As to the importance of this company of the gods two eminent Egyptologists have held directly opposite opinions, for the late Dr. Brugsch thought that the four pairs of deities formed the oldest example of the *ogdoad*, while M. Maspero is of opinion that we must join the four pairs to Thoth, when the nine gods will form an independent *paut*, constructed partly on the model of the *paut* of Heliopolis. Dr. Brugsch thought that the eight gods of Hermopolis were primordial deities, but M. Maspero thinks that their character is entirely artificial, and that they are only "gods formed according to the laws of grammar, "four being masculine, and four feminine."[1] The latter argues that because the high priest of Hermopolis was called by a title which indicates that he served "him that is chief of five," the gods of the city were only five in number, i.e., Thoth and the four gods of the cardinal points; to the four gods of the cardinal points were then assigned female counterparts, hence the "Eight gods" . Thoth, according to M. Maspero, is to these what Tem or Rā-Tem was to the *paut* of Heliopolis, and the Hermopolitan *paut* was constructed after the model of the Heliopolitan *paut*; thus Nu and Nut = Shu and Tefnut, Ḥeḥu and Ḥeḥut = Seb and Nut, Kek and Keket = Osiris and Isis, and Ḳerḥ and Ḳerḥet (or, Nau and Nait) = Set and Nephthys. This view is, however, not supported by the evidence of the texts, which, in the writer's opinion, indicates, as has already been said, that the four pairs of gods of Hermopolis belong to a far older conception of the theogony than that of the company of gods of Heliopolis. Another point to be remembered is that Thoth was intimately associated with the ape, as were also the gods of his company; this takes us back to a very remote period when supernatural powers were assigned to the particular class of ape which was the companion of Thoth, and when the primitive Egyptian regarded the knowledge and cunning of the dog-headed ape as proofs of his divine nature. Between the period when this took place and the development of the Heliopolitan theogony, a very long interval of time must have passed; the two conceptions belong not only to different stages of civilization, but probably to two distinct races of men.

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[1] *Religion*, p. 443.

[2] Op. cit., pl. 404, No. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, pll. 402 ff.

One of the most interesting titles of Thoth is "Judge of the

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[1] *La Mythologie Égyptienne*, p. 257.

"Reḥeḥui, the pacifier of the gods, who dwelleth in Unnu "(Hermopolis), the great god in the Temple of Ȧbtiti."[1] A very early Egyptian tradition made a great fight to take place between the god of light and the god of darkness, and in later days Rā himself, or some form of him, generally one of the Horus gods, was identified with the god of light, and Set, in one form or other, was identified with the god of darkness. Thus the fights of Rā and Āpep, and Ḥeru-Beḥuṭet and Set, and Horus, son of Isis, and Set, are in reality only different versions of one and the same story, though belonging to different periods. In all these fights Thoth played a prominent part, for when the Eye of Rā, i.e., the Sun, was doing battle with Set, this evil power managed to cast clouds over it, and it was Thoth who swept them away, and "brought the Eye alive, and whole, and sound, and without defect "to its lord" (*Book of the Dead*, xvii. 71, ff.); he seems also to have performed the same office for Rā after his combat with Āpep. At the contest between Horus, son of Isis, who fought with Set in order to avenge the murder of his father Osiris, Thoth was present, and when Horus had cut off his mother's head because of her interference in the fight at the moment when victory was inclining to him, it was Thoth who gave her a cow's head in place of her own. In all these fights Thoth was the arbiter, and his duty was to prevent either god from gaining a decisive victory, and from destroying the other; in fact, he had to keep these hostile forces in exact equilibrium, the forces being light and darkness, or day and night, or good and evil, according to the date of the composition of the legends, and the objects which the scribes intended to secure by writing them down. In the group of titles of Thoth quoted in this paragraph we see that he is called "great god in Ḥet-Ȧbtit," or the Temple of Ȧbtit, which was one of the chief sanctuaries of the god, and was situated in Hermopolis.

The hieroglyphics with which the name "Ḥet Ȧbtit" are written prove that they mean the "House of the Net," i.e., the

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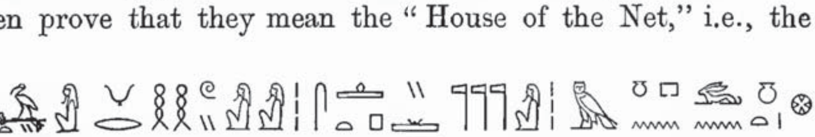
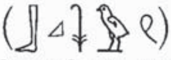
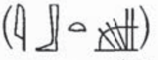


temple where a net was preserved and venerated, but the questions naturally arise, what was this net, and what was its signification? We know from the two versions of Chapter cliii. of the *Book of the Dead* that a net was supposed to exist in the Underworld, and that the deceased regarded it with horror and detestation. Every part of it, its poles, and ropes, and weights, and small cords, and hooks, had names which he was obliged to learn if he wished to escape from it, and would make use of it to catch food for himself, instead of being caught by "those who laid snares." Thus in a prayer we read, "Hail, thou 'god who lookest behind thee,' thou 'god who "hast gained the mastery over thine heart,' I go a-fishing with "the cordage of the 'uniter of the earth' (Horus?), and of him "that maketh a way through the earth. Hail, ye fishers who have "given birth to your own fathers, who lay snares with your nets, "and who go round about in the chambers of the waters, take ye "not me in the net wherewith ye ensnared the helpless fiends, and "rope me not in with the rope wherewith ye roped in the "abominable fiends of earth, which had a frame which reached "unto heaven, and weighted parts that rested upon the earth." From this passage it is clear that the Egyptians possessed a legend in which one power or the other in the mythological combats was armed with a net wherein he tried to ensnare his adversary. In Chapter cxxxiii. the deceased says, "Lift thyself up, O thou Rā, "who dwellest in thy divine shrine, draw thou into thyself the "winds, inhale the north wind, and swallow thou the *beqesu* "() of thy net () on the day wherein thou "breathest Maāt." The meaning of *beqesu* is not quite clear in this passage, because from its determinative, , we should naturally connect it with some organ of the human body, but it is evident from its context that Rā possessed a net, and we are certain from the former extract that it was one of the weapons which he employed in his war against the god and fiends of darkness.

An interesting parallel is afforded by the Assyrian and Babylonian versions[1] of the fight between the Sun-god Marduk and the monster Tiamat and her fiends, for it is said in them,

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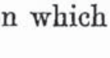
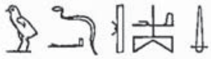
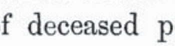
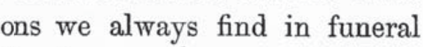
[1] See L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 71.

"He (i.e., Marduk) set the lightning in front of him, with burning "fire he filled his body. He made a net to enclose the inward "parts of Tiamat, the Four Winds he set so that nothing of her "might escape; the South wind, and the North wind, and the "East wind, and the West wind, he brought near to the net which "his father Anu had given him." It is interesting to note that in the passage from the cxxxiiird Chapter the winds are also mentioned in connexion with the net of Rā, and it is difficult not to arrive at the conclusion that the use to which the Sun-god put his net was the same in each legend; whether this be so, however, or not matters little for our purpose here. It is quite clear that in the Egyptian legend the god Thoth was supposed to have some connexion with the net of Rā, and it is equally clear that in his temple, which was called the Temple of the Net, the emblem of a net, or perhaps even a net itself, was venerated.

We are now able to sum up the attributes ascribed to Thoth, and to consider how he employed them in connection with the dead. In the first place, he was held to be both the heart and the tongue of Rā, that is to say, he was the reason and the mental powers of the god, and also the means by which their will was translated into speech; from one aspect he was speech itself, and in later times he may well have represented, as Dr. Birch said, the λόγος of Plato. In every legend in which Thoth takes a prominent part we see that it is he who speaks the word that results in the wishes of Rā being carried into effect, and it is evident that when he had once given the word of command that command could not fail to be carried out by one means or the other. He spoke the words which resulted in the creation of the heavens and the earth, and he taught Isis the words which enabled her to revivify the dead body of Osiris in such wise that Osiris could beget a child by her, and he gave her the formulae which brought back her son Horus to life after he had been stung to death by a scorpion. His knowledge and powers of calculation measured out the heavens, and planned the earth, and everything which is in them; his will and power kept the forces in heaven and in earth in equilibrium; it was his great skill in celestial mathematics which made proper use of the laws (*maāt* ) upon which the foundation and maintenance of the universe rested; it was he who directed the motions of the heavenly bodies and their times and seasons; and without his words the gods, whose existence depended upon them, could not have kept their place among the followers of Rā. He was the "scribe of the gods," and possessed almost unlimited power in the Underworld; the god Osiris was in many ways wholly dependent upon his good offices, and the ordinary mortal sought his words and help with great earnestness. In the Judgment Scene in the *Book of the Dead* it is Thoth who acts the part of the recording angel, and it is his decision which is accepted by the gods, who ratify the same and report it to Osiris; for when once Thoth said that the soul of the deceased had been weighed, and that it had been found true by trial in the Great Balance, and that there was no wickedness whatsoever in it, the gods could not fail to answer, "That which cometh forth from thy mouth is true, "and the deceased is holy and righteous"; and in consequence they straightway award him a place with Osiris in the Sekhet-Ḥetepu, or Elysian Fields. Thoth as the great god of words was rightly regarded as the judge of words, and the testing of the soul in the Balance in the Hall of Osiris is not described as the judging or "weighing of actions," but as the "weighing of words,"  *utchā meṭet.*[1]

To words uttered under certain conditions the greatest importance was attached by the Egyptians, and in fact the whole efficacy of prayer appears to have depended upon the manner and tone of voice in which the words were spoken. Thoth could teach a man not only words of power, but also the manner in which to utter them, and the faculty most coveted by the Egyptian was that which enabled him to pronounce the formulae and Chapters of the *Book of the Dead* in such a way that they could not fail to have the effect which the deceased wished them to have. After the names of deceased persons we always find in funeral papyri the words *maā kheru* , or , which mean "he whose word is *maā*," that is to say, he whose

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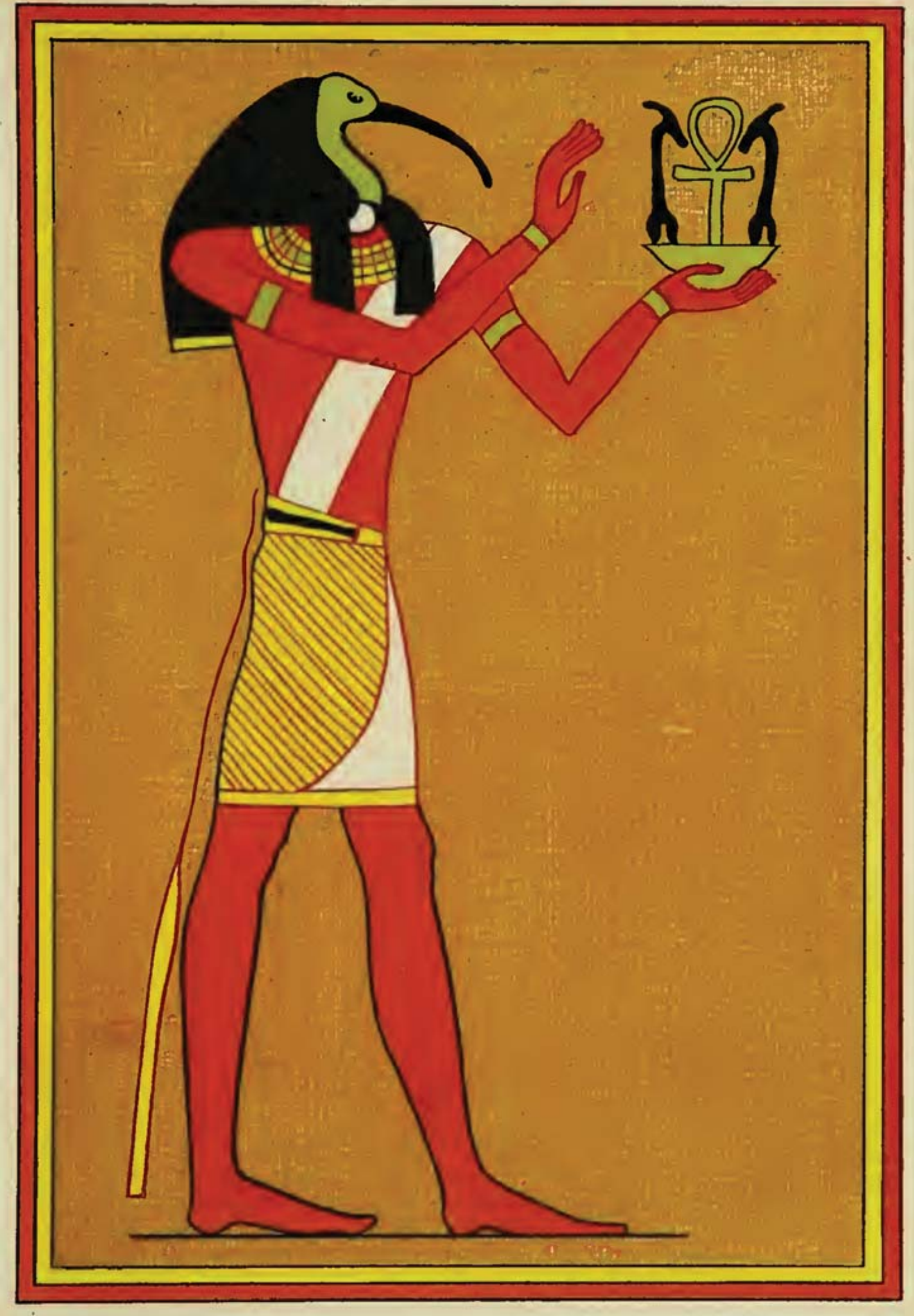
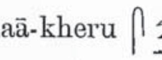
[1] See the passages enumerated in my *Vocabulary* to the *Book of the Dead*, p. 96.



THOTH, THE SCRIBE OF THE GODS.

words possess such power that whenever they are uttered by him the effects which he wished them to produce unfailingly come to pass. The words, however, here referred to are those which must be learned from Thoth, and without the knowledge of them, and of the proper manner in which they should be said the deceased could never make his way through the Underworld. The formulae of Thoth opened the secret pylons for him, and provided him with the necessary meat, and drink, and apparel, and repelled baleful fiends and evil spirits, and they gave him the power to know the secret or hidden names of the monsters of the Underworld, and to utter them in such a way that they became his friends and helped him on his journey, until at length he entered the Fields of Peace of Osiris or the Boat of Millions of Years. These are the words referred to in the title of Thoth, "lord of divine words," or "lord of the words of god." The whole of the *Book of the Dead* was assumed to be the composition of Thoth, and certain chapters of it he "wrote with his own fingers." In the late work called the "BOOK OF BREATHINGS" it is said, "Thoth, the most mighty god, "the lord of Khemennu, cometh to thee, and he writeth for thee "the 'BOOK OF BREATHINGS' with his own fingers. Thus thy "soul shall breathe for ever and ever, and thy form shall be "endowed with life upon earth, and thou shalt be made a god "along with the souls of the gods, and they shall be the heart "of Rā, and thy members shall be the members of the great god."[1] In later times the epithet *maā kheru* appears to have had a somewhat different meaning from that given to it above, and at times it may well be rendered "he whose word is right," and have reference to the words of Thoth in the Judgment, when he informs the gods that the heart of Osiris has been weighed with the strictest care on the part of himself and his ape, which sits on the support of the Balance, and that at the weighing the heart in one pan of the Scales was able to counterbalance exactly the feather of Right or the Law in the other, and that the case of the individual under examination was a "right" one.

From many passages in the *Book of the Dead* we learn of the services which Thoth performed for Osiris, and which he was to repeat for the benefit of every man who was acquitted in the Judgment. In the xviiith Chapter is a list of calamities which were averted from Osiris by Thoth, who gave words to the dead god and taught him to utter them with such effect that all the enemies of Osiris were vanquished. Thus he made him to triumph (semaā-kheru ) “in the presence of the great assessors “of every god and of every goddess; in the presence of the assessors “who are in Ȧnnu on the night of the battle and of the overthrow “of the Sebȧu-fiend in Ṭaṭtu; on the night of making to stand up “the double Ṭeṭ in Sekhem; on the night of the things of the “night in Sekhem, in Pe, and in Ṭepu; on the night of stablishing “Horus in the heritage of the things of his father in Rekhti; on “the night when Isis maketh lamentation at the side of her “brother Osiris in Ȧbṭu; on the night of the Haker festival when “a division is made between the dead and the spirits who are on “the path of the dead; on the night of the judgment of those who “are to be annihilated at the great [festival of] the ploughing and “the turning up of the earth in Ȧn-ruṭ-f in Re-stau; and on the “night of making Horus to triumph over his enemies.” In the clxxxiiird Chapter the deceased Hunefer says to Osiris, “I have “come unto thee, O son of Nut, Osiris, Prince of everlastingness; “I am in the following of the god Thoth, and I have rejoiced at “every thing which he hath done for thee. He hath brought unto “thee sweet (i.e., fresh) air for thy nose, and life and strength to “thy beautiful face, and the north wind which cometh forth from “Tem for thy nostrils, O lord of Ta-tchesert. He hath made the “god Shu to shine upon thy body; he hath illumined thy path “with rays of splendour; he hath destroyed for thee [all] the evil “defects which belong to thy members by the magical power of “the words of his utterance. He hath made the two Horus “brethren to be at peace for thee; he hath destroyed the storm-“wind and the hurricane; he hath made the Two Combatants to be “gracious unto thee, and the two lands to be at peace before thee; “he hath put away the wrath which was in their hearts, and each “hath become reconciled unto his brother.”

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[1] *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* (Translation), p. cxcvii.

In the xcivth Chapter the deceased addresses the "guardian of the book of Thoth," and says, "I am endowed with glory, I am "endowed with strength, I am filled with might, and I am "supplied with the books of Thoth, and I have brought them to "enable me to pass through the god Aker, who dwelleth in Set. "I have brought the palette and the ink-pot as being the objects "which are in the hands of Thoth; hidden is that which is in "them! Behold me in the character of a scribe! O Ḥeru-khuti, "thou didst give me the command, and I have copied what is "right and true, and I do bring it unto thee each day." In the vignette of the chapter we see the deceased seated with a palette and an ink-pot before him.

In the Pyramid Texts there is evidence[1] that Thoth was connected with the western sky just as Horus was identified with the eastern sky, and this idea is amplified in an interesting fashion in the clxxvth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, where we find that the deceased addresses Thoth both as Thoth and as Temu, the setting sun, or god of the west. He is disturbed about that which "hath happened to the divine children of Nut," for "they have done "battle, they have upheld strife, they have done evil, they have "created the fiends, they have made slaughter, they have caused "trouble; in truth, in all their doings the mighty have worked "against the weak . . . . And thou regardest not evil, nor art "thou provoked to anger when they bring their years to confusion "and throng in and push to disturb their months; for in all that "they have done unto thee they have worked iniquity in secret." The deceased adds, "I am thy writing palette, O Thoth, and I "have brought unto thee thine ink-jar," and as he declares that he is not one of those who work iniquity in secret places, at the same time he clearly dissociates himself from those who do. These words are followed by a very remarkable passage in which the deceased, addressing Thoth under the name of Temu, asks the god what the place is into which he has come, and he says that it is without water, that "it hath not air, it is depth unfathomable, it "is black as the blackest night, and men wander helplessly therein.

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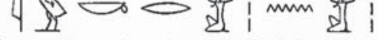
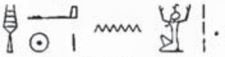
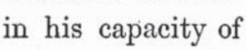
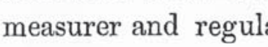
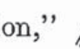
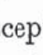
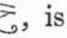
[1] Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 451.

"In it a man may not live in quietness of heart; nor may the "longings of love be satisfied therein." A little further on in the Chapter he asks the lord Tem, i.e., Thoth, "How long have I to live?" i.e., how long will my existence in this new world be? and the god replies, "Thou art for millions of millions of years, "a period of life of millions of years,"  . It is a remarkable fact that it is not Osiris, the lord of life everlasting, but Temu-Thoth who promises the deceased this coveted gift.

In the first part of the Chapter from which the above extracts have been made Thoth is, clearly, appealed to in his capacity of measurer and regulator of times and seasons, that is to say, as the Moon-god, who is commonly called ÅĀḤ-TEḤUTI, , or , "the great god, the lord of heaven, the king of the gods," and "the maker of eternity and creator of everlastingness." Under this form the god Thoth is depicted:—1. As a mummy, standing upon the symbol of *maāt* , and holding in his hands the emblems of "life," , "stability," , "sovereignty and dominion," , and the sceptre ; on his head is the crescent moon, , and by the side of his head he has the lock of hair, symbolic of youth, . 2. As a bearded, mummied human figure with the crescent moon on his head, and the lock of hair symbolic of youth. The head, however, has two faces, which are intended, presumably, to represent the periods of the waxing and the waning of the moon.[1] In some scenes we have Åāḥ-Teḥuti represented in the form of a disk resting between the horns of the crescent moon, and placed upon a pedestal in a boat similar to that in which Rā is usually seen; sometimes an *utchat*, , is placed over each end of the boat. In one interesting scene the god Åāḥ-ḥetep is represented with the head of an ibis surmounted by the lunar disk and crescent seated in a boat, and a dog-headed ape stands before him and presents an *utchat;* it is noteworthy that the curved end of the boat is notched like the notched palm branch which symbolizes "years," . In the narrowest sense

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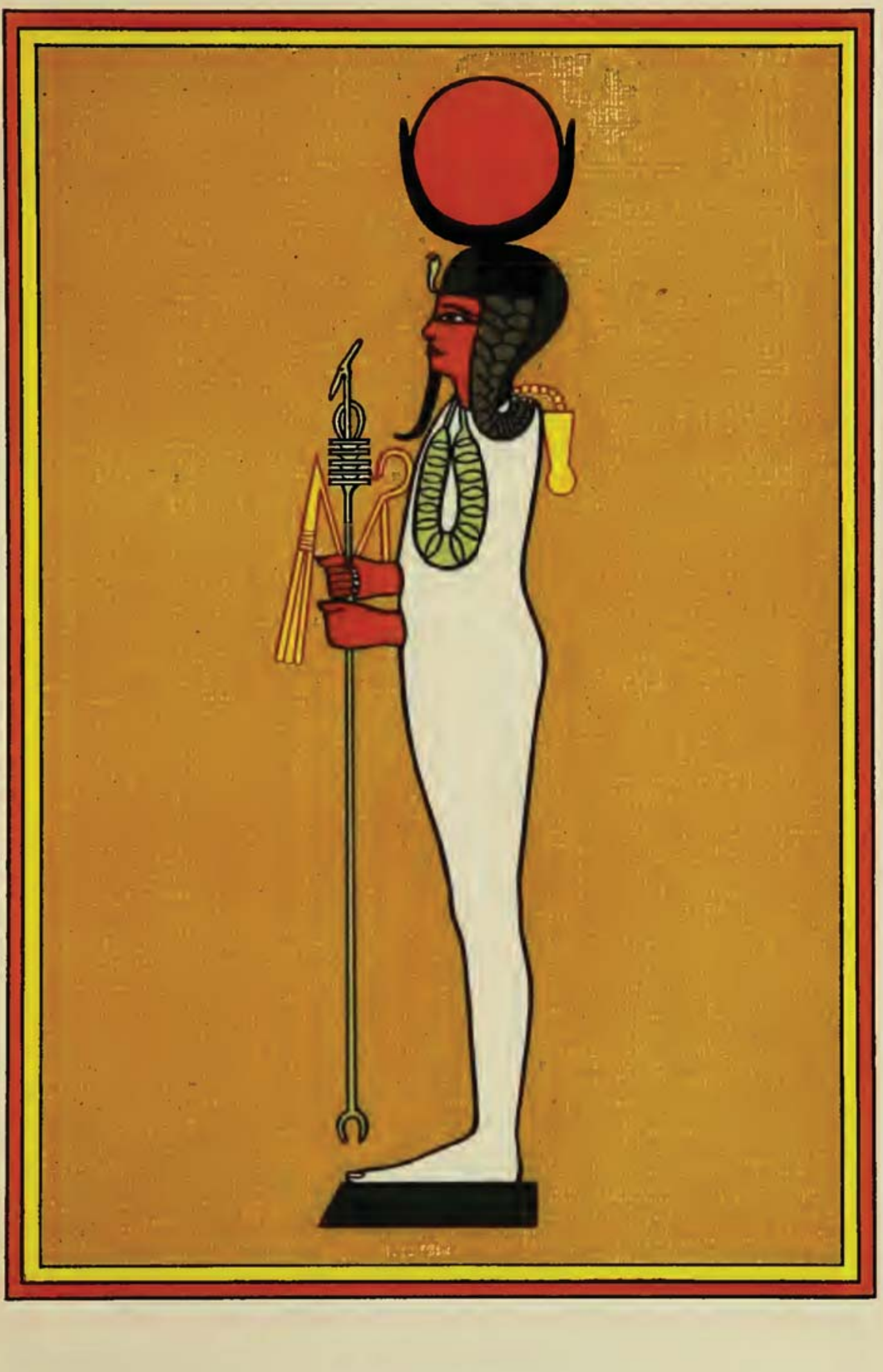
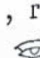
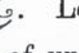
[1] For the figures see Lanzone, op. cit., pll. 36 ff.



THE MOON GOD ÅĀH.

Āāḥ-Teḥuti symbolizes the new moon, and this is only natural, for, as is well known, all calculations made by the moon in the East from time immemorial have been based upon the first appearance of the new moon in the sky; but, generally speaking, Thoth as the Moon-god represents the moon during the whole month. On the other hand, the *Utchat* of Thoth, , indicates the full moon, just as the *Utchat* of Rā stands for the mid-day sun; this fact is proved by an interesting scene reproduced by Signor Lanzone[1] from Brugsch, *Monuments* (Berlin, 1857). Here we see the god Thoth, ibis-headed, standing by the side of a lotus pillar which supports heaven, , resting on heaven is a crescent, and in it is the *Utchat* of Thoth, . Leading up to the top of the pillar is a flight of fourteen steps, of unequal length, which are intended to represent the first fourteen days of the month, and at the foot of it stand fourteen gods,[2] the first of these being Tem, who has his right foot resting on the first step, which is the shortest of the whole flight. The gods who stand behind him are:—Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Horus, Isis, Nephthys, Ḥeru-em-ḥet-Āa, Ȧmseth, Ḥāp, Ṭua-mut-f, Qebḥ-sennuf, and a god without a name.

In a more extended sense the *Utchat* of Thoth represented the left eye of Rā, or the winter half of the year, when the heat of the sun was not so strong, nor its light so great, and when darkness remained in the skies for a longer period. This *Utchat* of Thoth, or of Thoth-Horus, as it should more correctly be called, is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts,[3] where it is called the "Black Eye of Horus"; thus of King Unȧs it is said, "Thou hast seized "the two Eyes of Horus, the White Eye and the Black Eye, "and thou hast carried them off and set them in front of thee and "they give light to thy face."[4] The White Eye here referred to

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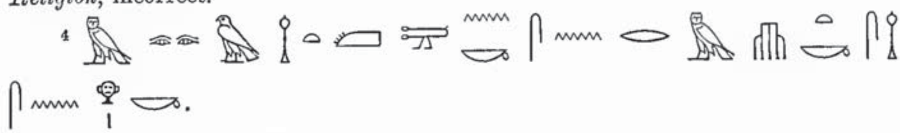
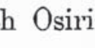
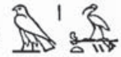
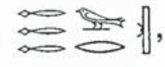
[1] Op. cit., pl. 39.

[2] The head and name of the fourth god are wanting.

[3] Unȧs, l. 37; the reference given by Brugsch is, like many others in his *Religion*, incorrect.

[4] 

is, of course, the sun. Thus we see that Thoth not only brought the Eye of Rā to the god, as we have already said, but that he also established the Eye of the Moon-god, who was indeed only a form of himself, and that Thoth was also in certain aspects identified with Osiris, , and with Horus, , and with Tem, and therefore with Kheperȧ. One other attribute of Thoth remains to be noticed, i.e., that which is made known to us by the xcvth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, wherein the deceased says, "I am he who sendeth forth terror into the powers of rain "and thunder, ... I have made to flourish my knife along with "the knife which is in the hand of Thoth in the powers of rain and "thunder." The short composition in which this passage occurs is called the "Chapter of being nigh unto Thoth," and in the vignette the deceased is seen standing before Thoth with both hands raised in adoration.

From the above facts it is quite clear that the Greeks were generally correct in the statements which they made about the wisdom and learning of Thoth, whom they identified with their own Hermes. They described him as the inventor of astronomy and astrology, the science of numbers and mathematics, geometry and land surveying, medicine and botany; he was the first to found a system of theology, and to organize a settled government in the country; he established the worship of the gods, and made rules concerning the times and nature of their sacrifices; he composed the hymns and prayers which men addressed to them, and drew up liturgical works; he invented figures, and the letters of the alphabet, and the arts of reading, writing, and oratory in all its branches; and he was the author of every work on every branch of knowledge, both human and divine. According to Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata*, vi.) the "Books of Thoth"[1] were forty-two in number, and they were divided into six classes; books i.-x. dealt with the laws, and the gods, and the education of the priests; books xi.-xx. treated of the services of the gods, i.e., sacrifices, offerings, forms of worship, etc.; books xxi.-xxx. related to the history of the world, geography, and hieroglyphics; books xxxi.-xxxiv. formed treatises on astronomy and astrology; books xxxv. and xxxvi. contained a collection of religious compositions; and books xxxvii.-xlii. were devoted to medicine. An attempt was made some years ago to include the *Book of the Dead* among the "Books of Thoth," but it is now quite certain that, although Thoth was declared to have written some of its Chapters, it must be regarded as an entirely separate work and as one which enjoyed a much greater reputation than they. How Thoth was able to perform all the various duties which were assigned to him by the ancients it is difficult to understand, until we remember that according to the Egyptian texts he was the heart, i.e., the mind, and reason, and understanding of the god Rā. The title given to him in some inscriptions, , "three times great, great," from which the Greeks derived their appellation of the god ὁ τρισμέγιστος, or "ter maximus," has not yet been satisfactorily explained, and at present the exact meaning which the Egyptians assigned to it is unknown.[1] It is, however, quite clear that Thoth held in their minds a position which was quite different from that of any other god, and that the attributes which they ascribed to him were unlike the greater number of those of any member of their companies of the gods. The character of Thoth is a lofty and a beautiful conception, and is, perhaps, the highest idea of deity ever fashioned in the Egyptian mind, which, as we have already seen, was somewhat prone to dwell on the material side of divine matters. Thoth, however, as the personification of the mind of God, and as the all-pervading, and governing, and directing power of heaven and of earth, forms a feature of the Egyptian religion which is as sublime as the belief in the resurrection of the dead in a spiritual body, and as the doctrine of everlasting life.

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[1] On the Books of Thoth, see some interesting remarks by Brugsch in *Religion und Mythologie*, pp. 448 ff.; this distinguished Egyptologist thought he had discovered the original hieroglyphic titles of many of these inscribed on the walls of the temple of Edfû.

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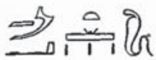
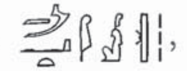
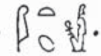
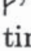
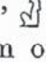
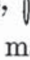
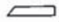
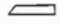
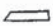
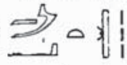
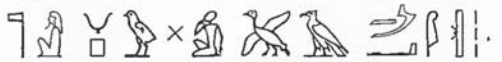
[1] A number of valuable facts have been collected on the subject generally by Pietschmann, in his *Hermes Trismégistus, nach aegyptischen, griechischen und orientalischen Ueberliefungen*, 1875.

THE GODDESS MAĀ, OR MAĀT, , OR , OR .

Closely connected with Thoth, so closely in fact that she may be regarded as the feminine counterpart of the god, is the goddess Maāt, who stood with Thoth in the boat of Rā when the Sun-god rose above the waters of the primeval abyss of Nu for the first time. The type and symbol of this goddess is the ostrich feather, , which is always seen fastened to her head-dress, and is sometimes seen in her hand. She is represented in the form of a woman seated, or standing, , and she holds the sceptre, , in one hand, and , the emblem of "life," in the other; in many pictures of her she is provided with a pair of wings which are attached one to each arm, and in a few cases she has the body of a woman with an ostrich feather for a head.

The reason for the association of the ostrich feather with Maāt is unknown, as is also the primitive conception which underlies the name, but it is certainly very ancient, and probably dates from predynastic times. The hieroglyphic , which also has the phonetic value of Maāt, is described by some as a "cubit," i.e., the measure of a cubit, and by others as a "flute," which would, presumably, be made of a reed. We see, however, that the god Ptaḥ usually stands upon a pedestal made in the shape of , and that figures of the god Osiris stand upon pedestals of similar form, and as we have no reason for supposing that the figures of these two gods were placed upon flutes it is tolerably certain that  must mean something else besides flute. We know that Ptaḥ of Memphis was the god of artificers in general and of workers in metal and of sculptors in particular; it is far more likely that the form of his pedestal, , was intended to represent some tool which was used by sculptors and carvers, e.g., a chisel, or the identification of the object as a "cubit" may be correct if it means that it was some instrument used for measuring purposes. About the meaning of the word *maāt* , there is, fortunately, no difficulty, for from many passages in texts of all periods we learn that it indicated primarily "that which is straight," and it was probably the name which was given to the instrument by which the work of the handicraftsman of every kind was kept straight; as far as we can see the same ideas which were attached to the Greek word κανών (which first of all seems to have meant any *straight rod* used to keep things straight, then a *rule* used by masons, and finally, metaphorically, a rule, or law, or canon, by which the lives of men and their actions were kept straight and governed) belong to the Egyptian word *maāt*. The Egyptians used the word in a physical and a moral sense, and thus it came to mean "right, true, truth, real, genuine, upright, righteous, just, steadfast, unalterable," etc.; *khesbet maāt* is "real lapis-lazuli" as opposed to blue paste; *shes maāt* means "ceaselessly and regularly," *em un maāt* indicates that a thing is really so, the man who is good, and honest is *maāt*, the truth (*maāt*) is great and mighty, and "it hath never been broken since the time of Osiris"; finally, the exact equivalent of the English words "God will judge the right" is found in the Egyptian *pa neter ȧpu pa maāt*, .

The goddess Maāt was, then, the personification of physical and moral law, and order and truth. In connexion with the Sun-god Rā she indicated the regularity with which he rose and set in the sky, and the course which he followed daily from east to west. Thus in a hymn to Rā we read, "The land of Manu (i.e., the West) "receiveth thee with satisfaction, and the goddess Maāt embraceth "thee both at morn and at eve;" "the god Thoth and the goddess "Maāt have written down thy daily course for thee every day;" "may I see Horus acting as steersman [in the boat of Rā] with "Thoth and Maāt, one on each side of him."[1] In another hymn Qenna says, "I have come to thee, O Lord of the gods, Temu-"Ḥeru-khuti, whom Maāt directeth;" Ȧmen-Rā is said to "rest upon Maāt," i.e., to subsist by Maāt; Rā is declared to "live by Maāt;" Osiris "carries along the earth in his train by Maāt in his name of Seker." In her capacity of regulator of the path of the

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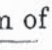
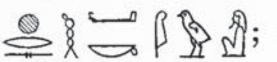
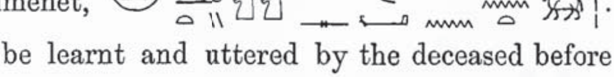
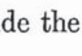
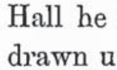
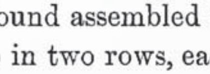
[1] *Papyrus of Ani*, sheet 1.

Sun-god Maāt is said to be the "daughter of Rā," and the "eye of Rā," and "lady of heaven, queen of the earth, and mistress of the Underworld," and she was, of course, "the lady of the gods and goddesses." As a moral power Maāt was the greatest of the goddesses, and in her dual form of Maāti, , i.e., the Maāt goddess of the South and the North, she was the lady of the Judgment Hall, and she became the personification of justice, who awarded to every man his due; judging by some vignettes which represent the weighing of the heart she took at times the form of the Balance itself. The hall in which Maāt sat in double form to hear the "confession" of the dead is often depicted in connection with the cxxvth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, and we see that it was spacious, and that the cornice thereof was formed of uraei and of feathers symbolic of Maāt. In the centre of it is a god with both hands stretched out over a lake, and at each end of the hall is seated an ape before a pair of scales.

Anubis was the guardian of the door at the end by which the deceased entered, and which was called Khersek-Shu, ; one leaf of the door was called Neb-Maāt-ḥeri-ṭep-reṭui-f, , and the other leaf Neb-peḥti-thesu-menmenet, . These names had to be learnt and uttered by the deceased before he was allowed to enter the Hall of the Maāti goddesses,   (or, ). When he arrived inside the Hall he found assembled there the Forty-two Assessors or Judges drawn up in two rows, each of which contained twenty-one Judges, one on each side of the length of the Hall. Before each of these he was obliged to make a solemn declaration that he had not committed a certain sin; these forty-two denials are commonly known as the "Negative Confession."[1] The names of the Assessors

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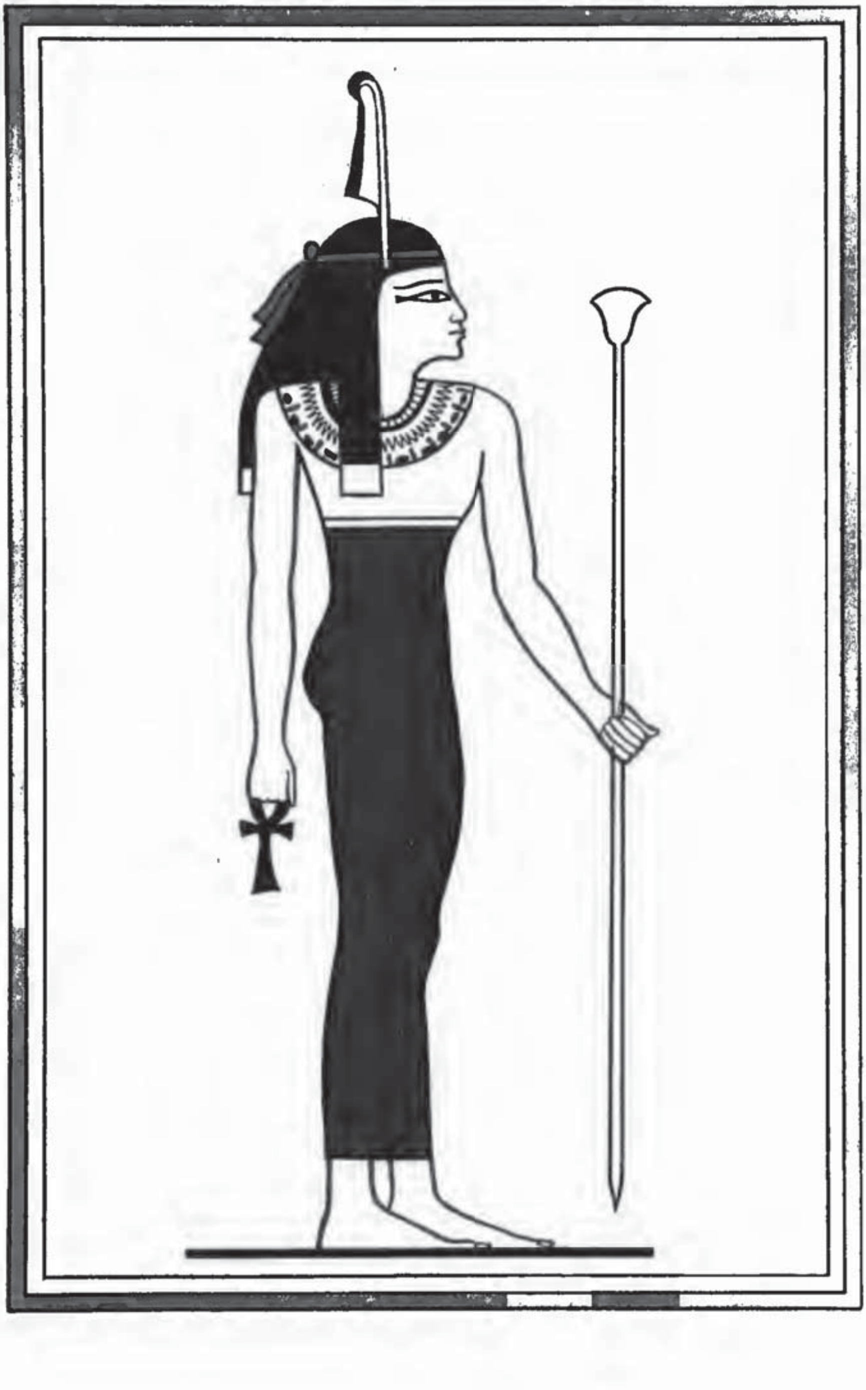
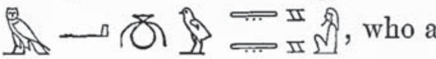
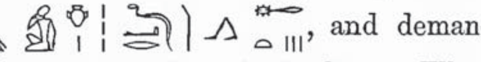
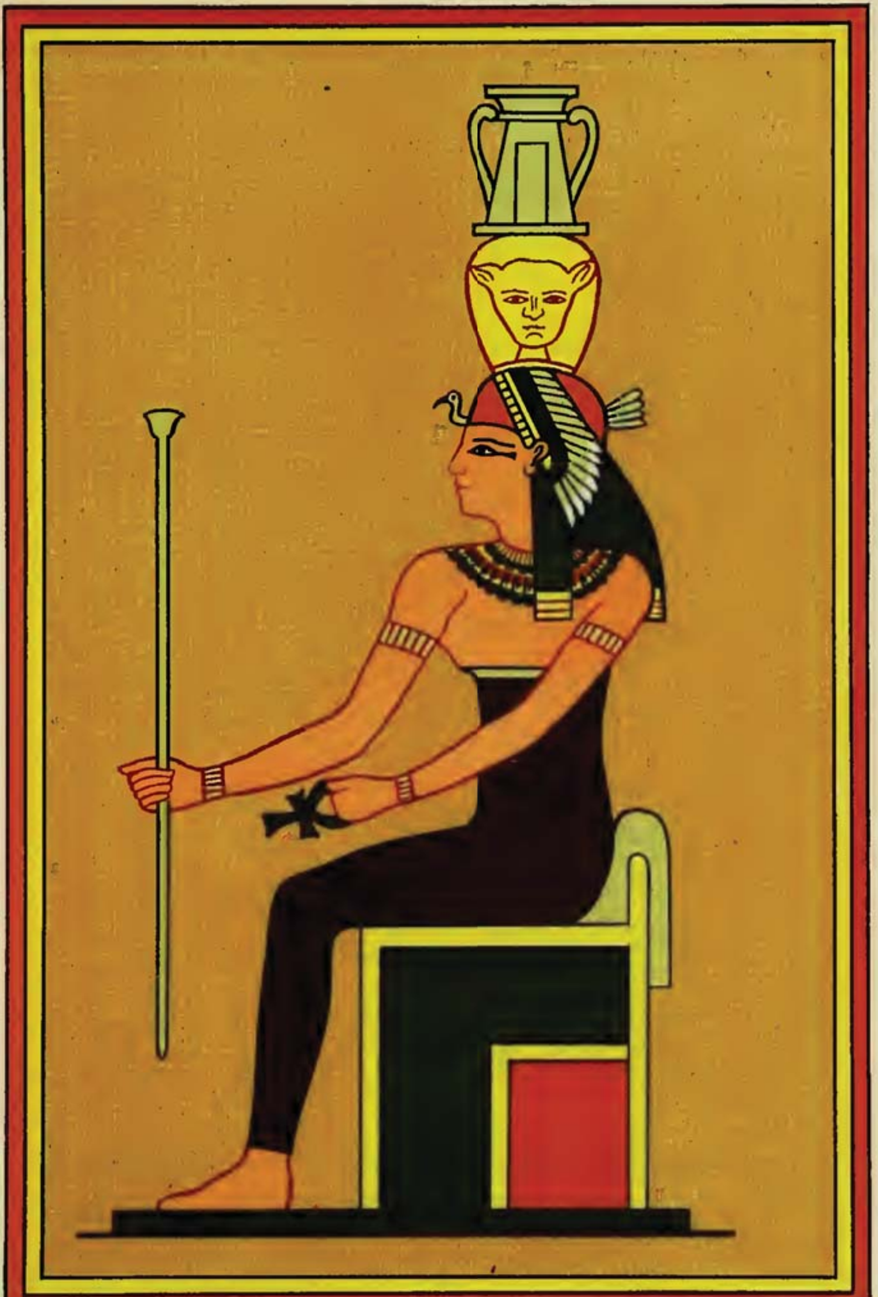
[1] An English translation will be found in my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, p. 193 ff.



THE GODDESS MAĀT.

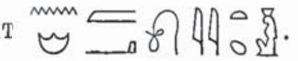
Even when the deceased had satisfied the Forty-two Assessors he could not pass out of the Hall of Maāti unless he knew the magical names of the various parts of the door which opened into the regions of the blessed. In the address which he makes to the gods collectively, and which is usually considered to have been made after the Negative Confession, he summarizes his good deeds, and declares to the god Osiris, whom he calls the "lord of the *Atef* crown," that he has done *Maāt*, and purified himself with *Maāt*, and that none of his members lack *Maāt*. He tells how he has been to the "Field of the Grasshoppers," and how he has bathed in the pool wherein the sailors of Rā bathe, and describes all the things which he has done, including the finding of a sceptre of flint in the "furrow of Maāt." Finally, having satisfied all the various parts of the door by declaring to them their magical names, he comes to the god MĀU-TAUI, , who acts as guardian of the Hall of Maāti, and who refuses to allow him to pass unless he tells his name. The deceased says, "Thy name is Sa-âbu-tchār-khat," , and demands to be admitted, but the god is not satisfied, and asks him, "Who is the god that dwelleth in his hour?" In reply the deceased utters the name MĀU-TAUI, whereupon he is at once asked by the god, "And who is this?" and in answer the deceased says, "Māu-taui is Thoth." On this Thoth asks the reason of his coming to the Hall, and when the deceased has told him that he has come because he wished his name to be written down by him, Thoth questions him further as to the fitness of his condition and as to the identity of the being "whose heaven is of fire, whose walls are living uraei, "and the floor of whose house is a stream of water." In answer to these questions he says that he is "purified from evil things," and that the being whose house is described is Osiris, whereupon Thoth calls upon him to enter, saying that his name shall be "mentioned" or recorded.

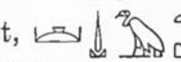
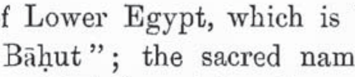
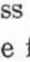
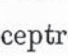
Thus we see how closely the attributes of Maāt merge into those of Thoth, and how the fate of the deceased depends ultimately upon these deities. It was not, however, sufficient for him to pass the Assessors, for beyond them stood Thoth with his final, search-



THE GODDESS NEKHEMĀUAIT.

ing questions; Thoth spake the word which caused the universe to come into being, and it was he who had the power to utter the name of the deceased in such a way that his new spiritual body would straightway come into being in the realm of Osiris. Thoth in one respect was greater than Rā, and in another he was greater than Osiris, but both from a physical and a moral point of view he was connected inseparably with the Maāt, which was the highest conception of physical and moral law and order known to the Egyptians.

THE GODDESS NEḤEMĀUAIT .

Now besides Maāt or the Maāti goddesses we find that there were other goddesses who were associated with Thoth in different parts of Egypt, and among these is NEḤEMĀUAIT, who is described as the dweller in Ȧat-tchamutet, , and as the "holy and mighty lady in Khemennu" (Hermopolis),[1] and the "mistress of Per-Khemennu," and the "lady of Bāḥut," , and "the dweller in Dendera," . Thus we see that she was the goddess of the great temple in the city of Thoth, i.e., Hermopolis, and that she had a shrine in Dendera, and in the metropolis of the fifteenth nome of Lower Egypt, which is here mentioned under its civil name "Bāḥut"; the sacred name of the city was Per-Teḥuti-ȧp-reḥuḥ, , i.e., "Temple of Thoth, the judge between the *Reḥui* (Horus and Set)." The texts described her as the "daughter of Rā," and the manner in which she is depicted proves that she was regarded as a form of the goddess Hathor. In the examples given by Signor Lanzone[2] she has the form of a woman, and she wears upon her head either the sistrum, , or a disk resting between a pair of horns; in one picture a papyrus sceptre, , rests on the palm of her right hand, and a figure of Maāt, , on that of her left. A very interesting

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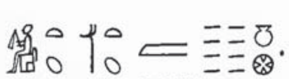
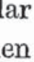
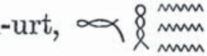
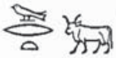
[1] .

[2] *Dizionario*, pl. 174; and see Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 471.

sketch also given by Signor Lanzone shows that her emblem was a Hathor-headed standard, on the top of which was a sistrum; on each side of the sistrum is a uraeus with a disk on its head, , and from each side of the face of the goddess hang two similar uraei. The standard is held up in a vertical position by two men who stand one on each side. Plutarch, as Brugsch has noted, says that Typhon was driven away by a sistrum, which seems to indicate that the rattling of the wires produced a sound that had a terrifying effect upon that evil beast; ladies of high rank and priestesses are often depicted with sistra in their hands, and though this fact is usually explained by assuming that those who hold sistra assisted in the musical parts of the services in the temples, it is very probable that they carried them both as amulets and as musical instruments. Dr. Brugsch quotes two passages from texts in which a royal personage declares that demoniacal powers are kept away from him by means of the sistrum which he holds in his hand. Neḥemāuait is not mentioned in the *Book of the Dead*, and it seems that she is not an ancient deity; she is probably a comparatively modern form of some well known older goddess.

From the texts of the late dynastic period we find that she was identified with MEḤ-URT[1] and with the goddess whose name is variously read Sefekh-āābu and Sesheta. Meḥ-urt,  , is mentioned but rarely in the *Book of the Dead* (xvii. 76, 79; lxxi. 13; cxxiv. 17), but the passage in the xviith Chapter tells us exactly who she is. The deceased says there, "I behold Rā who was born yesterday from the buttocks of "the goddess Meḥ-urt," and as answer to the question, "What "then is this?" we have the words, "It is the watery abyss of "heaven, or (as others say), It is the image of the Eye of Rā in "the morning at his daily birth. Meḥ-urt is the Eye (Utchat) of "Rā." Meḥ-urt was originally a female personification of the watery matter which formed the substance of the world, and her name, which means "mighty fulness," indicates that she was the

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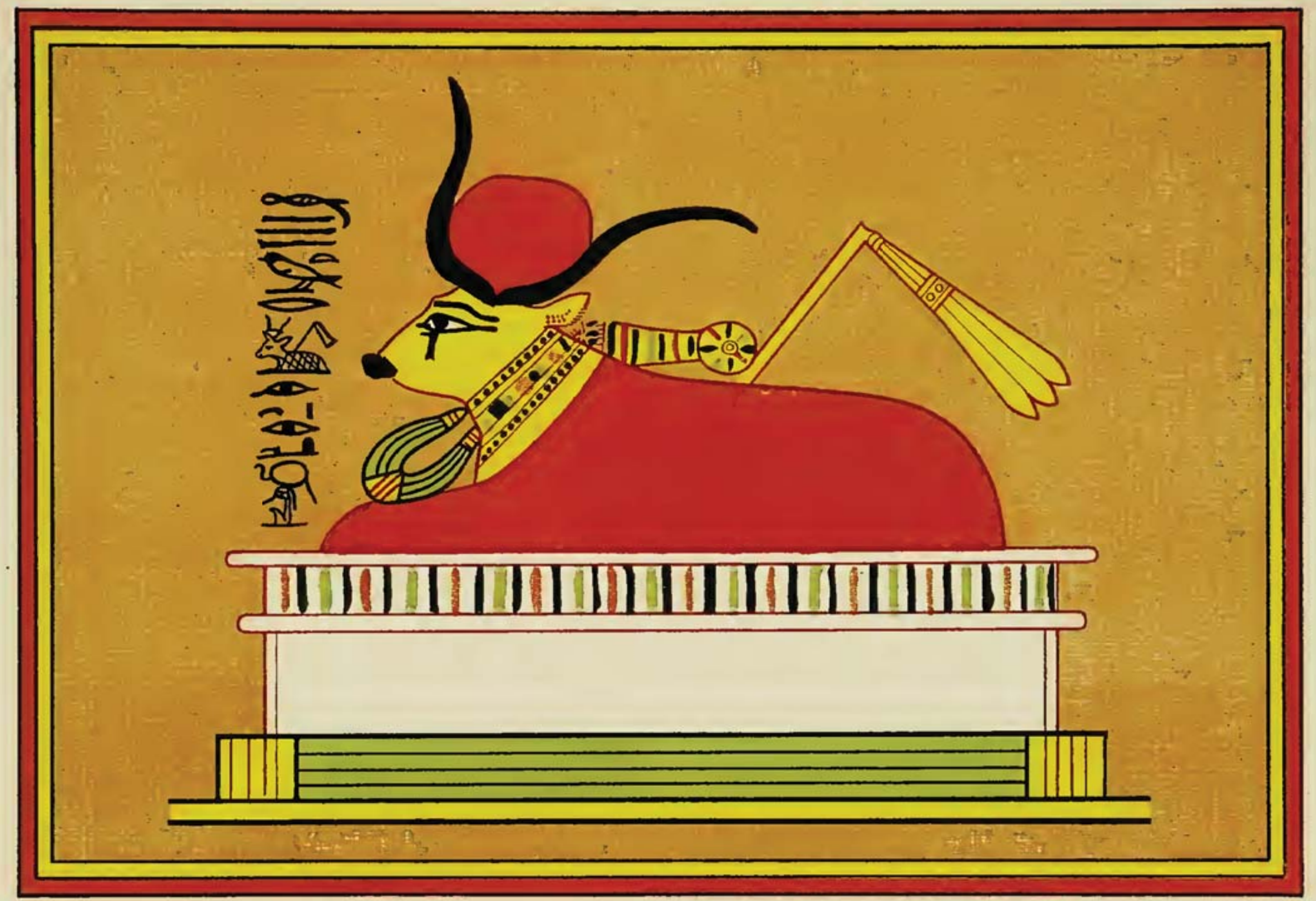
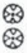
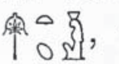
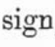
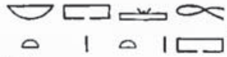
[1] The Methyer (Μεθύερ) of Plutarch.



THE GODDESS MEH-URIT.

abundant and unfailing source of the matter of every kind which was fecundated by the male germs of life of every kind; she was, in fact, a form of the primeval female creative principle, and in some aspects was identified with Isis and Hathor. She, of course, is a later conception than Nut, or Nit (Neith), of both of whom she was also a form. In one of the representations of the goddess figured by Signor Lanzone[1] she is depicted in the form of a pregnant woman with full, protruding breasts, emblem of fertility, but she usually appears as the great cow of the sky, either in the form which is illustrated on p. 368, or in that given in the accompanying plate. Sometimes she has the body of a woman and the head of a cow, and then she holds in her right hand a sceptre round which is twined the stalk of a lotus flower which she appears to be smelling; the flower itself is between , the symbols of the South and the North, and is supposed to represent the great world lotus flower, out of which rose the sun for the first time at the Creation. The usual titles of the goddess are "lady of heaven, "mistress of all the gods, mistress of the two lands," but she is also said to have "existed from the beginning," and to have helped Thoth to create the first things which appeared in Khemennu or Hermopolis. In primitive times the "weighing of words," i.e., the examination and judgment of the dead, was believed to take place in the Hall of Meḥ-urt, which seems to prove that in very early times the attributes of Maāt were ascribed to the great goddess, whose form was the cow, and that the souls of the dead were thought to be judged in the sky. The first conception of the Judgment was probably physical, and it was not until the period when the cult of Osiris became predominant that it assumed the character with which we are familiar from the *Book of the Dead*. It would seem that in the very ancient times it was the body and not the soul that was the subject of examination by the celestial powers, and this is what is to be expected in predynastic times when the theory of the resurrection then current demanded a renewed or revivified physical body.

Closely associated with Thoth in the performance of certain of his duties as the god of letters and learning, was the goddess , whose name is generally read SEFKHET-ĀĀBUT, ; the reading "Sesheta" has also been proposed for the hieroglyphic sign, , which forms the symbol of this goddess, but both readings are merely guesses, for the phonetic value of the sign has not yet been ascertained, and even the sign itself has not been identified. All that is certain about it is that in some pictures of the goddess the sign seems to be compounded of a pair of horns inverted over a seven-rayed star, or flower with seven petals, supported on a standard. Dr. Brugsch believed that Sefkhet-āābut was the correct reading of the name, and that it either meant, "she who has inverted her horns," or, "she who is provided with seven horns," the latter meaning being suggested by the similarity of the first part of the name *Sefkhet* with the ordinary word for "seven." From the pictures of the goddess and the titles which accompany them it is quite certain what her functions were. We see her wearing her characteristic symbols on her head, with a close-fitting panther skin garment upon her body, and in her hands she holds a scribe's palette and writing reed; in this form she is called "the great one, the lady of the house of books," . Thus she was a goddess of literature and the library.

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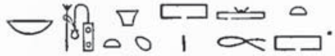
[1] Op. cit., pl. 131 ff.

Elsewhere we see her without her panther skin garment, holding a writing reed in the right hand, and the *cartouche* , symbolic of "name" in her left; in this form she suggests the idea of being a kind of recording angel, not so much of the deeds committed by man, but of their names, of which she, presumably, took note, that her associate Thoth might declare them before Osiris. In the title which accompanies this picture she is called "great one, lady of letters, mistress of the house of books," . In another scene[1] she holds a notched palm branch in her hand, and she appears to be counting the notches; the lower end of the branch rests on the back of a frog,

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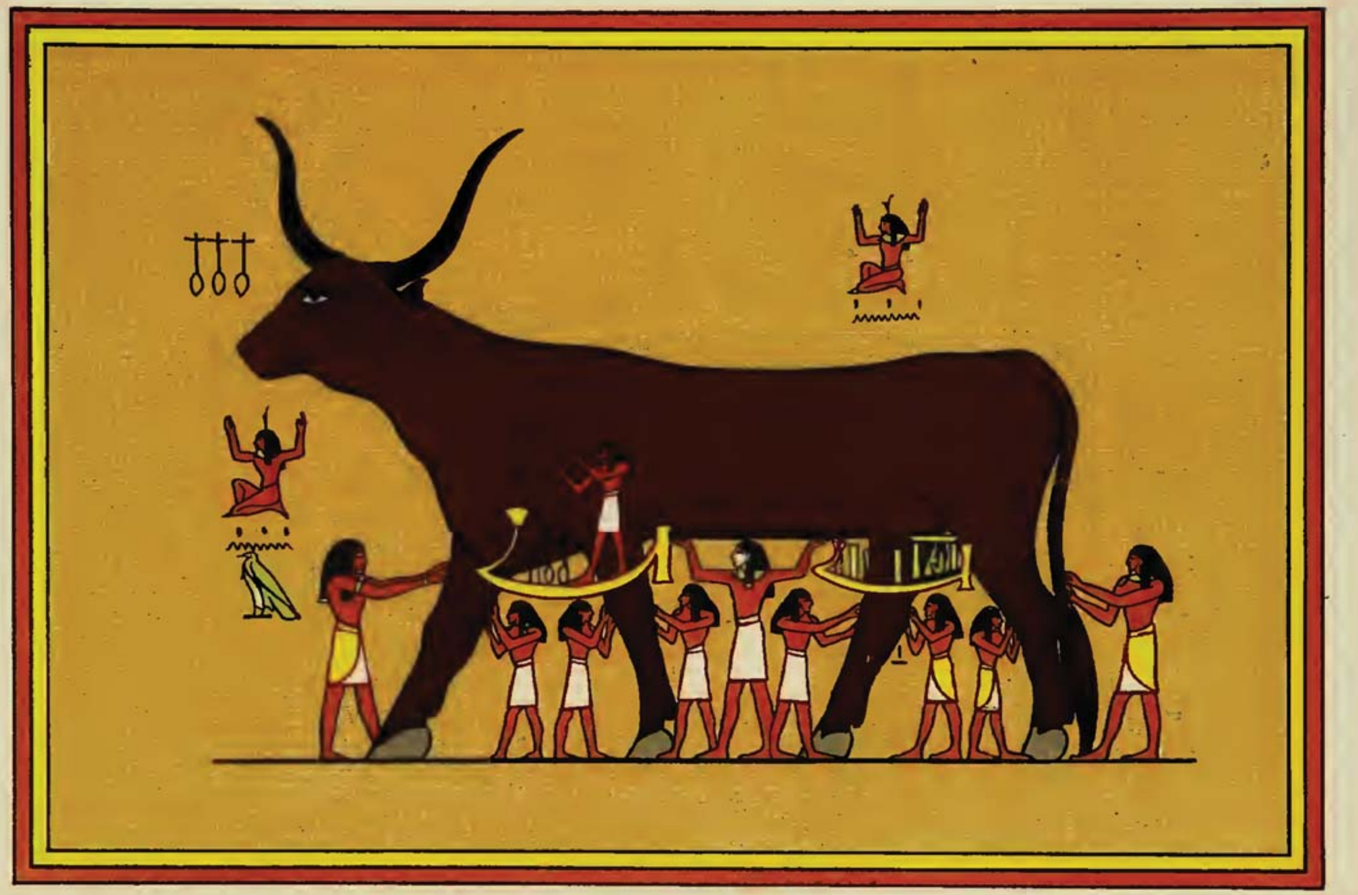
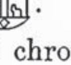
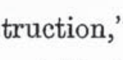
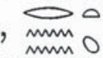
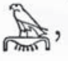
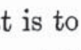
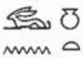
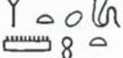
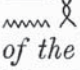
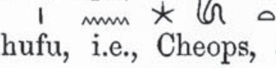
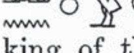
[1] For all these pictures see Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 340.



NUT, THE GODDESS OF HEAVEN, AS A COW.

seated upon Ω, the emblem of "eternity," and from the upper end hangs the symbol of the double Seṭ festival, . Thus she appears in the character of the chronographer and chronologist; the use of the notched palm-branch as a symbol of the counting of years takes us back to a custom which was probably prevalent in predynastic times. In yet another scene we find the goddess standing before a column of hieroglyphics meaning "life," and "power," and "thirty-year festivals," which rest upon a seated figure who holds in each hand ☥, "life," and who typifies "millions of years." In connection with this must be noted a passage in a text in which she declares to a king that she has inscribed on her register on his behalf a period of life which shall be "hundreds of thousands of thirty-year periods," and has ordained that his years shall be upon the earth like the years of Rā, i.e., that he shall live for ever. In the *Book of the Dead* (lvii. 6) the deceased says, "My mouth and my nostrils are opened in Ṭaṭṭu, and I have "my place of peace in Ȧnnu, wherein is my ḥouse; it was built "for me by the goddess Sefekh-āābut (or Sesheta), and the god "Khnemu set it up for me upon its walls." And again he says (clii. 3), "The goddess Sefekh-āābut hath brought the god Nebṭ, "and Ȧnpu (Anubis) hath called unto the Osiris Nu (i.e., to me) "to build a house on the earth. Its foundation is in Kher-āḥa, "its shrine is the god Sekhem, who dwelleth in Sekhem, according "to that which I have written the renewal thereof, and men and "women bring offerings, and libations, and ministrants. And "Osiris saith unto all the gods who are in his train, and who "journey [with him], 'Behold ye the house which hath been built "'for a spirit who is well-equipped, and who cometh daily to "'renew himself among you.'" In the clxixth Chapter (line 18) the goddess is said to be seated before the deceased, and the goddess Sa protects his members.

These passages show that Sefekh-āābut was supposed to be the "goddess of construction," , and she would thus be a suitable counterpart of Thoth, and one fitted to carry out his commands concerning the Creation. It is, however, certain from many passages that her chief duties were connected with the writing of history, and happy was the king who was fortunate enough to have his deeds recorded by the fingers of the goddess herself, and his abode in the next world built on the plan which she drew up in accordance with her attributes as the inventor of letters, the lady of the builder's measure, and the founder of architecture.[1] In a text quoted by Brugsch she declares to Seti that her words concerning him shall never be gainsaid, that her hand shall set down in writing his fame after the manner of her brother Thoth, and all according to the decree of Tem. She was identified with the goddess Renenet, , and with Isis, and at Dendera she is called the "daughter of Nut;" at Lycopolis she was regarded as the sister of Osiris, and the mother of Ḥeru-nub, , or the "Horus of gold."

Yet another goddess must be mentioned in connection with Maāt and Thoth, that is to say, UNNUT, , the lady of Unnu, , who must not be confused with Unnut, the goddess of the hours, who is depicted in the form of a woman with a star upon her head. The former goddess has, on the other hand, the body of a woman with the head of a hare, and she usually holds in each hand a knife, ;[2] sometimes she holds a sceptre in one hand, and ☥, "life," in the other. One aspect of her, i.e., that of the goddess who destroys with her knives, was identified with Sekhet, , and in this form she was the deity of the city Menḥet, . From a passage in the cxxxviith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* we may gain some idea of the antiquity of the goddess Unnut, for towards the end of the rubric (line 38) it is said that the Chapter was found in the handwriting of the god Thoth in the temple of "Unnut, lady of Unnu,"  , by Ḥeru-ṭāṭā-f, the son of Khufu, i.e., Cheops, a king of the IVth Dynasty. Thus it is clear that even in that remote period a temple in honour of the goddess existed at Unnu, i.e., Hermopolis, or the city of Thoth. Unnu, as we know, was the chief city of the nome Un, the chief local god of which

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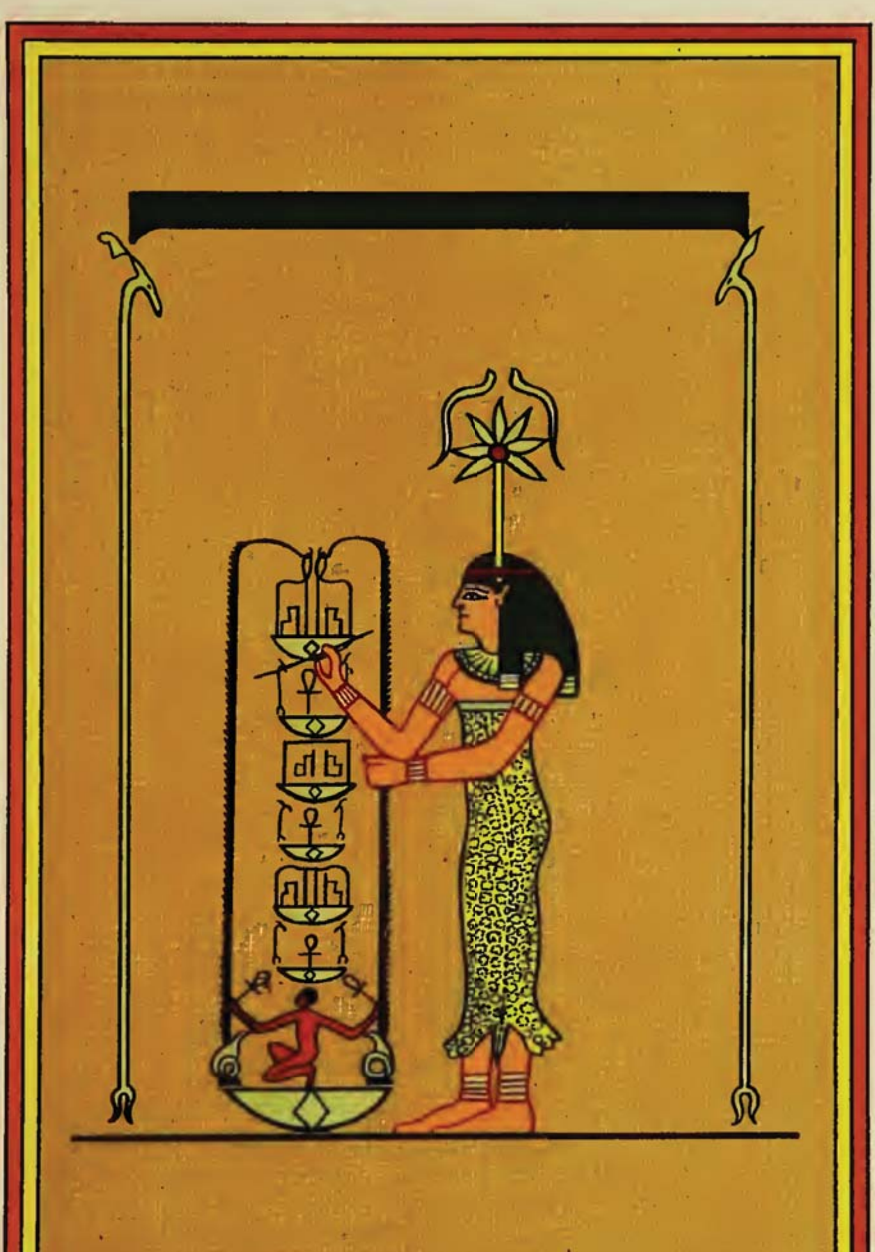
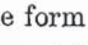
[1] See Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 474.

[2] See Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 52.



THE GODDESS SESHETA.

was depicted in the form of a hare, , and Unnut is the female counterpart of the god Unnu, and was the old local goddess of the metropolis of the nome.

In the vignette of the cxth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* (Papyrus of Ani, pl. 35) we see the deceased standing with hands raised in adoration before three seated deities, the first having the head of a hare, the second that of a snake, and the third that of a bull; behind him stands the god Thoth with palette and reed, but whether he is in any way connected with the three gods cannot be said. A hare-headed god is also seen as one of the group of three gods who preside over one of the Ārits in the Underworld; according to the Papyrus of Ani it is the first Ārit, and according to the Papyrus of Nu it is the second. At Dendera a hare-headed god is seen wrapped in mummy swathings, with his hands in such a position that they suggest his identification with Osiris, and an attempt has been made[1] to show in connexion with this representation that the hare-headed god was called UN, that this name appears in the compound name "Un-nefer," the well-known title of Osiris, that the hare-god Un was only another form of Osiris, and that the name Un was applied to Osiris because he "sprang up," like the hare, which, as the rising sun, is said to be the "springer." According to this view the goddess Unnut would be a female form of the hare-god Un or Unnu, but Brugsch's opinion which makes her to be the goddess of the city of Unnu, or Hermopolis, is more correct, especially when we remember that the cities Ȧn, and Ȧpt, and Beḥuṭet, etc., possessed goddesses of the city which were called Ȧnit, and Ȧpit, and Beḥuṭit. We have already seen that the goddess Maāt had two forms, i.e., Maāt of the South and Maāt of the North, and similarly we find that Unnut had two forms, one of which belonged to Hermopolis of the South, and the other to Hermopolis of the North, the *Unnu meḥt* of the text, i.e., Hermopolis Parva, wherein Thoth was worshipped under the form of ȦP-REḤUI, , together with his female counterpart Neḥemāuait.[2]

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[1] See Renouf in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. ix., pp. 281-294.

[2] Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 477; de Rougé, *Géographie*, pp. 30, 102.

CHAPTER XIV

HATHOR, , ḤET-ḤERT, AND THE HATHOR GODDESSES

THE goddess HATHOR is one of the oldest known deities of Egypt, and it is certain that, under the form of a cow, she was worshipped in the early part of the archaic period, because a flint model of the head and horns of the cow, which was her type and symbol, has been found among the early archaic, or late predynastic flints in Egypt.[1] The forms in which the goddess is depicted are numerous, but this is not to be wondered at, because during the course of the dynastic period she was identified with every important local goddess, and all their attributes, of whatever class and kind, were ascribed to her. The oldest form of all is probably that of the cow, and this was preserved, though chiefly in funeral scenes and in the *Book of the Dead*, until the beginning of the Roman period. ḤET-ḤERT, , the name of the goddess, means the "House above," i.e., the region of the sky or heaven, and another form of it, , which is to be read ḤET-ḤERU, and which means "House of Horus," shows that she was a personification of the house in which Horus the Sun-god dwelt, and that she represented the portion of the sky through which the course of the god lay. In the earliest times Hathor, the Ἁθωρ of the Greek writers, typified only that portion of the sky in which Horus, the oldest form of the Sun-god, had been conceived and brought forth, and her domain was in the east of the sky; but at length she came to represent the whole

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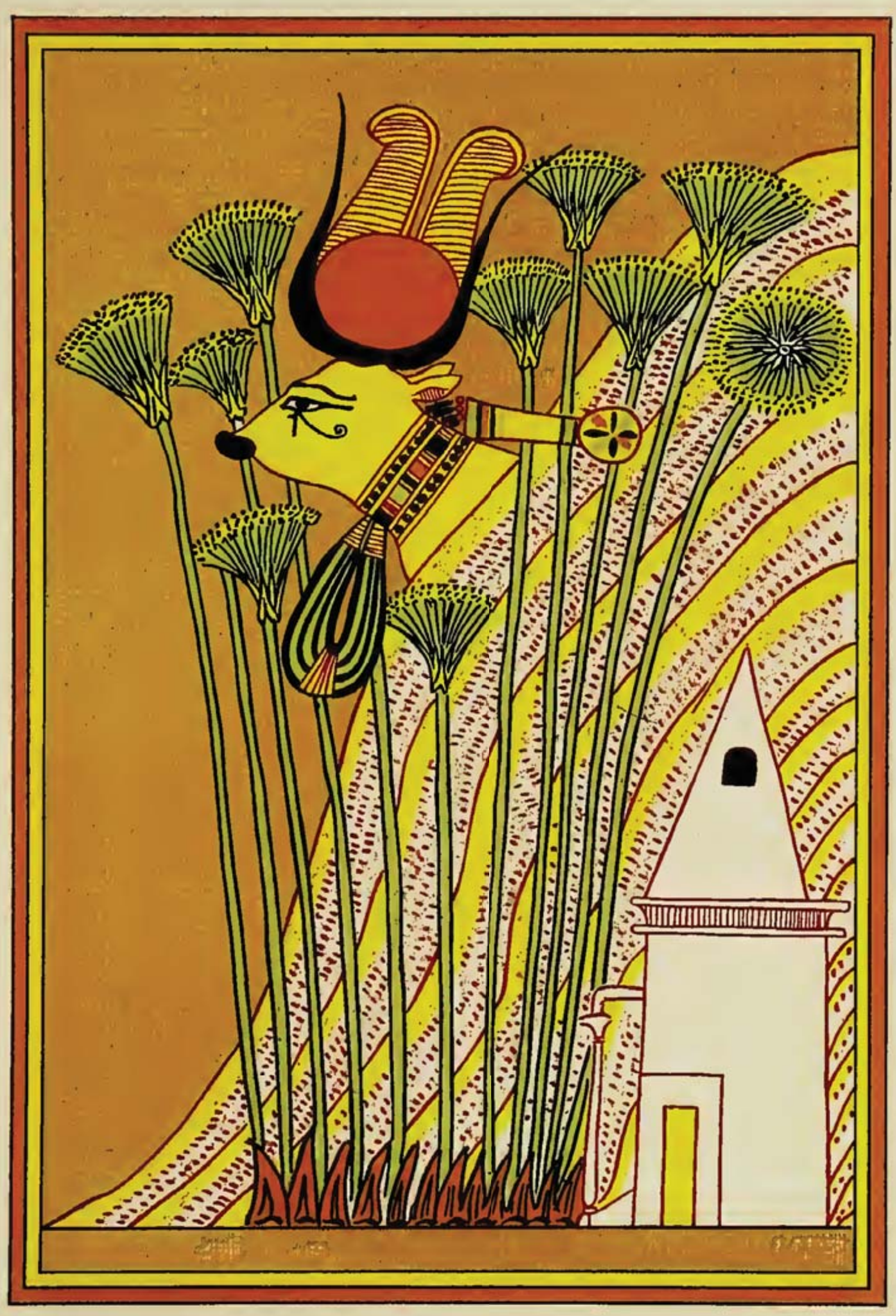
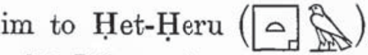
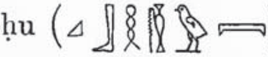
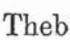
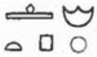
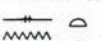
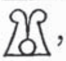
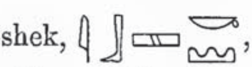
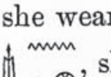
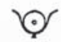
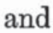
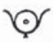
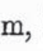
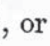
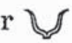
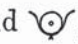
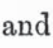
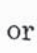
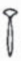
[1] This is preserved in the British Museum, No. 32,124.



(ḤET-ḤERT) Hathor the Cow-Goddess looking forth from the Funeral Mountain at Thebes.

sky, and in so doing, she, no doubt, absorbed many of the attributes of predynastic goddesses. In the text of Pepi I. (line 593) it is said, "Every god will take the hand of Rā-meri in heaven, and "they will conduct him to Ḥet-Ḥeru (), which is in the "heaven of Qebḥu (), and his double shall be able "to make his voice (or word) take effect upon Seb." From this passage it seems as if the House of Horus was only one special part of the great watery mass of heaven which is generally known by the name of "Qebḥ."

At the time when the Egyptians first formulated their theogony Hathor was certainly a cosmic goddess, and was associated with the Sun-god Rā, of whom she was the principal female counterpart. In the theological system of the priests of Heliopolis she became, as Brugsch says,[1] the "mother of the light," the birth of which was the first act of creation; her next creative act was to produce Shu and Tefnut, that is to say, certain aspects of these gods, for according to a very old tradition Temu was their begetter and producer. Of the various forms in which Hathor is depicted may be mentioned the following[2]:—As the "chieftainess," , of Thebes and the mistress of Ȧmentet she is usually represented in the form of a woman who wears upon her head a pair of horns within which rests the solar disk; as the lady of Ḥetepet, , she wears the vulture tiara, with a uraeus in front and five uraei on the top of it; as the lady of Senemet, , she appears in the form of a woman with the headdress , or with plumes and horns; as the lady of Ȧbshek, , she wears a disk between horns; as the great goddess of Dendera, , she appears in the form of a lioness, with a uraeus on her head, and as a woman wearing  and , or , or and , or  and , or the sistrum, , or  and , or and , or  and , and , and , and she usually carries a sceptre,  or ,

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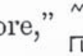
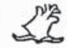
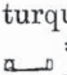
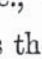
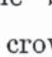
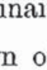
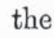
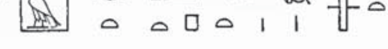
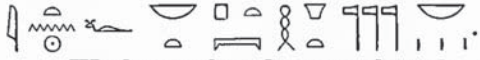
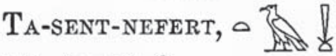
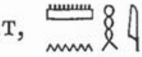
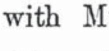
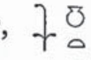
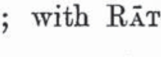
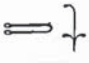
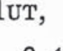
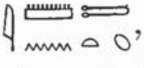
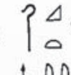
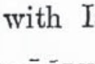
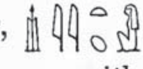
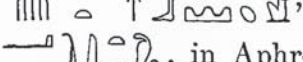
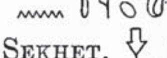
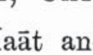
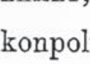
[1] *Religion*, p. 312.

[2] Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 314 ff.

in one hand, and "life," ☥, in the other; as the lady of the "southern sycamore," , she has the head of a cow; as the lady of Ȧnnu she has on her head ; as the goddess of turquoise [land], i.e., the Sinaitic Peninsula, called "Māfek," , she wears the crown of the north, , or  and ; and in another form she wears the vulture head-dress surmounted by a tiara formed of uraei, and above these is a pylon set among a mass of lotus flowers and buds. As the "lady of the Holy Land," i.e., the Underworld, and Ȧmentet, , she appears in the form of a cow walking out from the funeral mountain, and she is sometimes represented in the form of a cow standing in a boat surrounded by papyrus plants which are growing up to a considerable height above her body. As the cow-goddess of the Underworld, however, she wears a long, pendent collar, and on the back of her neck is the *Menȧt*, , an emblem of joy and pleasure. On her back also is a kind of saddle-cloth with a linear design, and the whole of her body is sometimes marked with crosses, which are probably intended to represent stars. Two other interesting forms of the goddess which are illustrated by Signor Lanzone[1] represent her holding in her hand the notched palm branch, which is usually the characteristic of the goddess Sefekh-āābut, who acted as assistant chronographer and chronologist to the god Thoth, and from this point of view Hathor must be regarded as a female counterpart of Thoth. Finally, she is represented as a sphinx, wearing on her head the vulture head-dress, with uraeus and disk; the side of her body is made to resemble a part of a *menȧt*, and she rests upon a pylon. The titles which accompany this last form call her "lady of Ḥetep, the eye of Rā, dweller in his disk, lady of "heaven, mistress of all the gods," 
.

We have already seen that the worship of Horus was universal in Egypt, probably from the earliest period, and that in dynastic times shrines which were specially consecrated to his worship were common throughout the country; the texts prove that the worship of Hathor was also universal, and that her shrines were even more numerous than those of Horus. She was, in fact, the great mother of the world, and the old, cosmic Hathor was the personification of the great power of nature which was perpetually conceiving, and creating, and bringing forth, and rearing, and maintaining all things, both great and small. She was the "mother of her father, "and the daughter of her son," and heaven, earth, and the Underworld were under her rule, and she was the mother of every god and every goddess. In all the important shrines of the local goddesses she was honoured with them, and she always became the chief female counterpart of the head of the company or triad in which she had been allowed to enter as a guest. A clear proof of this fact is given in the list compiled by the late Dr. Brugsch, which showed the various names and forms she took in all the large cities in Upper and Lower Egypt, and from this we see that she was identified with Satet, , and Ānqet, , in Elephantine; with Ta-sent-nefert, , in Ombos; with Beḥuṭet, , in Apollinopolis Magna; with Nit, , Nebuut, , and Menḥit, , in Latopolis; with Mut, , and Nekhebet, , in Eileithyiaspolis; with Rāt-tauit, , and Thenenet, , in Hermonthis; with Mut, , and Ȧmenthet, , in Thebes; with Ḥeqet, , in Apollinopolis Parva; with Isis, , and Ȧnit, , in Coptos; with Sefkhet-Āābut, in Diospolis Parva; with Meḥit-Tefnut-Khut-Menḥit, , in This; with Isis and Khent Ȧbtet, , in Panopolis; with Ḥeqet and Ānthȧt, , in Aphroditopolis; with Nit, Uatchet, , Sekhet, , etc., in Hypselis; with Maāt and Isis in Hierakonpolis; with Mut and

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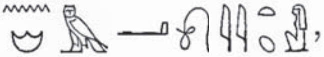
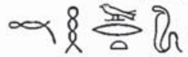
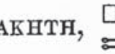
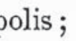
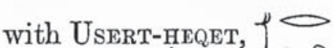
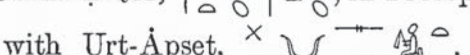
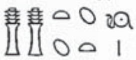
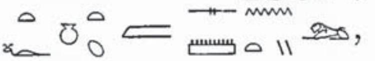
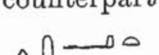
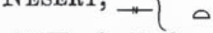
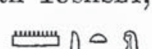
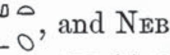
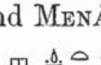
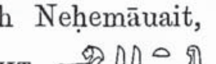
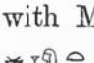
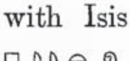
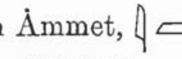
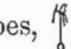
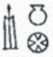
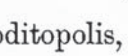
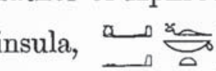
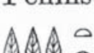
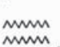
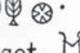
[1] Op. cit., pl. 325 ff.

Sefkhet-āābut in Lycopolis; with Sekhet and Maāt in Cusae; with NEḤEMĀUAIT, , and Sefkhet-āābut, and Meḥ-urt, , in Hermopolis; with Ḥeqet and ASHET, , in Ibiu; with PAKHTH, , at the Speos Artemidos; with ÅNPET, , in Cynopolis; with UATCHET in Alabastronpolis; with HATHOR of Oxyrinchus; with ĀNTHÅT and MERSEKHENT , in Herakleopolis Magna; with RENPIT, , in Crocodilopolis; with KHERSEKHET in Ptolemaïs; with Isis and ṬEP-ÅḤET in Aphroditopolis; with Bast, , Sekhet, and Renpit in Memphis; with NEBUAREKHT-ĀAT, , in Letopolis; with USERT-ḤEQET, , in Prosopis; with Nit (Neith) in Saïs; with Urt-Åpset, , in Χοΐς; with Isis in Canopus; with Uatchet in Buto; with Tefnut in Pa-Tem (Pithom); with TAṬET or TAIT, , in Busiris; with KHUIT, , in Athribis; with ṬEṬET, daughter of Rā, , and Tefnut, in the form of a lion, , and ḤERT, , i.e., the female counterpart of Horus, and NESERT, ; with IUSĀSET, , and NEBT-ḤETEP, , and MENÅT, , and REPIT, ; with KHENT-ÅBTET, , in Sele (?); with Neḥemāuait, Tefnut, and Isis in Hermopolis; with ḤĀT-MEḤIT, , in Mendes; with Mut, Tefnut, and Khent-Åbtet, in Diospolis; with Bast, , in Bubastis; with Isis and Uatchet in Åmmet, ; and with Septit, , and Khekhsit, , in the nome of Sepṭ. It is, then, quite certain that in late dynastic times, at least, Hathor became the representative of all the great goddesses in Egypt, and that shrines in her honour were built in most great cities there. In his valuable *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia* (p. 875), Signor

Lanzone has collected the names of a number of cities which contained shrines of Hathor, but the enumeration of them all[1] here would serve no useful purpose, because the identifications of the goddess described above are sufficient to indicate the universality of her worship.

A little consideration of the texts shows us that it was quite impossible for any worshipper of Hathor, however devout, to enumerate all the forms of the goddess which existed, and also that some of them were considered of greater importance than the others; as a result we find that at a comparatively early period a selection of the Hathors was made, and that it usually contained seven. The SEVEN HATHORS who were worshipped at Dendera were:—1. Hathor of Thebes, . 2. Hathor of Heliopolis, . 3. Hathor of Aphroditopolis, . 4. Hathor of the Sinaitic Peninsula, . 5. Hathor of Momemphis (Ammu), . 6. Hathor of Herakleopolis, . 7. Hathor of Keset, . These were represented[2] in the form of young and handsome women arrayed in close-fitting tunics, and wearing

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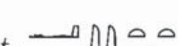
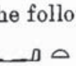
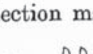
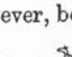
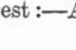
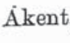
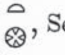
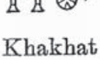
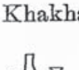
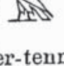
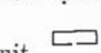
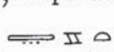
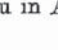
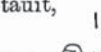
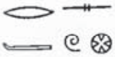
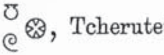
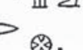
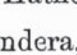
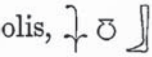
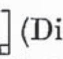
[1] The following selection may, however, be of interest:—Ārit, , Ȧkent, , Sekhet-Rā, , Keset, , Senmet, , Khauit, , Mātchet, , Shetenu, , Āḳenu, , Khakhat (?), , She-Ṭesher, , Kepenut (in Syria), , Per-ṭennu in Ānkh-tauit, , Reḥesu, , Feka, , Ṭep-āḥet, , Alkat, , Ȧn-Menthu, , Maāti, , Sebti, , Ḳennu, , Tcherutet, , Seḳ, , Per-Utchat, , Ḥes, , Kenset, , Neferus, , Khekhuit, , Ȧntet, , Sennut, .

[2] Brugsch, *Mythologische Inschriften*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 801 ff.

vulture head-dresses surmounted by , and holding tambourines in their hands. In the "Tale of the Two Brothers"[1] we find the Seven Hathors acting the part of prophetic fairies, for in that entertaining narrative they are made to come and look upon the wife whom Khnemu had fashioned for the younger brother Bata, and who "was more beautiful in her person than any other woman "in all the earth, for every god was contained in her;" but when they had looked upon her, they said with one voice, "Her death will be caused by the knife." Unfortunately we do not know the districts which these Seven Hathors, , represented. The Seven Hathors mentioned by Mariette[2] comprise the Hathors of Dendera, , Keset (Cusae), Nehet , the Two Mountains, (i.e., the modern Gebelên), Eileithyiaspolis, , and Māfek (Sinai), Kepenut (Byblos), and Ḥet-seshesh,  (Diospolis Parva); thus it is clear that the company of the Seven Hathors did not always include the same forms of the goddess. In the Litanies of Seker[3] we have also a "Litany of the Hathors," wherein are mentioned the Hathors of:—1. Ṭep-åḥet. 2. Māfek and Thebes. 3. Thebes. 4. Nebt-ḥetep. 5. Suten-ḥenen. 6. Memphis. 7. She-Ṭesher; here, then, is a different group of Seven Hathors. In the six lines of text which follow, Hathor is identified with the goddesses:—1. Bast. 2. Sati. 3. Uatchet. 4. Sekhet. 5. Lady of Ammu. 6. Nit (Neith); and after this we have addresses to the Hathors of Thebes, Suten-ḥenen, Ṭep-åḥet, Nehau, Reḥsau, Shet-Teshert, Māfek, Åneb, Uaua, Ammu, Amem, and Hathor, lady of the "City of Sixteen," , i.e., Lycopolis, in all Twelve Hathors. If we had full information on the subject we should probably find that each great city possessed its own selection of Hathors, and that the forms of the goddess whose names were inscribed on funeral papyri were only those which were popular with those who caused such documents to be made.

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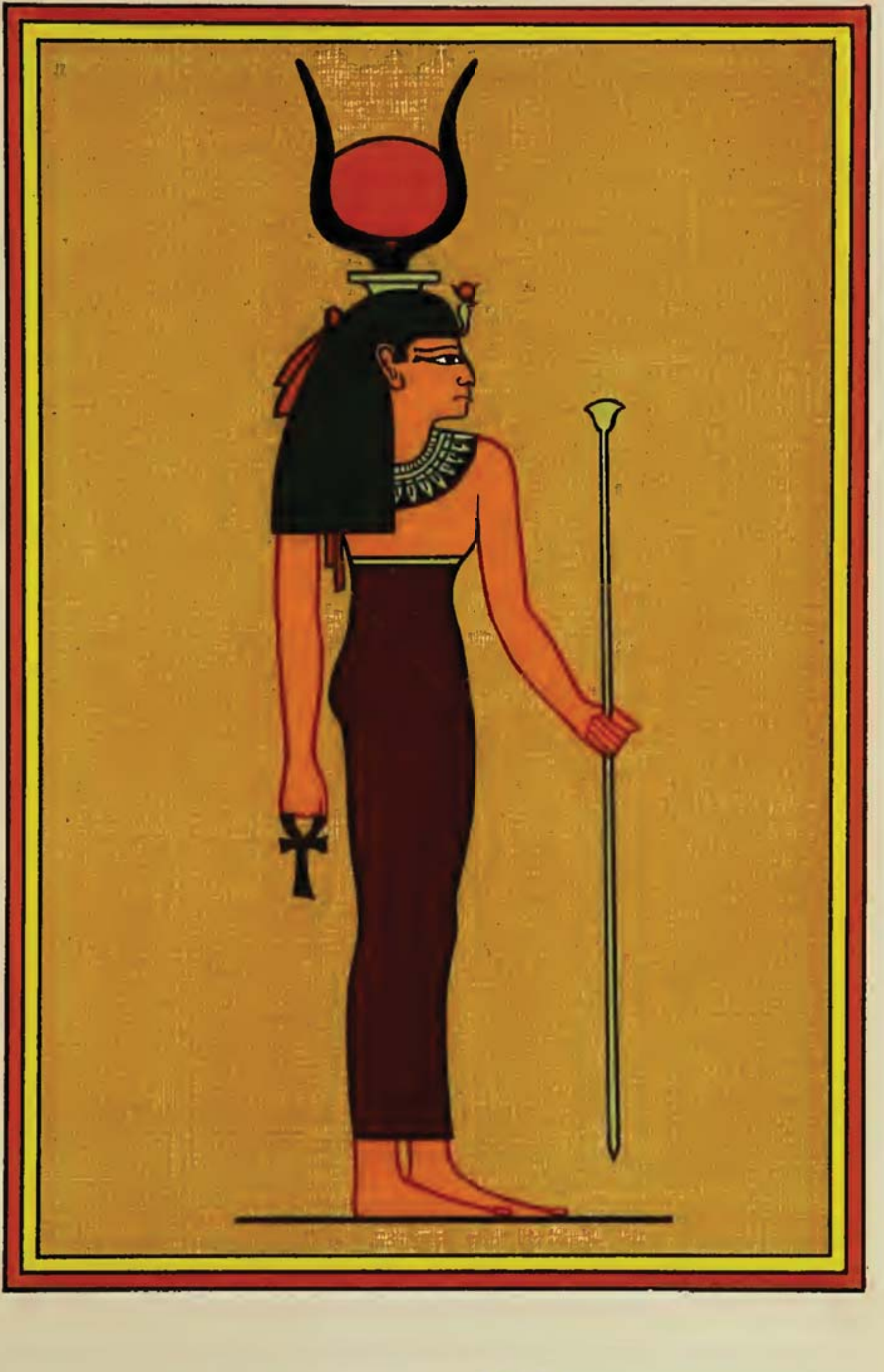
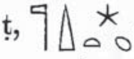
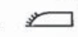
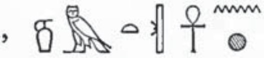
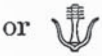
[1] Page ix., l. 8. (Birch, *Select Papyri.*)

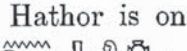
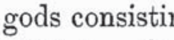
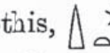
[2] See *Denderah*, tom. 1, pl. 27; Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 972.

[3] See my paper in *Archaeologia*, vol. lii. (Papyrus of Nesi-Amsu).



THE GODDESS HATHOR.

The Greeks identified Hathor with their goddess Aphrodite, and there are many passages in the Egyptian texts which show that they were justified in doing so. She represented not only what was true, but what was good, and all that is best in woman as wife, mother, and daughter; she was also the patron goddess of all singers, dancers, and merry-makers of every kind, of beautiful women, and of love, of artists and artistic works, and also of the vine and wine, and ale and beer, and, in fact, of joy and happiness, and of everything which contributed thereto. She was identified astronomically with the star Sepṭ, , or Sothis, which was called the "second sun" in heaven, she was thereby connected with the rise of the Nile preparatory to the Inundation, and she appeared in the form of this star in the heavens in the neighbourhood of the sun in the second half of July. Sothis rose heliacally on the first day of the Egyptian New Year, and when the Sun-god Rā had entered his boat, Hathor, the goddess of the star Sothis, went with him and took up her place like a crown upon his forehead.[1] She was, as we have seen, both the wife of Rā, and the daughter of Rā; she herself was brought forth by the goddess Nut in the form of a black-skinned, , or blackish-red skinned child and received as her name that of the last hour of the day, Khnemet-ānkh, , or .[2] Hathor, as lady of the Underworld, played a very prominent part in connection with the welfare of the dead, for without her friendly help and protection the deceased could never attain to everlasting life.

The position which Hathor held among the gods of the Underworld is well illustrated by the following passages from the *Book of the Dead*. In his hymn to Rā the deceased officer Nekht says, "O thou beautiful being, thou dost renew thyself in thy "season in the form of the Disk within thy mother Hathor," with which words he refers to the goddess as a nature power. In the Judgment Scene we find that she is one of the company of the gods who watch the "weighing of words," and who afterwards decree joy and felicity for the heart which has been weighed and found just. When the deceased is face to face with the monster Āpep, Hathor is one of the group of gods consisting of NETCHEB-ȦB-F, , Tem, Nentchā, , Seb, Nut, and Kheperȧ, who encourage the deceased to do battle with him, and she cries out to the deceased, "Take your armour;" but she, like the deceased, is in terror of Āpep and "she quaketh" thereat (xxxix. 22). In the Chapter (xlii.) which describes the deification of the members of the deceased, she becomes his two eyes, and he declares, "My eyes are the eyes of Hathor." Now Hathor was, according to one myth, the star Sothis, , *Sepṭ*, and she took up her place in the face of Horus or Rā as his right eye; another myth which made her the night sky also made her the moon therein; hence the eyes of Hathor are the sun and moon, and the deceased regards these as his own eyes in the text. In other Chapters (lii., lxiii.A, lxviii.), she appears as the goddess who provides the deceased with meat and drink, and thus we find the following:—"Let me eat my food under the sycamore tree of my "lady Hathor, and let my times be among the divine beings who "have alighted thereon;" and again, "In a clean place I shall sit "on the ground beneath the foliage of the date palm of the goddess "Hathor, who dwelleth in the spacious Disk as it advanceth to "Ȧnnu, having the books of the divine words of the writings of "the god Thoth;" and again, "Let me have power over cakes, "and let me eat of them under the leaves of the palm tree of the "goddess Hathor, who is my divine lady" (lxxxii. 7).

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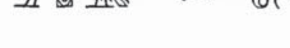
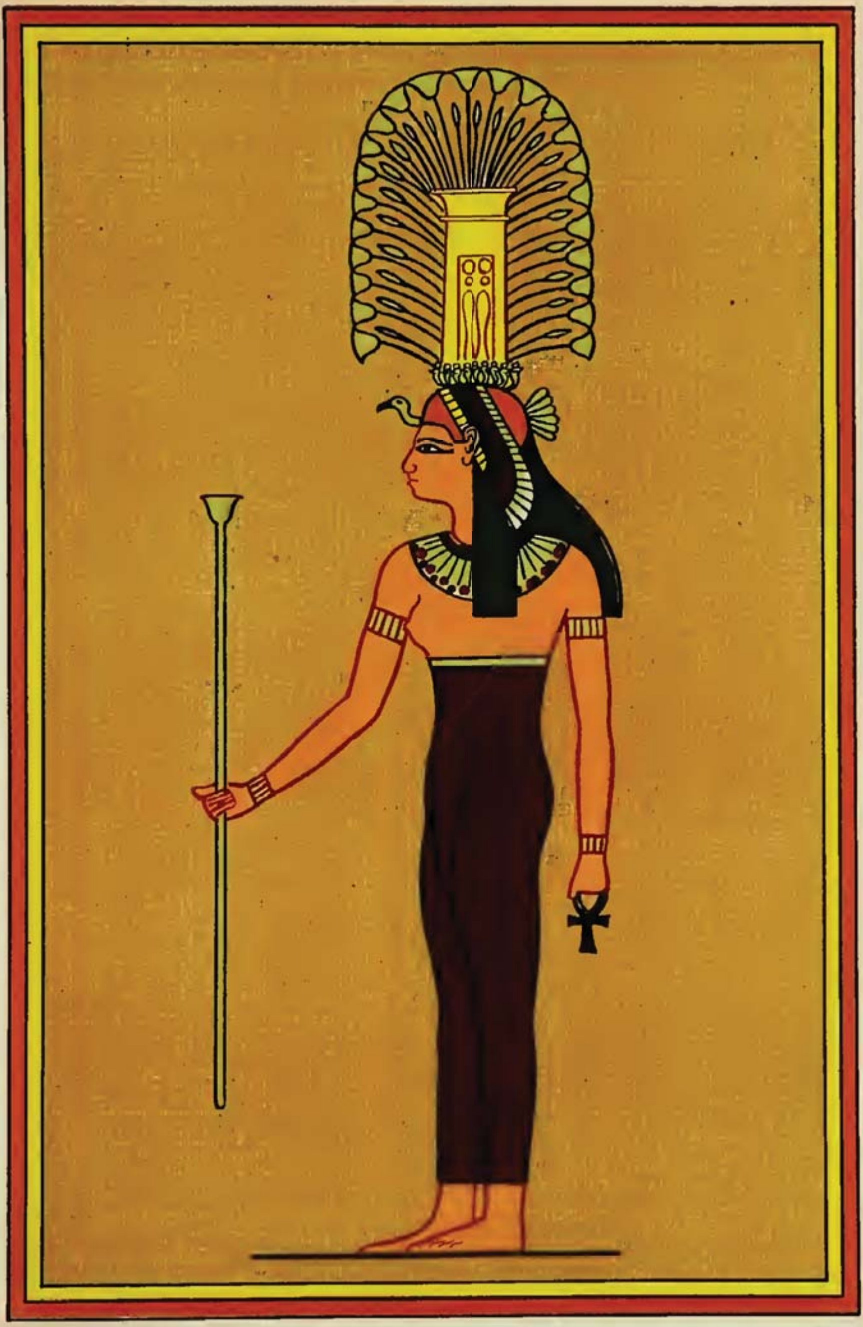
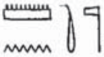
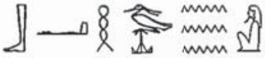
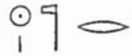
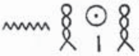
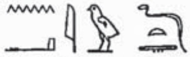
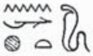
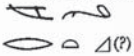
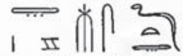
[1] Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 318; Lanzone, op. cit., p. 865.

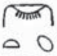
[2] Brugsch, *Mythologische Inschriften*, p. 844 (Twelfth Hour of the Day).

In the Hall of Maāti the name of the left foot of the deceased was "Staff of Hathor" (cxxv. 35), and a special Chapter (ciii.) was composed with the view of enabling the deceased to "be among those who are in the following of Hathor." Thus we see that she was held to be sufficiently important to have a train of attendant gods, or ministering angels, about her. In the vignette of Chapter cxxxiv. Hathor forms one of the company of the gods of Heliopolis, which here consists of Tem, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Hathor, and Horus, the last named taking the place of Set or Suti; and in Chapter cxl. Hathor, with Tem, Utchatet, , Shu, Seb, Osiris, Suti, Horus,



THE GODDESS ḤET-ḤERT (HATHOR).

Menth, , Bāḥ, , Rā-er-neḥeḥ,  , Thoth, Nāàu-tchetta (?) , Nut, Isis, Nephthys, Nekht, , Mert, (?) , Maāt, Ȧnep, and Tà-mes-tchetta, , are said to be "the soul and body of Rā." In Chapter cli.A Nephthys addresses the deceased and says, "Rā hearkeneth unto thy cry; thou, O daughter of Hathor, art "made to triumph, thy head shall never be taken away from thee, "and thou shalt be made to rise up in peace." It was Hathor in the form of a cow who received the dead when they entered the Underworld, she gave them new life, and celestial food wherewith to maintain it, and in the Roman period the personality of the deceased is merged in that of the goddess in the funeral texts, just as during the dynastic period it was merged in that of Osiris. Finally, it is said in a passage quoted from a papyrus by M. Maspero[1] which prescribes the placing of the "swathing of Hathor" on the face of the deceased, "She (i.e., Hathor) shall make thy face "perfect among the gods, she shall make thy thighs large among "the goddesses, she shall open thine eye so that thou shalt see "each day, she shall enlarge thy place in Ȧmentet, she shall make "thy voice to prevail over thy adversaries; and she shall make "thy legs to walk with ease in the Underworld in her name of "Hathor, lady of Ȧmentet."

In an interesting text in the Ptolemaïc temple at Dêr al-Medîna,[2] on the western bank of the Nile opposite Thebes, we find that Hathor is called NUBT, , i.e., the "Golden One," and that she is addressed as the "queen of the gods," and her adorer says, "thou standest high in the south as the lady of Teka (Eileithyias-"polis), and thou illuminest the west as lady of Saïs. Thou "appearest and thou art commemorated in festivals as Hathor, "the great lady, the beloved of Rā in [thy] seven forms." Thoth, we are told, comes to look upon her face, and he praises her according to her desire, and she is built up by his words. As

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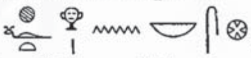
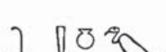
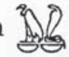
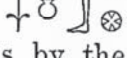
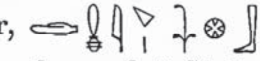
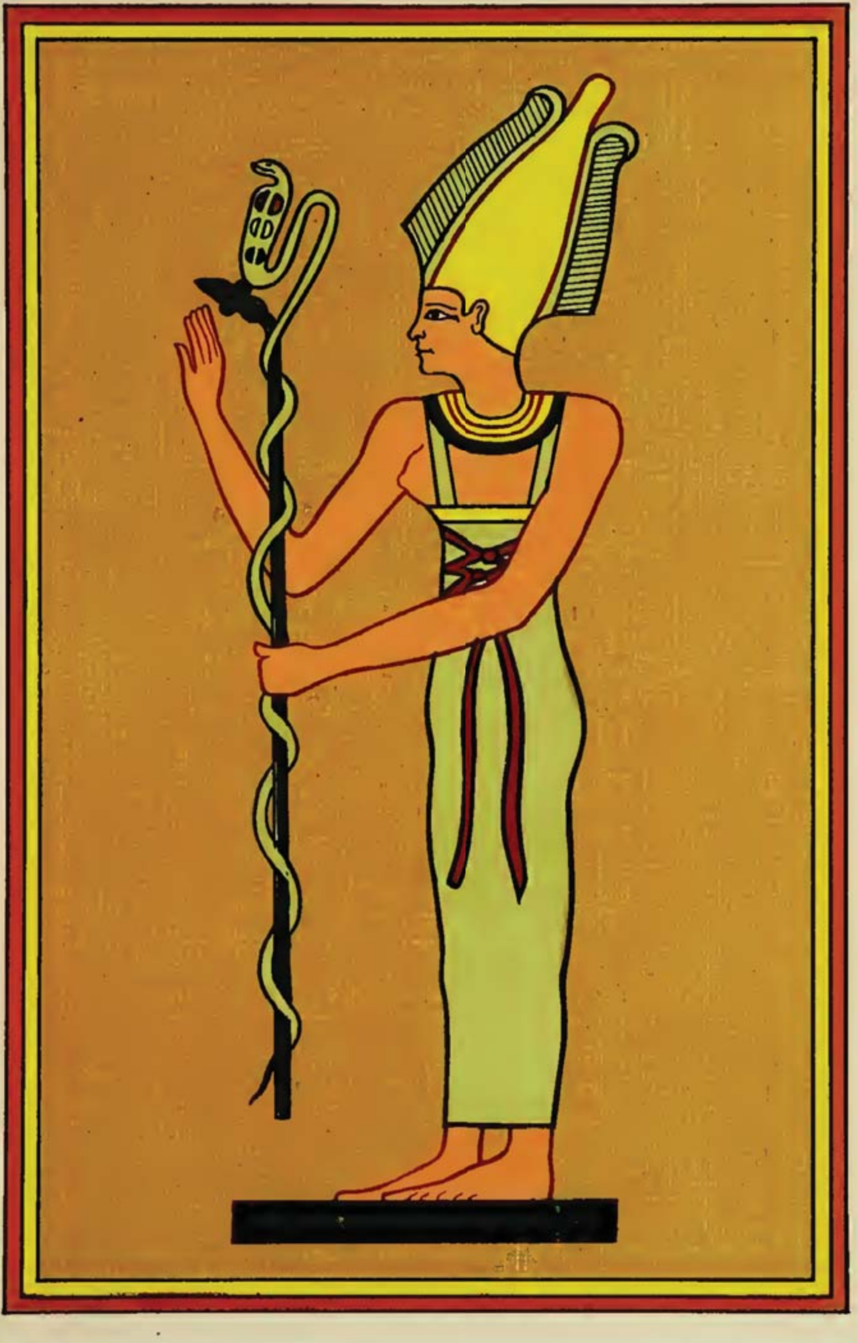
[1] *Mémoire sur quelques Papyrus du Louvre*, Paris, 1875, p. 104.

[2] The Egyptian name of the place was , Kheft-ḥrà-en-neb-s, and the Greek Pasêmis; Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 574.

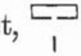
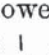
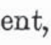
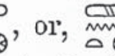
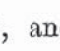
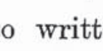
Nebt-ḥetepet she is glorious in heaven, and mighty upon earth, and queen of the Underworld. As the goddess Temt she is the lady of the "two lands," and of the red covering, and she shines in the cities of Buto and Bubastis. It is evident from the above that as the goddess of the Underworld Hathor was identified with the four great and ancient goddesses, Nekhebet of Nekhebet (Eileithyiaspolis), Uatchet of Per-Uatchet, Bast of Bubastis, and Nit (Neith) of Saïs, i.e., with the four typical goddesses of the four quarters of the world and of the four cardinal points, and it is also quite evident that this identification is the product of a late period, when the earliest attributes of Uatchet and Nekhebet, etc., were forgotten. It is, however, convenient to consider these goddesses under the head of Hathor, and they will, therefore, be described here, not because the writer regards the Ptolemaïc identification as the correct one, but because there is something to be said for it.

NEKHEBET, , THE GODDESS OF THE SOUTH.

From the hieroglyphic inscriptions which belong to the archaïc period we find that the kings of Egypt were in the habit of placing before their names the sign , by which they intended to indicate their sovereignty over the South and the North; it is uncertain how these signs are to be read, but there is no doubt whatsoever about their meaning. The vulture is the symbol of the goddess of the South, and the uraeus is the symbol of the goddess of the North, and down to very late dynastic times the kings of Egypt gloried in declaring that they were sovereigns of the country by virtue of the favour of the goddesses whose emblems were the vulture and uraeus. It is tolerably certain that in predynastic times the vulture was worshipped generally throughout Upper Egypt, and that a particular form of the serpent was venerated in the Delta; the centre of the worship of the vulture was in the city called Nekhebet, , or, , which was named Eileithyiaspolis by the Greeks, and "Civitas Lucinæ" by the Latins, and formed the capital of the third nome of Upper Egypt, and the centre of the worship of the serpent was



THE GODDESS NEKHEBIT.

Per-Uatchet, , the *Βοῦτος* of the Greeks and the Buto of the Latins, and the capital of the seventh nome of Lower Egypt. Nekhebet was declared to be the daughter of Rā, , and also the "divine wife of Khent Āmenti," . The shrine of the goddess was Nekhent, , or, , or, , and its site is represented by the modern Arab village of El-Kâb; in late times Nekhebet lost all its political importance, and the neighbouring towns of Āni, , and Senit, , came into prominence in its place.[1] Nekhen, also written, , i.e., the "White Nekhen," was the town which contained the sanctuary of the "venerable (or, holy) vulture," , and the vulture goddess Nekhebet in the land of the South is distinctly, in later texts, identified with Hathor.[2]

Nekhebet is usually represented in the form of a woman who wears on her head the vulture head-dress surmounted by the white crown, , the sign of sovereignty over Upper Egypt, to which are attached two plumes; sometimes she holds in one hand the sceptre, , and sometimes , and in the other we see the symbol of "life," . Occasionally the sceptre is formed of a long-stemmed flower, which seems to be a water-lily, with a serpent twined round it; this serpent is none other than the winged serpent, with the crown of the South upon its head, which is as symbolic of the goddess as the vulture. Nekhebet is also represented in the form of a woman with the head of a vulture, and in a picture of her reproduced by Signor Lanzone[3] she stands upon *maāt* , and holds a bow and an arrow in her left hand. In the form of a uraeus Nekhebet took her place, with her twin sister Uatchet, upon the brow of Rā, and both goddesses devoted themselves to destroying the enemies of the god; this idea is alluded to in the winged disks which are seen

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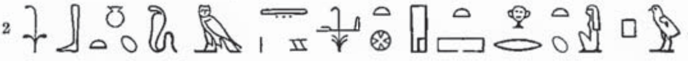
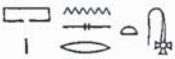
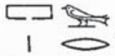
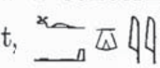
[1] Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 352 ff.

[2] .

[3] Op. cit., pl. 348.

sculptured over the doors of temples in Egypt, for on each side is a serpent, that on the right, or south side, being Nekhebet, and that on the left, or north side, being Uatchet. Nekhebet was, astronomically, the western or right eye of the sun during his journey in the Underworld, and Uatchet was his eastern or left eye. As a nature power Nekhebet was a form of the primeval abyss which brought forth the light,[1] and she is therefore called the "father of fathers, the mother of mothers, who hath existed from "the beginning, and is the creatrix of the world." In the bas-reliefs in Egyptian temples she is usually represented with her twin sister Uatchet, and also in coronation scenes, for it was most important for a king to be crowned with the double crown, , by these deities.

According to Brugsch, special rooms or chambers were set apart in the temples of Egypt, near the sanctuaries of the gods wherein Uatchet and Nekhebet were supposed to abide; the chamber of the former was on the west, or right side of the sanctuary, and was called *per nesert* , or "house of fire," and that of the latter was on the east, or left side of the sanctuary, and was called *per ur*, or "great house," . And it is very probable that at the time of the coronation of a king priestesses dressed themselves in the character of the two goddesses, and that the one declared the South had been given to him whilst the other asserted the same concerning the North. In coloured pictures of Nekhebet Fāḳit, , we find that she is painted of a light yellow, or almost white colour, which is probably intended to represent the colour of the desert regions of the South, and of the white light of the newly risen sun or moon. From one aspect she was identified with Isis, the fertile nature goddess, just as Uatchet was identified with Nephthys, who was supposed to act the part of nurse to the offspring whom Isis brought forth; in other words, Nekhebet was the mother of the Sun-god, and therefore also of the king of Egypt, his son, and Uatchet was his nurse. A passage in the text of Mer-en-Rā

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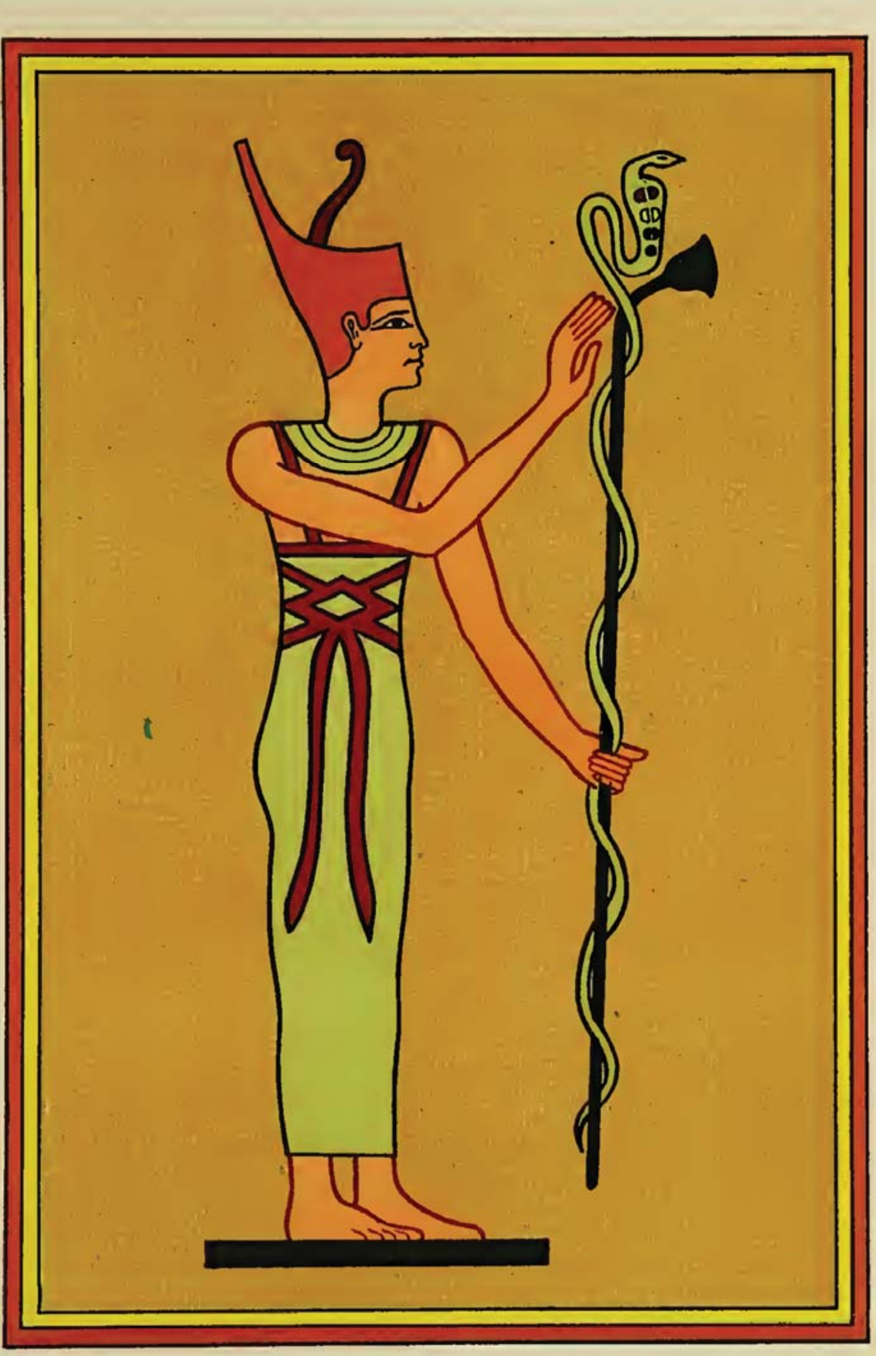
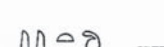
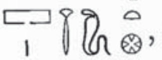
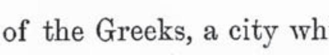
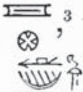
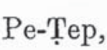
[1] Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 324.



THE GODDESS UATCHIT.

(line 762) seems to connect Nekhebet with Ȧnnu, for we read, "Thou protectest Mer-en-Rā, O Nekhebet, thou hast protected "Mer-en-Rā, O Nekhebet, in the House of the Prince in Ȧnnu; "thou hast committed him to ȦM-ḤENT-F, and Ȧm-ḥent-f hath "committed him to ȦM-SEPA-F;"[1] if this be so it is probable that Nekhebet was identified with one or other of the local goddesses Iusāaset or Nebt-ḥetep. In an interesting text published by M. Maspero[2] an allusion is made to the natron of the city of Nekheb, which was apparently much used in embalming the dead, and it was believed that in consequence the goddess Nekhebet would watch over them in the Underworld, and would change their faces into things of beauty with two brilliant eyes of light. To make certain of this result the "bandage of Nekheb" was laid upon the forehead of every carefully prepared mummy.

UATCHET, , THE GODDESS OF THE NORTH.

UATCHET, or Uatchit, as we have already said above, is a goddess who was worshipped under the form of a serpent, and the oldest seat of her cult was at Per-uatchet, , the *Βοῦτος* of the Greeks, a city which was situated in the "land of Uatchet," ,[3] i.e., in the seventh nome of Lower Egypt, or Nefer-Ȧment, . The temple in which Uatchet was venerated and its precincts are known in texts of all periods by the name Pe-Ṭep, , and from the frequent mention of this double name in the Pyramid Texts it is clear that the shrine was both very famous and very old. Uatchet was identified with Isis

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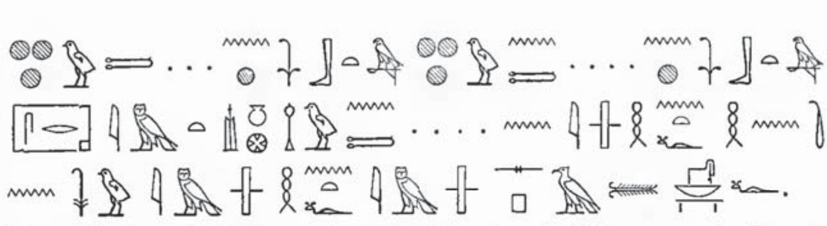
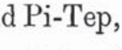
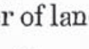
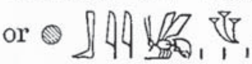
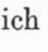
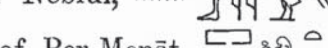
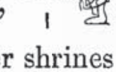
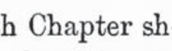
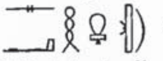
[1] .

[2] The Φθενότης of Ptolemy, and the Ptenetu of Pliny; see de Rougé, *Géographie*, p. 41.

[3] *Mémoire sur quelques Papyrus*, pp. 50, 83.

at a very early period, and there is abundant proof that Horus, the son of Isis, was worshipped with Isis at Per-Uatchet; we are, then, driven to the conclusion that Pe-Ṭep was a city with two distinct divisions, in one of which Uatchet-Isis was worshipped, and in the other Horus, and that Horus dwelt in Pe, and Uatchet-Isis in Ṭep. Among the variants of the name worthy of mention are Pi-Tchepet, , and Pi-Tep, .[1] In late dynastic times Uatchet was called Åp-taui, i.e., "opener of lands," , but the exact meaning of this title is not quite certain. Near the city of the goddess was situated the Island of Khebit, , or , or , which has been rightly identified with the island called Χέμμις and Χέμρες[2] by classical writers, and round about which were the papyrus swamps , Na-åṭeḥ, the Natho of the Greeks, which play such a prominent part in the legends of Isis and Horus. According to these, Isis retreated to the papyrus swamps after she had conceived her child, and she remained hidden in them until her months were fulfilled, when she brought forth Horus, who afterwards became the "avenger of his father;" Set never succeeded in finding her hiding place, because the great goddess had found some means whereby she caused the papyrus and other plants to screen her from his view, and the goddess Uatchet visited her and helped her in her retreat.

In pictures and reliefs the goddess is represented in the form of a woman who wears upon her head the crown of the North, , and she holds in one hand the papyrus sceptre, round which is sometimes twined a long snake; in some examples she is seen bearing in her right hand the crown of the North, , which she is about to place upon the head of a king. Occasionally we find her in the form of a large winged serpent[3] with the crown of the North upon her head; her titles are "Uatchet, lady of heaven;" "Uatchet, lady of Pe, mistress of Ṭep, the august one, the mighty one;" "Uatchet, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods;" "Uatchet, lady of Nebiui, , lady of Neter-"ta, , lady of Per-Menāt, , and lady of Ȧmemt, " ." Besides her shrines in these last named cities one built in her honour seems to have existed in Sepṭ, . The views held about the goddess in connexion with the dead are well illustrated by certain allusions made to her in the *Book of the Dead*. In the xviith Chapter she is mentioned in connexion with a god called Reḥu, , and she is definitely identified with Isis who is said to have protected her son Horus by shaking her hair out over him, although Uatchet appears in the form of a serpent twined round the stalk of a papyrus plant and is called the "eye of Rā." In the xliind Chapter the shoulder of the deceased is said to be the shoulder of Uatchet; in the lxvith Chapter the deceased says, "I have knowledge. I was conceived by Sekhet, and the "goddess Nit (Neith) gave me birth. I am Horus, and I have "come forth from the Eye of Horus (i.e., Rā). I am Uatchet who "came forth from Horus. I am Horus, and I fly up and perch "myself upon the forehead of Rā in the bows of his boat which is "in heaven." In Chapter cxxxvi.A the deceased is said to be the "lord of Maāt ( ), which the goddess Uatchet worketh;" in Chapter cxxxvi.B he says, "I am the spiritual body (*sāḥ* ") of the lord of Maāt which is made by the goddess "Uatchet;" and in Chapter clxxix. he says, "The Enemy hath "come to an end beneath me in the presence of the Assessors, "and I eat him in the great field on the altar of Uatchet;" finally, in Chapter clxxii. (l. 19) certain bones in the head of the deceased are identified with those of the Uatchti goddesses, i.e., Nekhebet and Uatchet. During the ceremonies connected with embalming, the operator or priest addressed the mummy, saying, "The goddess Uatchet cometh unto thee in the form of the "living Uraeus (, *Ārāt*), to anoint thy head with their

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[1] Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 215.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 568.

[3] See Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 58 f.

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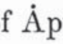
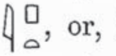
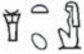
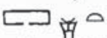
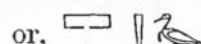
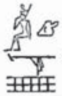
[1] Their = Uatchet and Nekhebet.

"flames. She riseth up on the left side of thy head, and she "shineth from the right side of thy temples without speech; they "rise up on thy head during each and every hour of the day, even "as they do for their father Rā, and through them the terror "which thou inspirest in the holy spirits is increased, and because "Uatchet and Nekhebet rise up on thy head, and because thy brow "becometh the portion of thy head whereon they establish them-"selves, even as they do upon the brow of Rā, and because they "never leave thee, awe of thee striketh into the souls which are "made perfect."[1]

In the *Book of the Dead* Uatchet generally plays the part of destroyer of the foes of the deceased, but her connexion with Maāt shows that she was identified with some one of the female counterparts of Thoth. In a calendar published by Brugsch[2] we see that under the name of Ȧpt, , or, , Uatchet was regarded as the goddess of the eleventh month of the Egyptian year (Epiphi).

BAST, , THE LADY OF THE EAST.

BAST was the goddess *par excellence* of the eastern part of the Delta, and the centre of her worship was at Per-Bast, or Pa-Bast, , or, , or Bubastis, the capital of the Ȧm-khent, , the seventh nome (Bubastites) of Lower Egypt; this city is often referred to by classical writers (Herodotus ii. 137, 156; Diodorus 16, 51; Strabo xvii.; Pliny v. 9), and is mentioned in the Bible under the name Pibeseth, פִּיבֶסֶת (Ezekiel xxx. 17). The site is marked by the ruins at Tell-Basta which were carefully excavated by M. Naville, who made some interesting discoveries concerning the great antiquity of the city of Bubastis, and who published the inscriptions which are still to be found upon the ruins of the great buildings which once stood there.[3]

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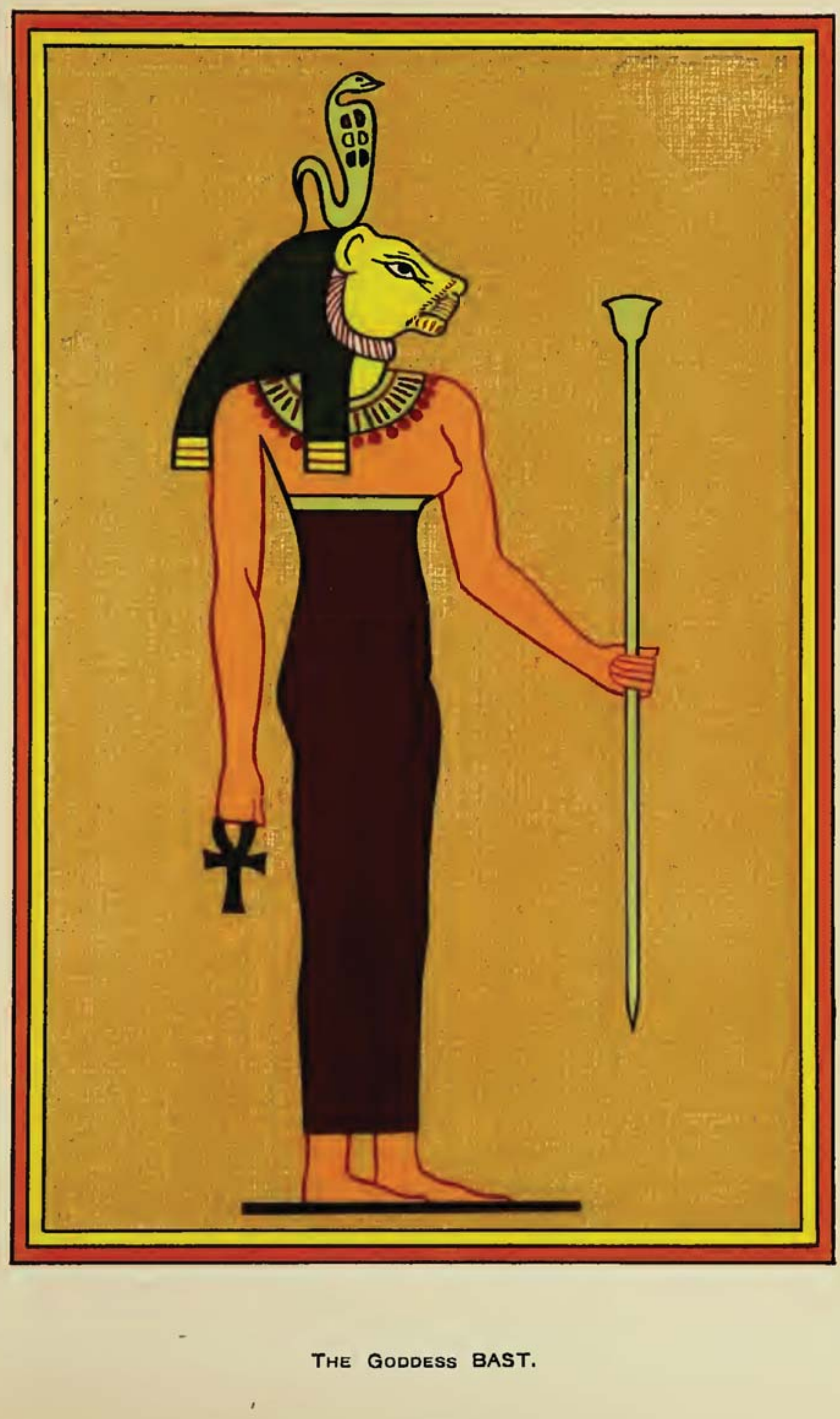
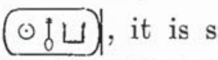
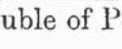
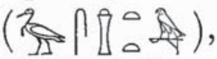
[1] Maspero, *Mémoire sur quelques Papyrus*, p. 82.

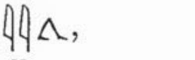
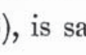
[2] *Astronomische und Astrologische Inschriften*, p. 473, No. 11.

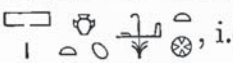
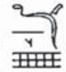
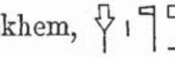
[3] See *Bubastis*, Eighth and Tenth Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1891 and 1892.

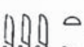


The Goddess BAST.

In the version of Manetho according to Julius Africanus (Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, p. 98), it is said that in the reign of Boethus, the first king of the IInd Dynasty, a chasm opened at Bubastis, and that many persons perished, but M. Naville found no historical remains so old as this period on the site; he has, however, discovered on blocks of stone there the names of Khufu and Khāf-Rā, kings of the IVth Dynasty, written in such a way as to prove that the inscriptions were cut during the period of the Early Empire. Of the kings of the VIth Dynasty only the name of Pepi I. is found at Bubastis, and in connection with this king it is interesting to note that in his funeral inscription (line 569) his heart is said to be the heart of Bestet, i.e., Bast, . This fact shows that the worship of Bast was already very old in Egypt, at all events in the Delta, and that a definite position was assigned to her in the theological system of the priests of Heliopolis. In the text of Pepi II. , it is said, "O god of the double town () the double of Pepi is for thy "two fingers; Pepi hath swept off towards the heavens like a crane, "Pepi hath scented out the heavens like a hawk, Pepi hath flown "up to heaven like the grasshopper of Rā; Pepi must not be "repulsed, O king, there is no green herb for Pepi, O Bast "(), and none hath made dances for Pepi [who "standeth] like a great man at the door" (line 869). To find the name of Bast in the Pyramid Texts is natural enough, for their Heliopolitan editors introduced many local, and even foreign deities into the companies of their gods; in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, however, Bast and her city are very rarely mentioned, and her name is entirely omitted from the list of the gods mentioned in connexion with the deification of members (Chapter xlii.).

In the "Negative Confession" (line 16) of the cxxvth Chapter we have the mention of the assessor called Thenemi, , i.e., he who goes backwards, who is said to come forth from Bast, , and an assessor called Basti,  (line 26), is said to come forth from the city of Shetait.

The goddess Bast is usually represented in the form of a woman with the head of a cat, but she also has, at times, the head of a lioness surmounted by a snake; in her right hand she holds a sistrum, and in her left an aegis with the head of a cat or lioness on the top of it. The form in which the goddess was worshipped in the earliest times was that of a cat, and her identification with a lioness probably belongs to a comparatively late period. From the inscription we find that she was also identified with Rāt, , the female counterpart of Rā, and with Temt, , the female counterpart of Tem; she is often called the "eye of Rā," and the "eye of Tem," and the Shetat, , i.e., the "Hidden one." According to one legend Bast was the personification of the soul of Isis, , and was worshipped as such in Bubastis, and it was only at "Bubastis of the South," , i.e., Dendera, that she was regarded as the female counterpart of Tem. From the fact that she is associated with the god Sepṭ, "the lord of the East," it is tolerably certain that in one aspect as least she was regarded as a foreign goddess, whose attributes and characteristics had been transferred to her. As Temt, , at Dendera, she was said to be the mother of the lion-headed god Ȧri-ḥes, , the lord of Aphroditopolis, , the holy Sekhem, , who dwelt in the temple of Bast of Dendera;[1] her husband in this case was the god Ȧn, , who was a form of Osiris.

At Thebes Bast was identified with Mut, the lady of Asheru; at Memphis with Mut and Uatchet, at Heliopolis with Iusāaset, and in Nubia with Sekhet and Menḥet, at a town in the Delta called Sekhet, , her name appears to have been Bare-Ȧst, .[2] If we are to seek for the derivation of the name Bast in Egyptian we must connect it with the word for

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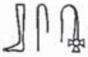
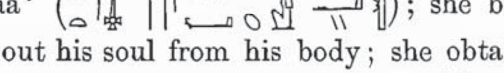
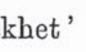
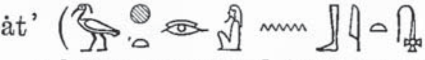
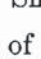
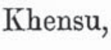
[1] See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 208; *Religion*, p. 332.

[2] Lanzone, op. cit., p. 226.

"fire," *bes* , and regard the goddess as a personification of a power of the sun which made itself manifest in the form of heat. That this view is correct is certain from several passages in Egyptian texts, wherein both Bast and Sekhet are described as closely connected forms of a female personification of the heat and light of the Sun-god, and wherein they are made to act as the destroyers both of the enemies of the Sun-god, and of the deceased. Thus of Sekhet it is said in the "Book of Overthrowing Āpep" (xxvii. 15), "The Eye of Horus falls upon him cutting and "hacking his head from his neck; the goddess Sekhet tears out "his intestines and kicks them on the fire with her left leg; she "places them on the fire and burns into him in her name of 'Set-"usert-āa' (); she burns into him and "drives out his soul from his body; she obtains the mastery over "him in her name of 'Sekhet' (); and she overpowers "him in her name of 'Khut-nebȧt' (, "i.e., Eye of Flame); she consumes his interior and blazes in it "with the flame of her mouth." Speaking generally, Sekhet personified the burning, fiery, and destructive heat of the sun, and Bast represented the milder heat which at certain periods of the day and year encouraged the growth of vegetation, and the germination of seeds.

That Sekhet and Bast are goddesses of fire is quite clear, for they accompany Hathor in her character of the "Eye of Rā," and as forms of the Sun-god they symbolize the heat of the late and early summer respectively. It has already been said that Bast is identified with Mut at Thebes, but we also find that at Thebes Mut-Bast[1] is depicted as Isis, and we see her wearing upon her head the feathers of the god Shu, , and horns with the sun's disk between them. The god of whom she is the female counterpart is in this case Ȧmen-Rā-Temu-Kheperȧ-Ḥeru-khuti, who is represented with the head of a hawk wearing the crown of Shu; the offspring of the two deities is Khensu, . These considerations lead us to the conclusion that Bast was, at all events in dynastic times, a personification of the moon, especially when we remember that Khensu was a lunar god. With the head of a lioness, which is usually painted green, she symbolized the sunlight, but when she is given the head of a cat her connexion with the moon is undoubted; Dr. Brugsch refers to Plutarch's remark that the pupils of the eyes of cats become full and very large at the time of the full moon, and it is probable that the primitive Egyptians held the same view, and that as a result they identified the cat-headed goddess Bast with the moon. From another aspect Bast was regarded as exercising a special influence over women who were with child, and she appears on several occasions as one of the goddesses of the birth-chamber; her son Khensu was declared "to make women fruitful, and make "the human germ to grow in his mother's womb," and he was supposed to do this especially in his character of the "moon, the light-bearer."

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[1] See Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 334.

According to the Stele of Canopus, the chief festivals of the goddess Bubastis were celebrated in the months of April and May, and of one of these Herodotus (ii. 60) furnishes some interesting information. He says:—"Such of this people as with entyre and "affectionate zeale most religiously obserue the feast at Bubastis, "behaue and beare themselues on this maner. Certayne shippes "being addressed, wherein infinite numbers of men and women "sayle towards the city, in the meane season whiles they be in "voiage on ye water, certaine of the women play upon drums and "tabers, making a great sound and noyse, ye men on pipes. Such "as want these implements, clap their hands and straine their "uoice in singing to ye highest degree. At what city soeuer they "ariue, happely some of the women continue their mirth and dis-"port on ye timbrels, some others raile, reuile, and scold at the "dames of ye city beyond measure: many trauise and daunce "minionly: other cast up their clothes, and openly discouer and "bewray their shame, doing this in all those cittes yt are neere "adioyning to the riuers side. Being assembled and gathered "together at Bubastis, they honour the feast day with principall "solemnity, making large offerings to Diana, wherein is greater

" expence and effusion of grape wine than all the yeare besides. " To this place by the voice of ye countrey are wont to repayre " 7000 men and women, besides children, and thus they passe the " time at Bubastis."[1] Of the city of Bubastis itself the same writer says[2] (ii. 137, 138):—" The noble city of Bubastis seemeth " to be very haughty and highly planted, in which city is a temple " of excellent memory dedicate to the goddesse Bubastis, called in " our speech Diana, then the which, albeit there be other churches " both bigger and more richly furnished, yet for the sightly grace " and seemelynesse of building, there is none comparable unto " it. Besides, the very entrance and way that leadeth unto the " city, the reste is in forme of an Ilande, inclosed round about with " two sundry streames of the river Nilus, which runne to either " side of the path way, and leauing as it were a lane or causey " betweene them, without meeting, take their course another way. " These armes of .the floud are each of them an hundred foote " broade, beset on both sides the banckes with fayre braunched " trees, ouershadowing ye waters with a coole and pleasant shade. " The gate or entry of the city is in heighth 10. paces, hauing in " the front a beautifull image, 6. cubites in measure. The temple " it selfe situate in the middest of ye city, is euermore in sight to " those yt passe to and fro. For although ye city by addition of " earth was arrered and made higher, yet ye temple standing as it " did in ye beginning, and neuer mooued, is in maner of a lofty " and stately tower, in open and cleare viewe to euery parte of ye " city. Round about the which goeth a wall, ingrauen with " figures and portraitures of sundry beasts. The inner temple is " enuironed with an high grove of trees, set and planted by the " hande and industrie of men: in the whiche temple is standing an " image. The length of the temple is in euery way a furlong. " From the entrance of the temple Eastward, there is a fayre large " causey leading to the house of Mercury, in length, three furlongs " and four acres broade, all of faire stone, and hemmed in on each " side with a course of goodly tall trees planted by the hands of " men, and thus as touching the description of ye temple."

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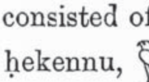
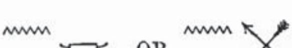
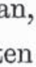
[1] B. R.'s Translation, fol. 86*a*.

[2] B. R.'s Translation, fol. 108*a*.

According to Brugsch,[1] the great triad of the city of Bubastis consisted of Osiris, Bast, and their offspring, who was called Ḥeru-ḥekennu, , or Nefer-Tem, or Bast; their equivalents in Heliopolis were Tem, Iusāaset, and Nefer-Tem; in Memphis, Ptaḥ-Sekhet, and Nefer-Tem; in Thebes, Ȧmen-Rā-Ḥeru-khuti, and Mut-Bast, and Khensu, or Horus, or Neb-āut-ȧb; in Aphroditopolis, Osiris-Ȧn, and Bast-Temt, and ·Ȧri-ḥes. In the Bubastite nome were many temples and localities in which the worship of Bast was paramount, and among such may be mentioned Bairȧst, , the modern Belbês, and Netert, , or , where was preserved a thigh of Osiris, , shut up in a "hidden chest."[2]

NET, , OR , OR , OR , THE LADY OF THE WEST.

NET, or NEITH, was one of the oldest of all the Egyptian goddesses, and it is tolerably certain that her worship was widespread even in predynastic times; many attempts have been made to arrive at a decision about her earliest attributes by means of etymological processes, but they are unsatisfactory because they only illustrate the views which the Egyptians held concerning her in comparatively late dynastic times, and several of them only explain the objects which the goddess is seen holding in her hands in pictures. The examples reproduced by Lanzone represent the goddess in the form of a woman, who wears upon her head the crown of the North, ; she often holds a sceptre, , or , in one hand, and the symbol of life in the other, but sometimes the hand which holds the sceptre also grasps a bow and two arrows, which are her characteristic symbols. She once[3] appears in the form of a cow with eighteen stars on one side, and a collar round her neck from which hangs ; on her back is a ram-headed lion with horns and plumes, , upon his head. The cow stands in a boat, the

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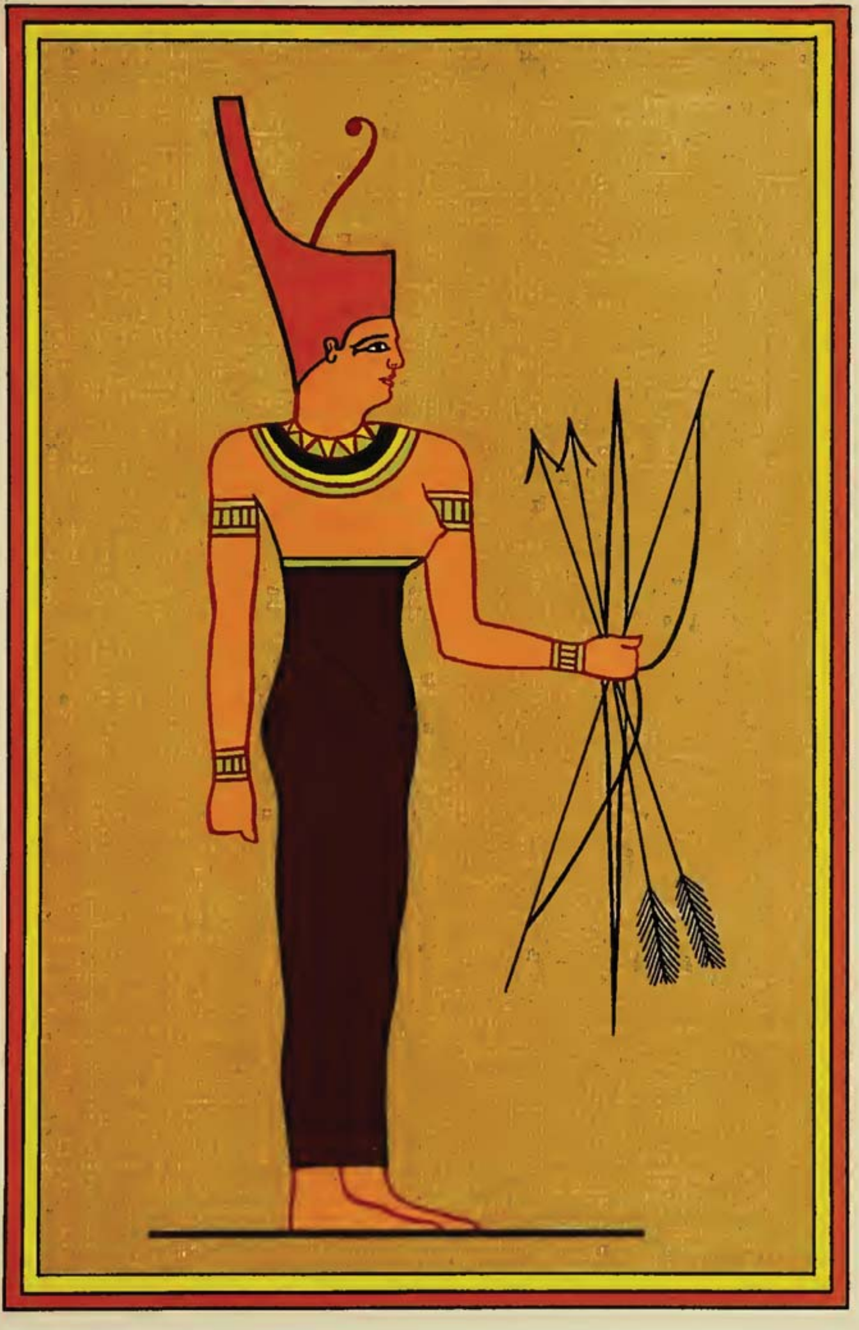
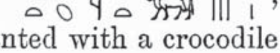
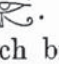
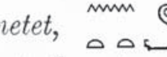
[1] *Religion*, p. 336.

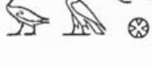
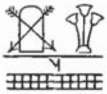
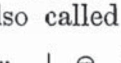
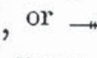
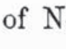
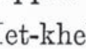
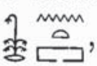
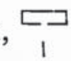
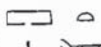
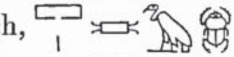
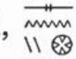
[2] See de Rougé, *Géographie*, p. 122.

[3] Op. cit., pl. 175 ff.



THE GODDESS NIT (NEITH).

prow of which terminates in a lion's head with a disk upon it, and is provided with wings; the stern of the boat terminates in a ram's head, and by the fore feet of the cow, which is described as "Net, the Cow, which gave birth to Rā," , is an *utchat*, . In one scene she is represented with a crocodile sucking at each breast.[1] In late dynastic times there is no doubt that Net or Neith was regarded as nothing but a form of Hathor, but at an earlier period she was certainly a personification of a form of the great, inert, primeval watery mass out of which sprang the Sun-god Rā, and it is possible, as Brugsch has suggested, that the name Net may be akin in meaning to Nut. On the other hand, if we connect her name with the root *netet*, , "to knit, to weave," and the like, we may accept the view of those who describe Net as the goddess of weaving, and who identify the signs, , and , which are often seen upon her head, with a shuttle. It is, however, quite clear that the oldest and most characteristic symbols of the goddess were two arrows and a shield, which at a very early period became the recognized emblems, not only of Net herself, but also of the city in which her chief temple was situated, and they also served as the symbols which formed the name of the nome of which the city Saïs was the capital. Now since Net was represented by a bow and two arrows, there is no good reason for doubting that she was originally either a goddess of war or of the chase, and it is probable that she was identified with a local wood-spirit, or hunting-spirit, which was worshipped in the east of the Delta in the predynastic period. In any case it is quite certain, when we consider the attributes which are ascribed to her in the texts, that she represents several goddesses who were the conceptions of quite different periods of history and of stages of civilization. Thus, at times, her attributes cannot be distinguished from those of Isis, Uatchet, Sekhet, Bast, Mut, Nekhebet, and other goddesses, and she was identified with one and all of them by turns.

The most ancient and famous sanctuary of Net was at Saïs, , *Saut*, the capital of the fifth nome of Lower Egypt, which bore the name of  "Sȧpi-meḥt," i.e., "Sȧpi of the North," and which was also called Ḥet Net, , i.e., "House of Net," and "Ȧst-Net," , i.e., "The seat of Net;" a rare name of the city quoted by Brugsch[1] and de Rougé[2] is "Sȧpi," , or . The texts often mention the "temples of Net," , that is to say, the temples of the gods who were worshipped with Net at Saïs; the names of these temples are:—Ḥet-khebit, , Resenet and Meḥenet, , , Per-Rā, , and Per-Tem, . The great temple of Net at Saïs must, of course, not be confounded with that of Saïs of Upper Egypt, i.e., Esneh, which was called Per-Net-mut-kheper-ḥetch, ; the names of Esneh are Ȧni, , and Seni, . At Saïs was held the great annual festival in honour of Isis-Net, as recorded by Herodotus (ii. 59), and it is this which is described by the same writer (ii. 62) in the following words[3]:—"In like manner meeting (as before) at the city Sais, "there to accomplishe the rites and ceremonies due to the day, at "the approche and neere poynt of the euening, they furnish and "beset their houses with torches and lampes, which being re-"plenished with pure oyle mingled with salte, they giue fire to the "weike, and suffer them to continue burning till the next "morning, naming the day by the feast of lampes. Such as "resort not to this feast, do neuerthelesse at their owne homes giue "due honour to the night, placing in euery corner of theyr house "an infinite number of tapers and candles, the custome being not "only kept at Sais, but spread and scattered throughout the "whole region. But for what ende this night is held solemne by "lighting of lampes, a certayne mysticall and religious reason is "yeelded which we must keepe secret."

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[1] Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 175, No. 3.

After describing the place in the temple of Saïs where Apries was buried, and mentioning the "fayre Chamber builte of stone, "beautyfied with sundry Pyllers ingrauen like unto Palme-trees, "being otherwyse very sumptuously and royally garnished," and the two "mayne posts in the middest of the chamber, betweene "the which standeth a Cophine," and the "toumbe in the same, "the name whereof," he says, "I may not descry without breache "of Religion," Herodotus goes on to speak of other matters connected with Saïs, and says (ii. 170):—"At Saïs in the Temple "of Minerva, beneath the Churche and neere unto the walle of "Minerva, in a base Chappell, are standinge certayne greate "brooches of stone, whereto is adioyninge a lowe place in manner "of a Dungeon, couered over wyth a stone curiously wroughte, the "vaute it selfe being on euery side carued with most exquisite "arte, in biggnesse matchinge with that in Delos, which is called "Trochoïdes. Herein euery one counterfayteth the shadowes of "hys owne affections and phantasies in the nyghte season, which "the Aegyptians call Mysteryes; touchinge whiche, God forbid, I "should aduenture to discouer so much as they vouchsafed to tell "mee."[1] The "Mysteries" here referred to were probably the ceremonies performed in connexion with the annual commemoration of the sufferings and death of Osiris, who, according to an old legend, was buried at Saïs.

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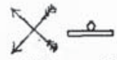
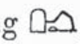
[1] *Dict. Géog.*, p. 1323.

[2] *Géographie de la Basse Égypte*, p. 24.

[3] B. R.'s translation, fol. 86*b*.

Passing now to consider the antiquity of the cult of Net at Saïs we find much to prove that the worship of this goddess dates from the latter part of the predynastic period. The earliest form of Net's name is found on an ivory cover of a box and on an ivory vase,[2] where it occurs in connexion with *ḥetep*, and so serves as a constituent part of the proper name Net-ḥetep, . Now, Net-ḥetep, we know, was connected with the early king Sᴍᴀ, and she appears to have been the wife of king , Āḥᴀ, who has been commonly, but on insufficient evidence, identified with Menȧ, the first historical king of Egypt. But whether Āḥᴀ is Menȧ or not matters little for our purpose here, for it is quite certain that both he and Sᴍᴀ flourished about the beginning of the period of the

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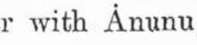
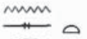
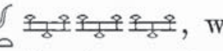
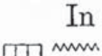
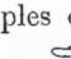
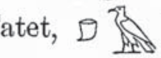
[1] B. R.'s translation, fol. 116*b*.

[2] See Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, ii., pp. 4-20, and pl. ii.

Ist Dynasty, and this being so the name of the goddess which forms part of the name of the queen Net-ḥetep must also be as old. Thus it is clear that even in the Ist Dynasty the cult of Net must have been of considerable antiquity. During the first four dynasties the goddess possessed sanctuaries in many parts of Egypt, and several of her priests and priestesses were buried in maṣṭaba tombs in and near Ṣaḳḳâra. M. Mallet quotes[1] an interesting passage from the sarcophagus of Apa-ānkh in which she is addressed together with Ȧnunu, , and Nesert, , who are two very ancient goddesses, and in which it is declared that she came forth from the god, and that the god came forth from her.[2] We thus see that in the IVth Dynasty she was thought to be at once the mother and the daughter of the Sun-god Rā, and that she had more than one form, and possessed also the power to conceive and bring forth the new Sun-god daily by means of the divine and magical formulae with which she was provided. Among her early titles is that of Ȧpt-uat, i.e., "Opener of the ways," , which seems to suggest that she was in some way a female counterpart of Anubis.

In the text of Unȧs (line 67) we find the "temples of Net," ,[3] mentioned, side by side with the city of Ṭep, , and the name of the goddess is coupled with that of Tatet, , who was supposed to dress the dead; thus the passage clearly proves that Net was believed to perform some important ceremonies in connexion with the preservation of the dead, and it would seem that these were of a magical character. We may note in passing that in the late "Ritual of Embalmment," published by M. Maspero,[4] it is directed that a piece of linen, upon which were drawn or painted figures of Ḥāpi and Isis, be placed in the hand of the deceased, and that Isis is identified with Neith. This piece

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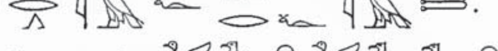
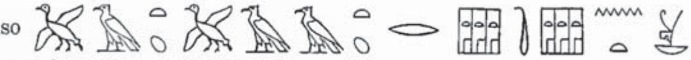
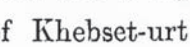
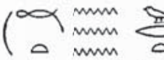
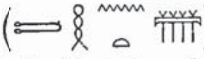
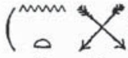
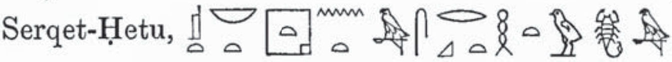
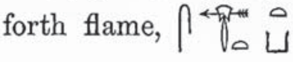
[1] *Le Cult de Neit à Saïs*, Paris, 1888, p. 104.

[2] .

[3] Compare also .

[4] *Mémoire sur quelques Papyrus du Louvre*, p. 90.

of linen was intended to serve as an amulet, and to bring to the mummy the protection of Net, who is referred to under the name of Isis. In the text of Unȧs (line 597) we have the following address:—" Homage to thee, O Horus, in the regions of Horus; " homage to thee, O Set, in the regions of Set; homage to thee, " O Ȧarer ( ) in Sekhet-Ȧarer;[1] homage to thee, O " Netetthȧȧb ( ), thou son of these four gods who are in " the Great Temple, wherefrom the voice of Unȧs goeth not out. " Take off your apparel in order that Unȧs may see you as " Horus seeth Isis, and that Unȧs may see you as Neḥebu-kau " ( ) seeth Selqet; and that Unȧs may " see you as Sebek seeth Net, and that Unȧs may see you as Set " seeth Netetthȧȧb." A little further on (lines 620-627) we have another reference to Net and her son Sebek in these words, " Unȧs " hath come in the form of Khent-em-meḥt-aḳebȧ ("), and this Unȧs is Sebek with the green " feather ( ), who watcheth and who raiseth up his " forehead, and who is the white one who cometh forth from the " thigh[s] of Khebset-urt (), who is in the light. " Unȧs hath come to his pools which are on the banks of the canal " ( ) of Meḥt-urt (), at the place where " offerings flourish, and in the fields which are in the horizon, and " he hath made to flourish his garden on the banks of the horizon. " Unȧs hath brought the crystal () to the Great " Eye which is in the field. Unȧs hath taken his place in the " horizon, he riseth like Sebek, the son of Net (), he " eateth with his mouth, he voideth water," etc. In the text of Tetȧ (line 204) Net is mentioned in connection with Isis, Nephthys, and Serqet-Ḥetu, , as one of the four goddesses who shot forth flame, ,

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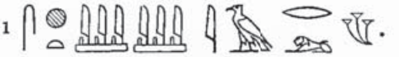
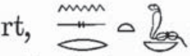
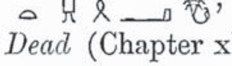
[1] .

and worked "protection," , on behalf of the god Nu, , when he was seated on his throne.

These same four goddesses also appear in connection with the Four Children of Horus, whom they assisted in protecting by magical means the various parts of human bodies which were placed in "Canopic jars." Thus Isis says, "I conquer the foe, I "make protection for Åmseth who is in me"; Nephthys says, "I hide the hidden thing, and I make protection for Ḥāpi who is "in me"; Net says, "I pass the morning and I pass the night of "each day in making protection for Ṭuamutef who is in me"; Serqet says, "I employ each day in making protection for Qebḥ-"sennuf who is in me."[1] The Egyptian word used here to express the meaning of "protection" is *sa*, , and the character represents a knot of a peculiar kind; the part which knots and cords tied in various ways have always played in magical ceremonies is too well known to need description, and it need only be pointed out here that the sign indicates that the protection which Net exercised on behalf of the dead must have been of a magical character. This view is supported by a passage in the text of Unȧs (l. 271 ff.) in which we find Net mentioned in connection with the goddesses Ȧnȧ, , Urt, , Nesert, , and Urt-ḥekau, ; now Urt-ḥekau is distinctly said to be the "protective power of the Eye of Horus," and thus the attributes of Net and of the other goddesses must be of a kindred nature. In the text of Pepi I. (l. 572), in the passage relating to the deification of the members of the deceased it is said that the thighs of Pepi are "Net and Serqet," ; but in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* (Chapter xlii. 11), it is the fore-arms of the deceased which are identified with the fore-arms of the lady of Saïs, i.e., Net. In the Theban Recension the deceased declares (lxvi. 2) that he was conceived by the goddess Sekhet, and that the goddess Net gave birth to him. In Chapter lxxi. 15, we read, "Behold, the god of "One Face is with me. The god Sebek hath stood up within his

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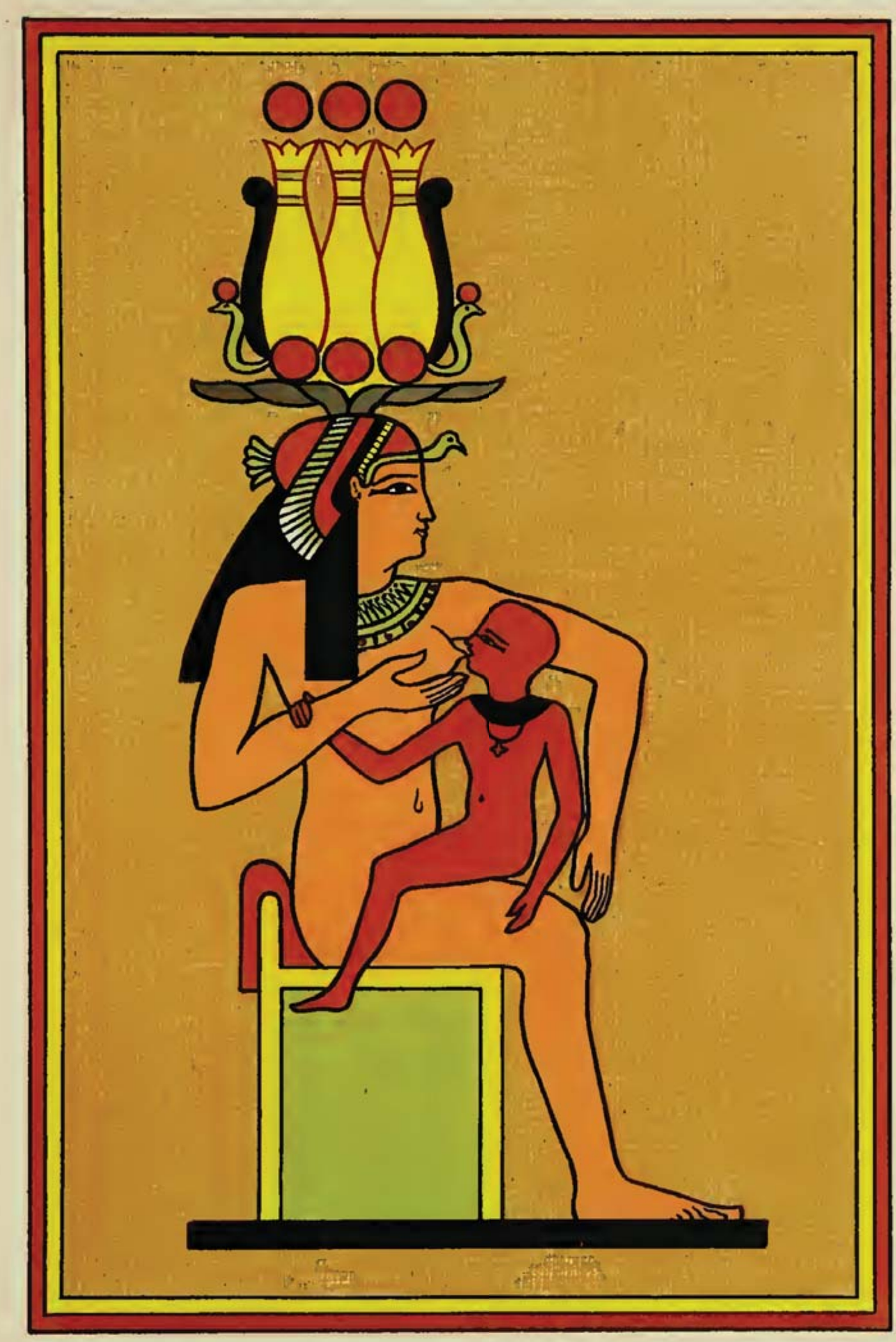
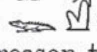
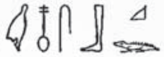
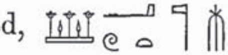
[1] For the texts see my *Mummy*, p. 199 ff.



THE GODDESS SEBEK-NIT SUCKLING HORUS.

"ground, and the goddess Net hath stood up within her plantation"; and elsewhere (cxiv. 5; cxvi. 2) we read that she shineth in the city of Matchat, or Mentchat. In Chapter cxvi. 4, the deceased says, "O ye gods who dwell in Khemennu, ye know me even as I know the goddess Net"; and in Chapter cxlv. 81, he says, "I have entered into the house of Åstes, and I have made "supplication to the Khati gods and to Sekhet in the Temple of "Net." In the Rubric to Chapter clxiii., which has for its vignette a serpent on legs, and two *utchats* on legs, it is ordered that in the pupil of one *utchat* there shall be drawn a figure of the "god of the lifted hand" with the face of Net, and having plumes and a back like unto a hawk. From one aspect at least it is clear that Net must have been a form of the power of the Eye of Horus, as well as of Isis, his mother; her son Sebek is a local form of Horus, and it is probable that the two crocodiles, which are seen accompanying her, and which have been already mentioned, are in some way connected with the god Ḥenti, , whose symbols are two crocodiles. Ḥenti, there is every reason to believe, was a form of Osiris. It is, however, possible that one of the crocodiles may represent Horus, or Osiris, and the other Ḥetch-nefer-Sebeq, , the son of Net.

We have, unfortunately, no description of the ceremonies connected with the worship of Net, but there is good reason for believing that they were of a mystic character, and that they were modified from time to time in accordance with the change of beliefs of the priests in respect of the attributes of the goddess. Originally its chief characteristics must have been those of a local Delta or Libyan goddess of nature, and it is probable that it included ceremonies which were intended to represent the various processes of generation and reproduction. This view is supported by several of the titles which are given in Egyptian texts to her and to her kindred goddesses. Thus as Isis she was the first to give birth to a god, ;[1] as Hathor she was the "great cow which gave birth to Rā;" and she is called "the great goddess, the mother

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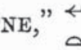
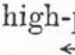
[1] See Mallet, *Le Culte de Neït*, p. 140.

"of all the gods," and "Rāt (i.e., the female Sun), the lady of "heaven, the mistress of all the gods, who came into being in the "beginning." In a text quoted by M. Mallet she is actually called "ONE," , a fact which proves that at a certain period of her history she was to goddesses what Rā was to gods. A certain amount of light is thrown upon the history of Net by the inscription[1] on the famous shrine-bearing statue of Utchat-Ḥeru now preserved in the Vatican, but it must be remembered that this monument is not older than the early part of the Persian period. Utchat-Ḥeru was an official of very high rank in Saïs, and he was high-priest of Net, and as such bore the official title of *Ur-sun*, , i.e., "great one of knowledge." He was commander of the vessels of Ȧāḥmes II. (Amasis), and when Cambyses came to Egypt and visited Saïs after his conquest of the country, it was Utchat-Ḥeru who received him, and explained to him the antiquity and greatness of the goddess Net, and conducted him through the various sanctuaries which were grouped together in her temple. In the course of his conversation with the king he told him that it was Net, the mighty mother, who had given birth to Rā, and that she was the first to give birth to anything, and that she had done so when nothing else had been born, and that she had never herself been born. For some reason or other Utchat-Ḥeru found favour in the sight of Cambyses, and the text tells us that the king made offerings "even as every other good king had done." The funds provided by Cambyses were spent by Utchat-Ḥeru in reviving the schools which had fallen into decay, and in refounding colleges for the priests of Saïs. The fame and traditions of the antiquity of Net and her worship were current among the late Greek writers, and it will be remembered that Plutarch (*De Iside et Osir.*, ix.) refers to an inscription on a statue of Pallas which he renders, "I am everything which hath been, and which is, and "which shall be, and there hath never been any who hath uncovered (or revealed) my veil."[2] Elsewhere (Chapter lxii.) he says that the Egyptians often called Isis by the name Athene, which signifies, "I have come from myself."[1]

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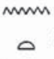
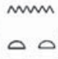
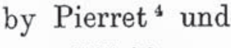
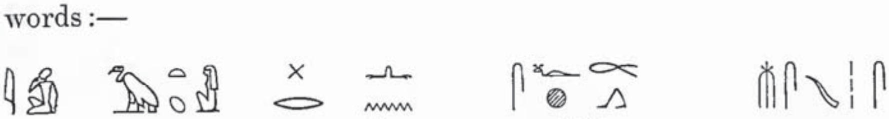
[1] See Revillout in *Revue Égyptologique*, tom. i., p. 72 ff.

[2] Ἐγώ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς, καὶ ὄν, καὶ ἐσόμενον, καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδείς πω ἀπεκάλυψεν.

Up to the present no hieroglyphic inscription has been found which can be regarded exactly as the original of the Greek words, but there is no doubt that Plutarch only turned into words the opinions about the goddess Net which were current when he wrote his famous treatise on Isis and Osiris. In a passage of Proclus, who gives a Greek rendering of an Egyptian text in terms closely resembling those of Plutarch, after the words *Τὸν ἐμὸν χιτῶνα οὐδεὶς ἀπεκάλυψεν*, the goddess Net is made to say, *ὃν ἐγὼ καρπὸν ἔτεκον, ἥλιος ἐγένετο*, which beyond all doubt reflects with considerable exactitude the meaning of the Egyptian title of "Net, the mighty mother, who gave birth to Rā."[2] The words put into the mouth of the goddess, "I am what has been, what is, and what shall be," are, as M. Mallet has remarked,[3] only a development of a play upon her name Net and the word *ent* , or *entet* , i.e., a person or thing which is, or which exists, or which has being. In other words, the Egyptians regarded Net as the "Being" *par excellence*, i.e., the Being who was eternal and infinite, and was the creative and ruling power of heaven, earth, and the underworld, and of every creature and thing in them. Plutarch, however, was not without authority when he made Net say, *καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδείς πω ἀπεκάλυψεν*, for in an Egyptian text published by Pierret[4] under the title of "lady of the sycamore house," , the goddess Net is addressed in the following words:—



ȧ	*mut*	*ur*	*ȧn*	*sefeḳh*	*mesu-s*
Hail,	mother	great,	not	hath been uncovered	thy birth!

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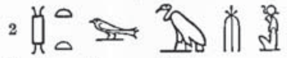
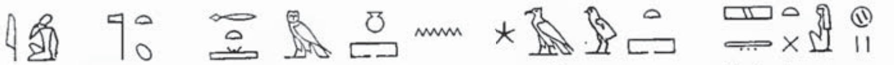
[1] ἦλθον ἀπ' ἐμαυτῆς.

[2]  *Net urt mut mes Rā.*

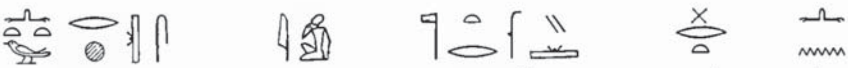
[3] Op. cit., p. 191.

[4] *Études Égyptologiques, etc.*, Paris, 1873, p. 45 ff.



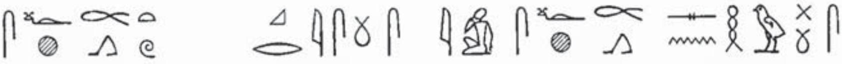
ȧ netert āat em khen en Ṭuaut shetat sep sen

Hail, goddess great, within the underworld which is doubly hidden,



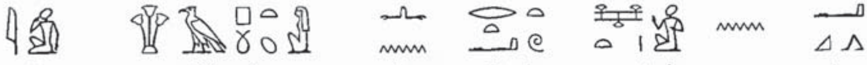
ȧtet rekh-s ȧ netrȧi urt ȧn

thou unknown one! Hail, thou divine one great, not



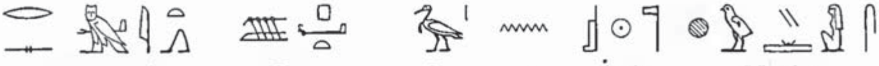
sefekh-tu qerȧs-s ȧ sefekh senḥu-s

hath been unloosed thy garment! O unloose thy garment.



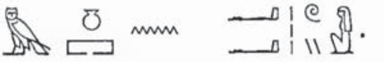
ȧ Ḥapt ȧn ertā-tu uat-ȧ en āq

Hail, Ḥapt (Hidden one), not is given my way of entrance



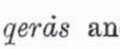
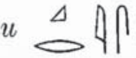
er-es māāt shept ba en Ȧsȧr khui-s

to her, come, receive thou the soul of Osiris, protect it



em khen en āāui

within [thy] two hands.

These lines form a prayer which is put into the mouth of Ānkh-f-en-Khensu, and, in the form in which we have it here, is not older than the Saïte period, i.e., about B.C. 550; but the petition refers very distinctly to the mysterious character of the births of Net, and to her attribute of inscrutability in the doubly hidden underworld, and whilst the deceased declares that none has ever penetrated the cloak wherewith she is shrouded, he beseeches her to unloose it for him. Two words are used to express "cloak," i.e., *qerȧs* and *senḥu*  and , a fact which calls to mind the two words πέπλος and χιτῶν which are used by Plutarch and Proclus respectively to express the same word. It is, however, quite certain that the ideas and beliefs expressed in the above prayer are far older than the time of the Psammetici, and in one form or other they may be actually traced back to the period of the Early Empire.

Another proof of the mysterious and remarkable powers which were attributed to Net by Greek writers is given by Horapollo, who in his "Hieroglyphica" (i. 12) says that when the Egyptians wish to depict a figure of Hephaistos they draw a scarab and a vulture, and when they want to represent Athene (i.e., Net) they draw a vulture and a scarab, for they believe that the world is composed of two elements, the one male and the other female, these two being the only gods whom they believe to be both male and female.[1] We have already seen that the god Kheperȧ was supposed to possess the powers of begetting and conceiving, and giving birth, and, in fact, to be at once both male and female, "and other forms of the Sun-god were said to be self-begotten, self-produced, and self-born;" these characteristics are, however, not applied to any goddess except Net. Since the Egyptians declared that she was eternal, and was self-produced, it followed as a matter of course that both a masculine and a feminine nature must be attributed to her. We have already described how Kheperȧ produced his son Shu and his daughter Tefnut, the information on these points being derived from ancient Egyptian writings, but details of the birth of Rā by Net have not come down to us, and as far as can be seen the Egyptian conception of the manner in which this goddess exerted her reproductive powers is of a far loftier character than that which appertained to the creation of Shu and Tefnut by Kheperȧ. It is customary to say that the Egyptians possessed no philosophical conceptions until the arrival of the Greeks in their country, but this view is a mistaken one, for there is much evidence extant which proves that already under the Early Empire Egyptian philosophers were constantly engaged in thinking out the problems which are connected with cosmogony and theogony. The reason why they did not advance as a nation further in such matters is that they allowed themselves to be hampered by traditional opinions and beliefs, and by the rituals and ceremonies which the people in general demanded should be integral portions of the public worship of the gods. The statements of Greek writers, taken together with the evidence derived from the hieroglyphic texts, prove that in very early times Net was the personification of the eternal female principle of life which was self-sustaining and self-existent, and was secret, and unknown, and all-pervading; the more material thinkers, whilst admitting that she brought forth her son Rā without the aid of a husband, were unable to divorce from their minds the idea that a male germ was necessary for his production, and finding it impossible to derive it from a power or being external to the goddess, assumed that she herself provided not only the substance which was to form the body of Rā but also the male germ which fecundated it. Thus Net was the prototype of partheno-genesis.

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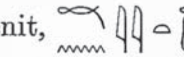
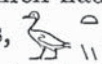
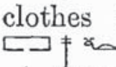
[1] οὗτοι γὰρ μὸνοι θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀρσενοθήλεις ὑπάρχουσι (ed. Leemans, p. 19).

When, however, as Horapollo says, the Egyptians represented Net by a vulture they referred to her in her character of the universal mother, and as such many allusions are made to her in the texts. Certain passages, it is true, speak of her having set her arrow to her bow,[1] and of her enemies falling daily under her darts, but usually she is said to provide clothing for the dead, just as the house-mother arrays her dead in linen. Thus in the form of Meḥenit, , she brought linen apparel and coverings of white, green, red, and purple linen to deck the face of the deceased, and an ancient legend declared that she arrayed Osiris in the apparel which had been specially woven for him by the two Rekhti goddesses, , i.e., Isis and Nephthys. And because of the part which she had taken in arraying Osiris in his grave-clothes Net was made to preside over the "good house," , i.e., the chamber in which the dead were embalmed and swathed in linen, and over the chambers of the temples in which the unguents which were employed in public worship were

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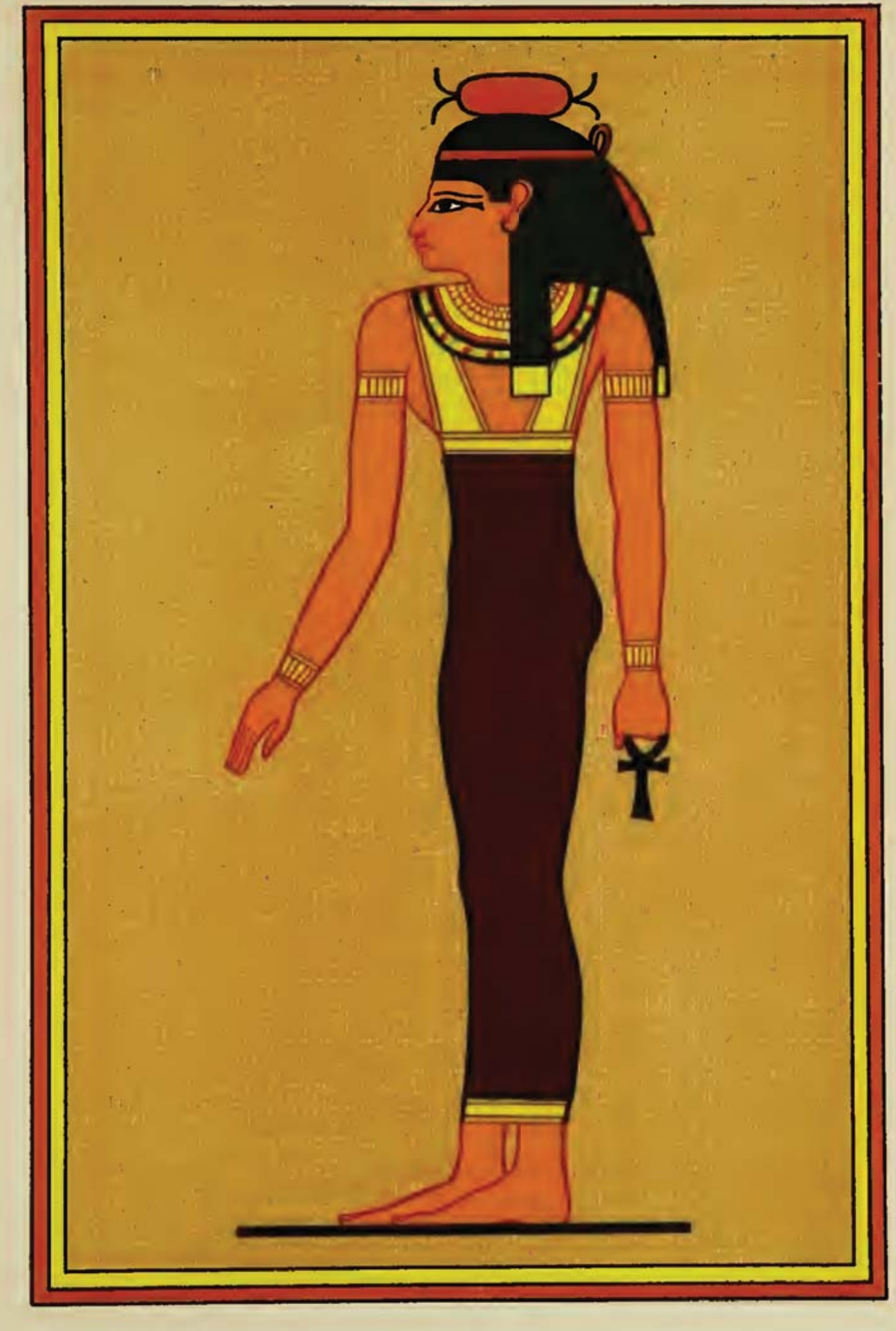
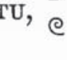
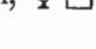
[1] See Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 340.



THE GODDESS NIT (NEITH).

compounded. The unguents which she mixed for Osiris proved to be the means by which the body of the god was preserved from destruction and made young again, and happy were the dead who were able to secure the ministrations of Net. We must note in connexion with these facts that many of the attributes of Net as a goddess of the dead were assigned to her because of her association with Osiris, and it is clear from the texts of the late dynastic period that Net was regarded in the light of a mother of Osiris, and Saïs was actually called the city of Osiris. At certain seasons of the year, festivals were celebrated there in commemoration of the embalming, and bandaging, and burial of this god, and the great feast of lamps, which is also referred to by Herodotus, was one of the most important. Another very important festival was that kept in the spring, on the birthday of Osiris, the son of Isis-Net, which the late Dr. Brugsch identified with the birthday of the spring sun.[1]

In Upper Egypt Net was chiefly worshipped at Seni (Esneh), the Latopolis of the Greeks, which is called in the texts, "the house of Net in the land of the south." Here she was identified with Nebuut, , Menḥit, Sekhet, and Tefnut, and was represented with the head of a lioness painted green; and her titles were, "Father of fathers, and Mother of mothers," and "Net-Menḥit, the great lady, lady of the south, the great cow "who gave birth to the sun, who made the germ of gods and "men, the mother of Rā, who raised up Tem in primeval time, "who existed when nothing else had being, and who created that "which exists after she had come into being." The people of Seni (Latopolis) assigned to her as husband the ram-headed god Khnemu, , the lord of the First Cataract, and she became therefore "lady of Ābu" (Elephantine), and the mother of Tutu, a form of the god Shu, whose symbol was a lion walking. Tutu, ,[2] is also known by the names Ḥer-ka, ,[3] and

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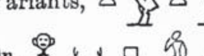
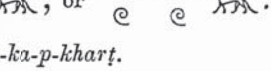
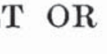
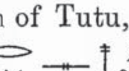
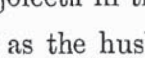
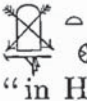
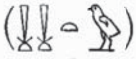
[1] *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 347.

[2] Variants, , or .

[3] Or, *Ḥer-ka-p-kharṭ*.

ḤETCH-NEFER-SEBEQ, , and he is depicted in the form of a young man[1] wearing on his head the crown of the North, and the *Atef* crown with uraei and disks; the forefinger of his right hand is raised to his mouth, which suggests that he had something in common with the Harpocrates gods. According to Dr. Brugsch he is the personification of the sun when he enters the zodiacal sign of Leo, and the same scholar would connect the lion-headed rain-spouts of the temples of Dendera, Khensu at Thebes, Edfû, and Philae, with the summer sun.[2] In the texts which describe these spouts they are called "Lion," the "Strong one of strength," "mighty of strength," "possessor of two-fold strength," "the mighty one of roarings," "fiery-face," and "lion of the face which enchanteth (or terrifieth)." A form of Tutu, the son of Net and Khnemu, called ÅR-ḤES-NEFER, , often appears in inscriptions wherein he is described as a "god of the south," and he must be identified with the crocodile-headed god who appears in the temple at Esneh under the names SEBEK-RĀ and ḤES-NEFER-SEBEK, the son of Net.

From certain passages in the texts quoted by Dr. Brugsch[3] it is clear that Åmen-Rā, the "king of the gods," was the son of Net, and in the hymn which Darius II. caused to be inscribed on the walls of the temple of Hebt, in the Great Oasis, it is said that the Cow, , i.e., Net, rejoiceth in the "Bull of his mother." Here the Sun-god is described as the husband who maketh fertile with his seed,[4] and he is said to come to the town of Såpi, , i.e., Saïs. The hymn continues,[5] "Thine image reposeth "in Ḥet-khebit, in the nest of the lady of Saïs. Thy mother Net "uniteth herself unto thee () in the form of Nu, and with "thy body arrayed in the veil [which she hath woven] thy body "dwelleth in the temples Resenet and Meḥenet. Thy raiment is

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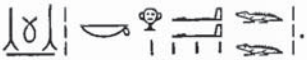
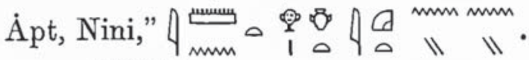
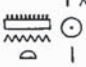
[1] Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 407, No. 3.

[2] *Religion*, p. 349.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 353.

[4] .

[5] See Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase*, pl. xxvi., l. 28 f.

"upon the hands of the two crocodile gods," . The crocodile gods here mentioned are, of course, the two crocodiles which are seen one on each side of the goddess in certain pictures of her. Finally, we find that in Thebes Net, as the mother and wife of Åmen-Rā, was known under the form and name of the ancient goddess Åment. She is represented as a young woman who wears upon her head the crown of the North, and holds in each hand the emblem of water, ; as such she is called "Åment, the dweller in Åpt, Nini," . Under the name of Åment-Rā, , she is seen suckling Horus, and she also appears as a ram-headed goddess wearing the *Atef* crown.[1] All the attributes of Net were ascribed to Åment, who was originally the female counterpart of the local god Åmen, and of necessity a deity of little importance. Thus Åment is styled, "the Cow, the "great lady, who fashioned the company of the gods, the mother "of Rā, who gave birth to Horus." It is very difficult to harmonize all the various statements which are made in the texts concerning the attributes of Net, and the above paragraphs on this goddess will illustrate the difficulty. They prove, however, that the opinions which the Egyptians held concerning her varied from time to time, and that contradictions in their statements are due, not so much to inconsistency or ignorance on the part of the priests and copyists, as to the attempt made to harmonize every new religious system of belief with every one which had existed before it.

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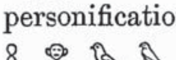
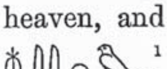
[1] See Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 25.

CHAPTER XV

THE HORUS GODS

IT has already been stated that the hawk was probably the first living creature which was worshipped generally throughout Egypt, and that as the spirit of the heights of heaven, and as the personification of the god who made the sky he was called ḤERU, , i.e., "he who is above," or, "that which is above." It appears, however, that at a very early period this conception of Ḥeru was partly lost sight of, and whether as a result of the different views held by certain early schools of thought, or whether due to the similarity in sound between the name "Ḥeru" and the word for "face," Ḥer or Ḥrȧ, the idea which became associated with the god Ḥeru was that he represented the Face of heaven, i.e., the Face of the head of an otherwise unknown and invisible god. We can see that this view was an ancient one even in the time when the Pyramids were built, for several allusions are made in the funeral texts of the Vth and VIth Dynasties to the "hair" or "tresses," , of the Face of Ḥeru as the Face of heaven, and four gods who are called the "children of Horus," ,[1] are declared to have their abodes in these tresses.[2] The Face of heaven was supported by the four gods by means of the four sceptres which they held in their hands, and these four sceptres took the place of the four pillars, , of the god Shu which, according to an older myth, supported the four corners, i.e., the four cardinal points of the great iron plate that formed the floor

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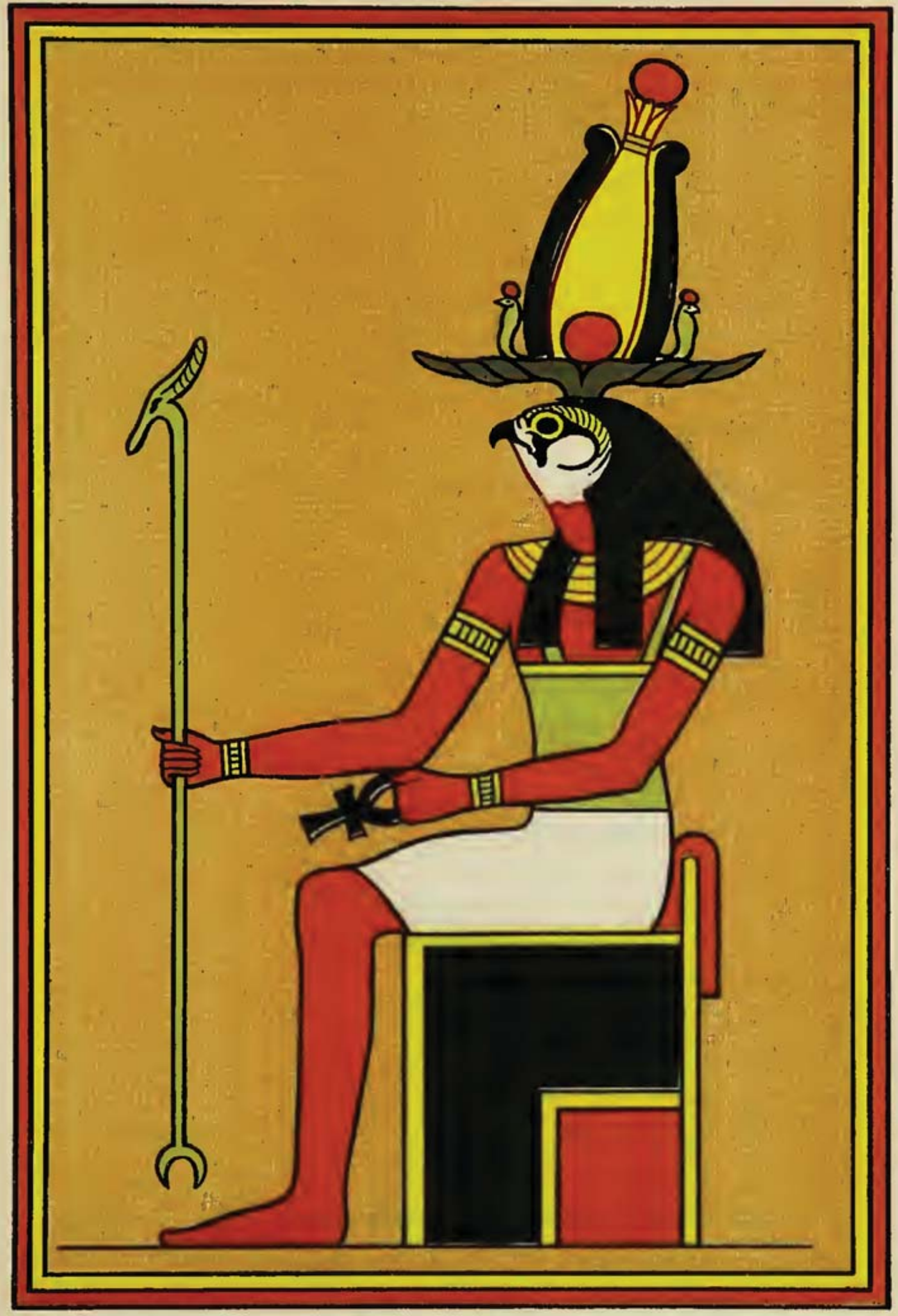
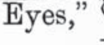
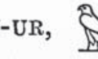
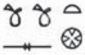
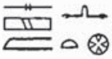
[1] Pepi I., ll. 593, 600; and see Maspero, *La Mythologie Égyptienne*, p. 227.

[2] The "Children of Horus" will be described later.



THE GOD ḤERU-UR.

of heaven and the sky above the earth. That the heavens, or the skies, were considered to be a Face is evident from many allusions. Thus the Sun is frequently called "Eye of Horus," and the Moon is also an "Eye of Horus," the Sun being the right eye, and the Moon the left; a well known title of the Face is "Horus of the Two Eyes," , and when neither Eye is visible it is called "Horus dwelling without Eyes," . The forms of Horus mentioned in Egyptian texts are numerous, but the following are the most important:—

1. Ḥeru-ur, , i.e., Horus the elder" (or the "aged"), the Ἀρωῆρις of the Greeks, so called to distinguish him from Ḥeru-pa-khart, or, "Horus the younger." He is depicted in the form of a man with the head of a hawk, and also as a lion with the head of a hawk; he usually wears the crowns of the South and North united, but he is once seen with the horns of Khnemu upon his head, and above them are a crown with plumes, uraei, disks, etc.[1] According to the Egyptian texts Ḥeru-ur was the son of Rā and Hathor; the Hathor here referred to is the form of the goddess which was specially worshipped at Qesqeset, , i.e., Apollinopolis Parva; but Plutarch declared him to be the son of Kronos and Rhea, i.e., Seb and Nut, and therefore the brother of Osiris. This statement was probably correct enough in late dynastic times, when men had wholly identified Horus, the son of Isis, with Horus the Elder. Originally Ḥeru-ur represented a phase or aspect of Horus, the Face of heaven, and it was he who was the twin god of Set; Ḥeru-ur was the Face by day and Set the Face by night. There was also a Ḥeru-ur of the South, as we learn from the picture of the god given by Lanzone,[2] the seat of whose worship was at Mākhenut, , near El-Kâb in Upper Egypt, and a Ḥeru-ur of the North, the seat of whose worship was at Sekhemet, , or , or Seshemet, , the Latopolis of the Greeks, and the ⲟⲩϣⲉⲙ of the Copts, which lay a

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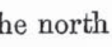
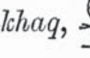
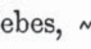
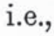
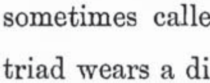
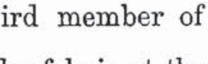
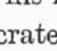
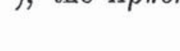
[1] See Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 226.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 3.

few miles to the north of Memphis; other shrines of Ḥeru-ur were at Ombos, , at Smennut, , and at Apollinopolis. The most important shrine of the god was at Sekhem, where stood the sanctuary Pa-Ȧit, ; in its shrine was preserved the shoulder, *mākhaq*, , of the god Osiris, and close by grew the famous Nebes, , and Shent, , trees. Ḥeru-ur of Sekhem is called "lord of the *Utchati*, ," i.e., lord of the Sun and Moon. In the *Book of the Dead* (xviii.*c*) it is said that the sovereign princes in Sekhem are Ḥeru-khent-ȧn-maati and Thoth, but it is clear that locally the great gods of the city were Isis, Osiris, and Horus. The form in which Ḥeru-ur was worshipped at Sekhem and other places was a lion. The inscriptions on the walls of the temple at Ombos[1] prove that he was called the "lord of the south," the "lord of Nubti (Ombos)," and that he was identified with Shu, son of Rā; with "Ḥeru-temā, the "great god and lord of heaven, of two-fold strength, mighty one "among all the gods, whose power hath vanquished the foes of his "father Rā"; with Ȧmen-ur, or Ȧmen the Elder; and in fact with several gods who were regarded as gods of light and of aspects of the rising Sun, and also with the various gods who were connected with them. At Ombos Ḥeru-ur was the head of a triad which consisted of himself, and his female counterpart, TA-SENT-NEFERT, , and their son P-neb-taui, ,[2] who is sometimes called "the child," . The third member of this triad wears a disk upon his head, and has a lock of hair at the side of his face like Harpocrates, and he is called the "young sun," and the general titles which are given to Ḥeru-ur and Ta-sent-nefert indicate that in later days they were considered to be identical with Shu and Tefnut.

2. ḤERU-P-KHART, , i.e., "Horus the Younger" (or, the "Child"), the Ἁρποκράτης of the Greeks, so called to

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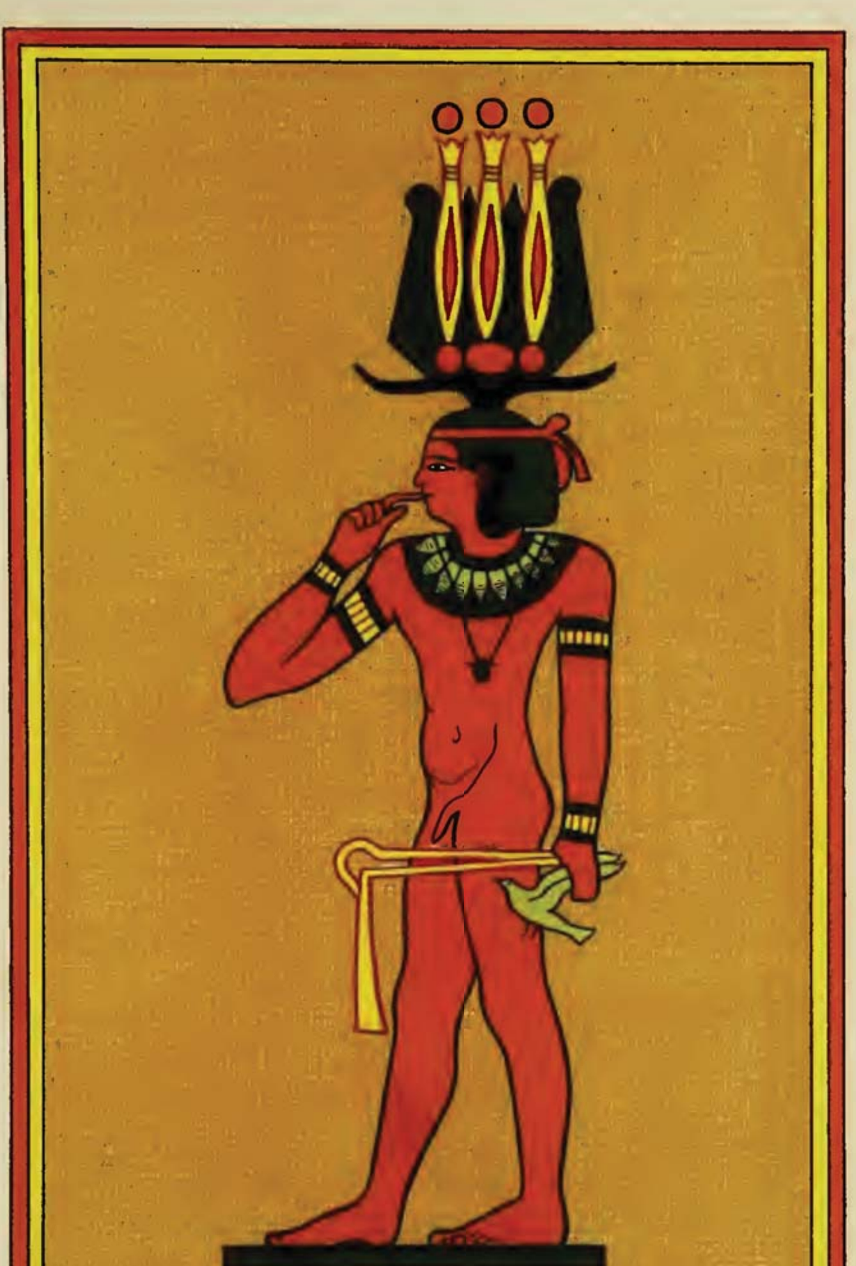
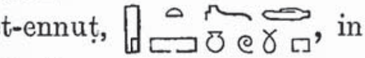
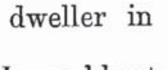
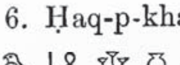
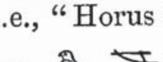
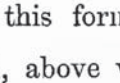
[1] Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 539.

[2] See de Morgan, *Kom Ombos*, pp. 156, 181 ff.



ḤERU-PA-KHRAT (HARPOCRATES).

distinguish him from Ḥeru-ur, or Horus the Elder. In Egyptian pictures he is represented in the form of a youth wearing a lock of hair, the symbol of youth, on the right side of his head; sometimes he wears the triple crown with feathers and disks, and the like, and sometimes a disk with plumes, , but usually his crown is formed by the united crowns of the South and North, . In one scene he is seated inside a box which rests on the back of a lion.[1] Ḥeru-p-khart was the son of a Horus god by the goddess Rāt-tauit, , who is said to have brought him forth in the temple of Ḥet-ennut, , in Hermonthis, in a birth chamber, , in the precincts of the building Qemqem, ; the goddess seems to have been worshipped here under the form of a hippopotamus, . Ḥeru-p-khart, or Harpocrates, was a form of the rising sun and represented his earliest rays; the Egyptians distinguished seven forms or aspects of the god, which may be thus enumerated:—1. Ḥeru-Rā-p-khart, , the dweller in Hermonthis. 2. Ḥeru-Shu-p-khart the great, ; his father was Sāaba, , and his mother Ānit, . 3. Sma-taui-p-khart [son] of Hathor, . 4. Ḥeru-p-khart, the dweller in Busiris, . 5. Āḥi, , son of Hathor. 6. Ḥaq-p-khart, , the son of Sekhet. 7. Ḥeru-Ḥennu, , i.e., "Horus the Child."[2]

3. ḤERU-MERTI, . In this form the god is represented as a man with a hawk's head, above which are the horns of the god Khnemu and the solar disk encircled by a uraeus; in his hand he bears the Utchati, . A passage in a

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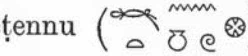
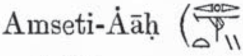
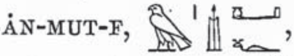
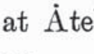
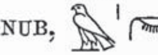
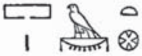
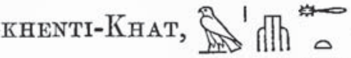
[1] Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 328.

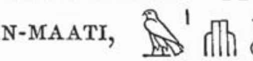
[2] See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 348.

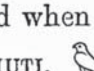
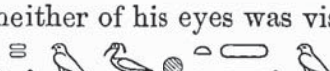
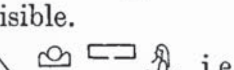
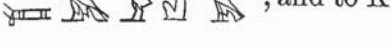
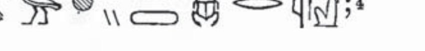
papyrus quoted by Lanzone[1] calls him "Horus of the Two Eyes," for this is what the name means, "lord of Sheṭennu (), Amseti-Ȧāḥ (), in the city of Ȧpu," i.e., Panopolis, and this seems to show that Ḥeru-merti was a local form of the god Ȧmsu, or Khem, or Min, as the Moon.

4. ḤERU-ȦN-MUT-F, , was a local form of Horus which was worshipped at Ȧteb, , i.e., Edfû, but the exact characteristics of the god here are unknown.

5. ḤERU-NUB, . This was the form of the god which was worshipped at Hierakonpolis, Per-Ḥeru-nubt, , and he was depicted as a hawk seated on the head of an antelope, which, according to Brugsch,[2] commemorates his triumphant victory over Set, the murderer of Osiris.

6. ḤERU-KHENTI-KHAT, . In this form the god is represented with a human body and the head of a crocodile, on which he wears the horns of Khnemu, and the triple crown and plumes;[3] this form of Horus does not appear to be ancient.

7. ḤERU-KHENTI-ȦN-MAATI, , i.e., "Horus at the head of sightlessness," or the "Blind Horus;" he appears to represent the god when neither of his eyes was visible.

8. ḤERU-KHUTI, , , , i.e., "Horus of the two horizons," or the Harmachis of the Greeks. He was one of the chief forms of the Sun-god Rā, and, speaking generally, represented the sun in his daily course across the skies from the time he left the Mount of Sunrise (Bakhau) to the time when he entered the Mount of Sunset (Manu). Thus he combined in his own person the god Rā and several of his forms, and in the *Book of the Dead* and other funeral works he is joined to Temu, , and to Kheperȧ, ;[4]

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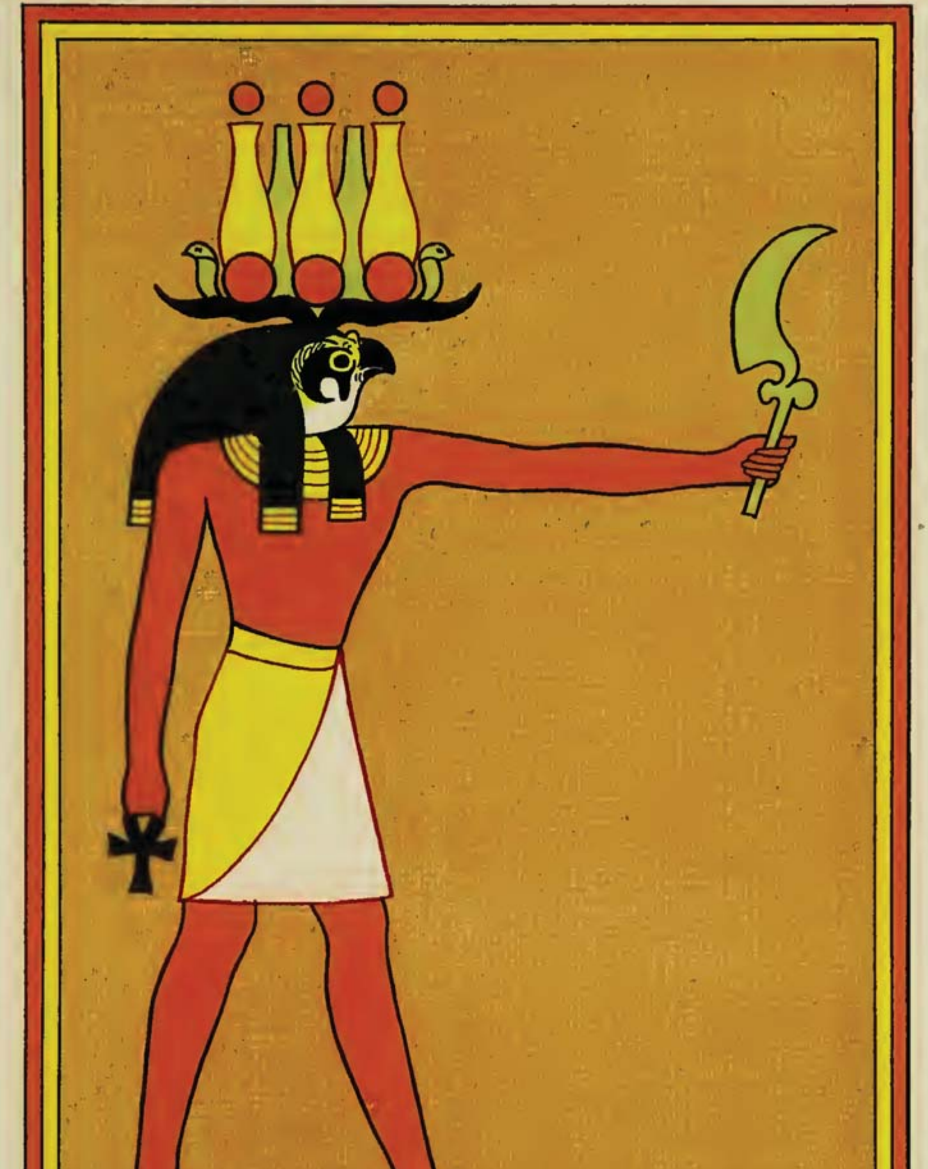
[1] Op. cit. p. 617.

[2] *Religion*, p. 664.

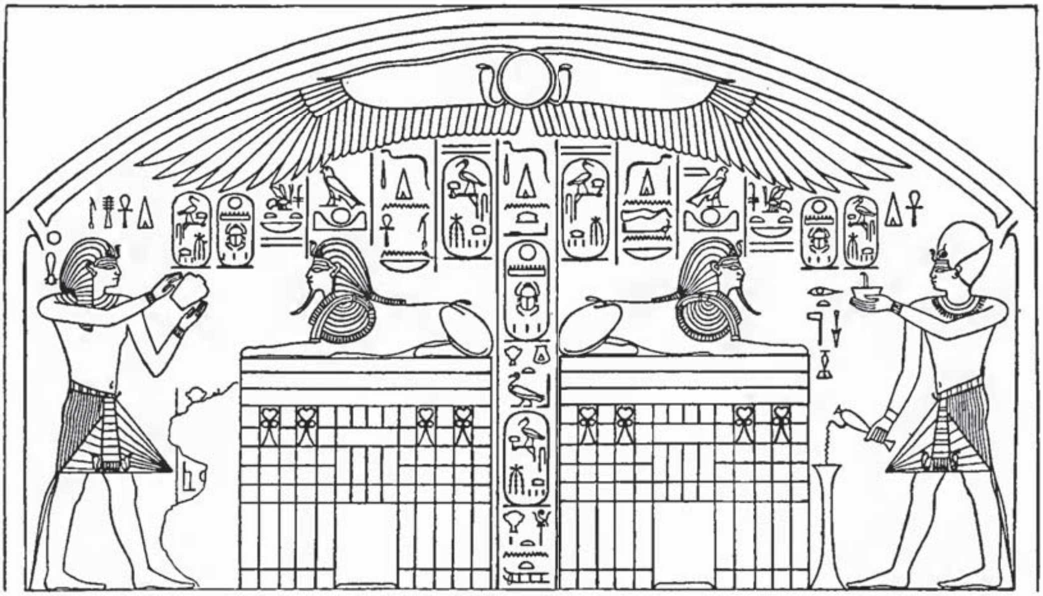
[3] See Lanzone, p. 622, pl. 17; Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 606.

[4] For the passages see my *Vocabulary* to the *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, p. 225.

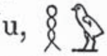


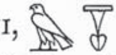
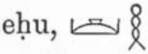
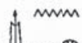
ḤERU KHUTI (HARMACHIS).

Temu here indicates the god of the setting sun, and Kheperȧ the god of the sun when he is about to rise. When Ḥeru-khuti was identified with the various forms of the Sun-god he was also supposed to possess their particular attributes, and thus it happens that he is said to have produced himself, and it is this fact which supplies the reason why hymns addressed to him are found. In the texts he is called the "lord of heaven," "the great god, lord of Sept-Ḥāt," , a city or district near the First Cataract, "the governor of the Ȧat of Rā," (Heliopolis),



Thothmes IV. making offerings to the Sphinx.

"Ḥeru-khuti-Tem, the lord of the two lands of Ȧnnu," and the "dweller in Beḥuṭet." The chief shrines of the god were, however, situated at Ȧnnu and at Apollinopolis, and the greater of these was Ȧnnu, or Heliopolis, where he was identified with the forms of Rā which were worshipped there. The largest known monument or figure of Ḥeru-khuti is the famous SPHINX, near the Pyramids of Gîzeh, which was his type and symbol. This marvellous object was in existence in the days of Khā-f-Rā, or Khephren, the builder of the Second Pyramid at Gîzeh, and it is probable that it is a very great deal older than his reign, and that it dates from the end of the archaic period. No mention, however, is made of the Sphinx in the inscriptions until the time of Thothmes IV., when we are told in the text inscribed on the stele between the paws of the Sphinx, that the image had become entirely covered over with sand. To this king the god of the Sphinx, Ḥeru-khuti-Rā-Temu-Kheperȧ, appeared one day when he was sleeping his midday sleep, and promised to give him the crown of Egypt if he would clear away the sand from his image, and restore his temple. Thothmes IV. carried out the wishes of the god, and having excavated the Sphinx, and rebuilt the temple between his paws, Thothmes set up an inscribed stele to commemorate his work. Judging by the silence of the ancient monuments about the Sphinx this figure of Ḥeru-khuti cannot have been popular in dynastic times, and if this was so it is possible that it was due to the fact that the Sphinx was thought to be connected in some way with foreigners or with a foreign religion which dated from predynastic times. A recent but fanciful theory makes the Sphinx to be the work of Ȧmenemḥāt, a king of the XIIth Dynasty; its name in Egyptian was Ḥu, . The forms in which Ḥeru-khuti is represented are many, but whether in human form or not, he usually has the head of a hawk; in the examples collected by Signor Lanzone[1] we see him wearing on his head the solar disk encircled with a uraeus or the triple crown, , or the *atef* crown. In one scene he is depicted as a double man with a head having the faces of two hawks, one looking to the right, and the other to the left, and above this two-faced head is an *utchat*, ; in another scene he has the head of a ram, which identifies him with Khnemu, the god of the First Cataract, and in another he is seated on a throne which is carried on poles by two snake- and two beetle-headed gods.

9. Ḥeru-sma-taui, , i.e., "Horus, the uniter of the South and North." He is said to be the son of Hathor; his chief places of worship were Ȧat-ḥeḥu, , a district near Herakleopolis Magna, and Ȧnt, , i.e., Denderah, and the city

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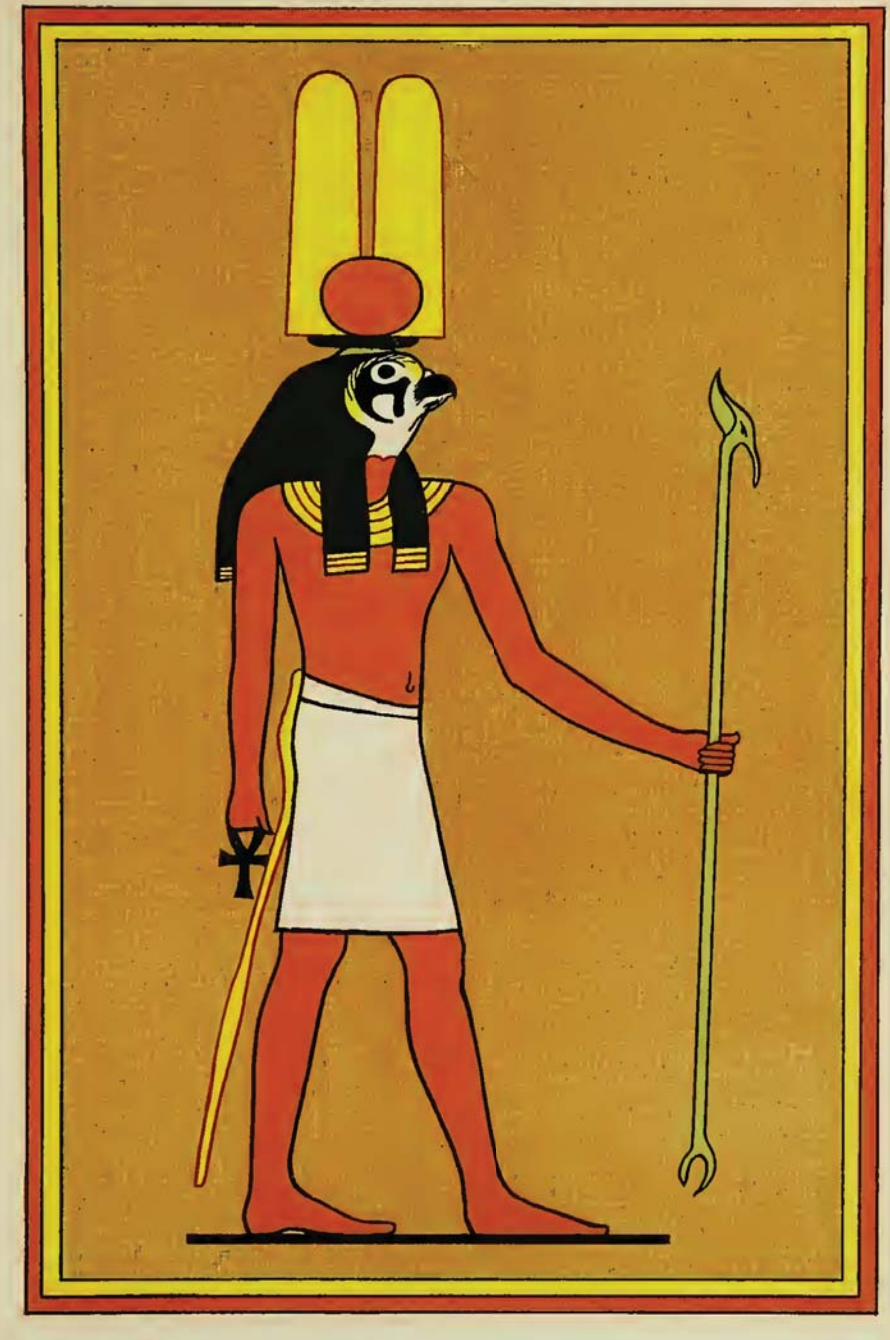
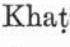
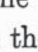
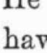
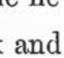
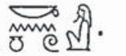
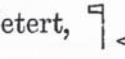
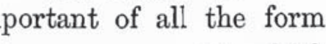
[1] Op. cit., pll. 229 ff.

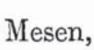
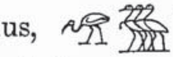
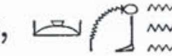
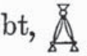
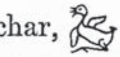


HERU – SMA – TAUI.

of Khaṭāt, , and the creatures in which he was thought to be incarnate were the hawk and a species of serpent. He is usually depicted with the body of a man with the head of a hawk, or serpent, or man, and he wears as head-dresses, , , and ; in one scene he is represented as a hawk,[1] and he wears upon his head a disk and plumes, . In this form Horus was believed to spring into existence out of a lotus flower which blossomed in the heavenly abyss of Nu at dawn at the beginning of the year.

10. Ḥeru-ḥekennu, . He is said to have been the son of the goddess Bast, and the seats of his worship were the towns of Netert, , and Ḥet-Nefer-Tem; he is usually depicted in the form of a hawk-headed man, with the solar disk encircled by a serpent on his head. The exact attributes of the god are unknown.

11. Ḥeru-Beḥuṭet, . This is one of the greatest and most important of all the forms of Horus, for he represents that form of Ḥeru-khuti which prevailed in the southern heavens at midday, and as such typified the greatest power of the heat of the sun. It was under this form that Horus waged war against Set or Typhon, and the inscriptions are full of allusions to the glorious victory which the god of light gained over the prince of darkness and his fiends.

The principal shrines of the god were at Mesen, , and Qem-baius, , Ȧat-āb,  (Philae), and Ṭebt,  (Tanis); in the last named place he was worshipped under the form of a lion, which wears the triple crown upon its head, and is depicted in the act of trampling upon its enemies. The god is, however, usually depicted with the head of a hawk, and carrying in his hands some weapon which indicates his character as a destroyer. Thus, in one illustration given by Signor Lanzone,[2] we see him holding a weapon like a club or mace in his right hand, and a bow and three arrows in his left[1]; in another he is about to club an ass-headed man in fetters with the club, [2]; in another we see him standing on an oryx or antelope, and holding a long hawk-headed spear in his right hand, and three cords, to each of which is attached a prisoner, . Elsewhere we see him depicted with the head of a lion, which seems to have been the form in which he was worshipped at Tchar, , or Tanis, in the Delta, and in one place he is seated on a throne which rests on the back of a lion. As the god

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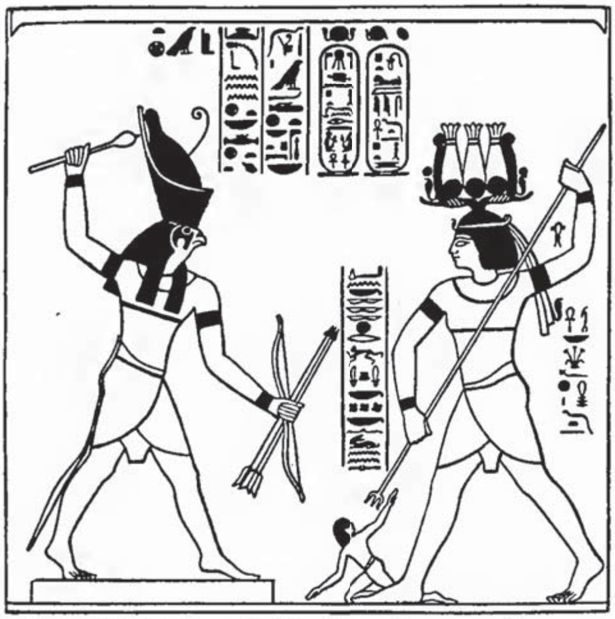
[1] See Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 239.

[2] Op. cit., pll. 242 ff.



Horus of Beḥuṭet armed with a bow and arrows and a club.

of generation and reproduction he appears as a hawk with a phallus terminating in the head of a lion, and in a scene of the late period he is represented with the body of a man, and the head and wings of a hawk, kneeling upon two crocodiles; on his head he wears , and in his left hand he holds a scorpion, .

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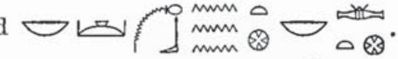
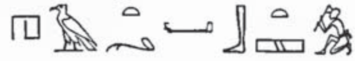
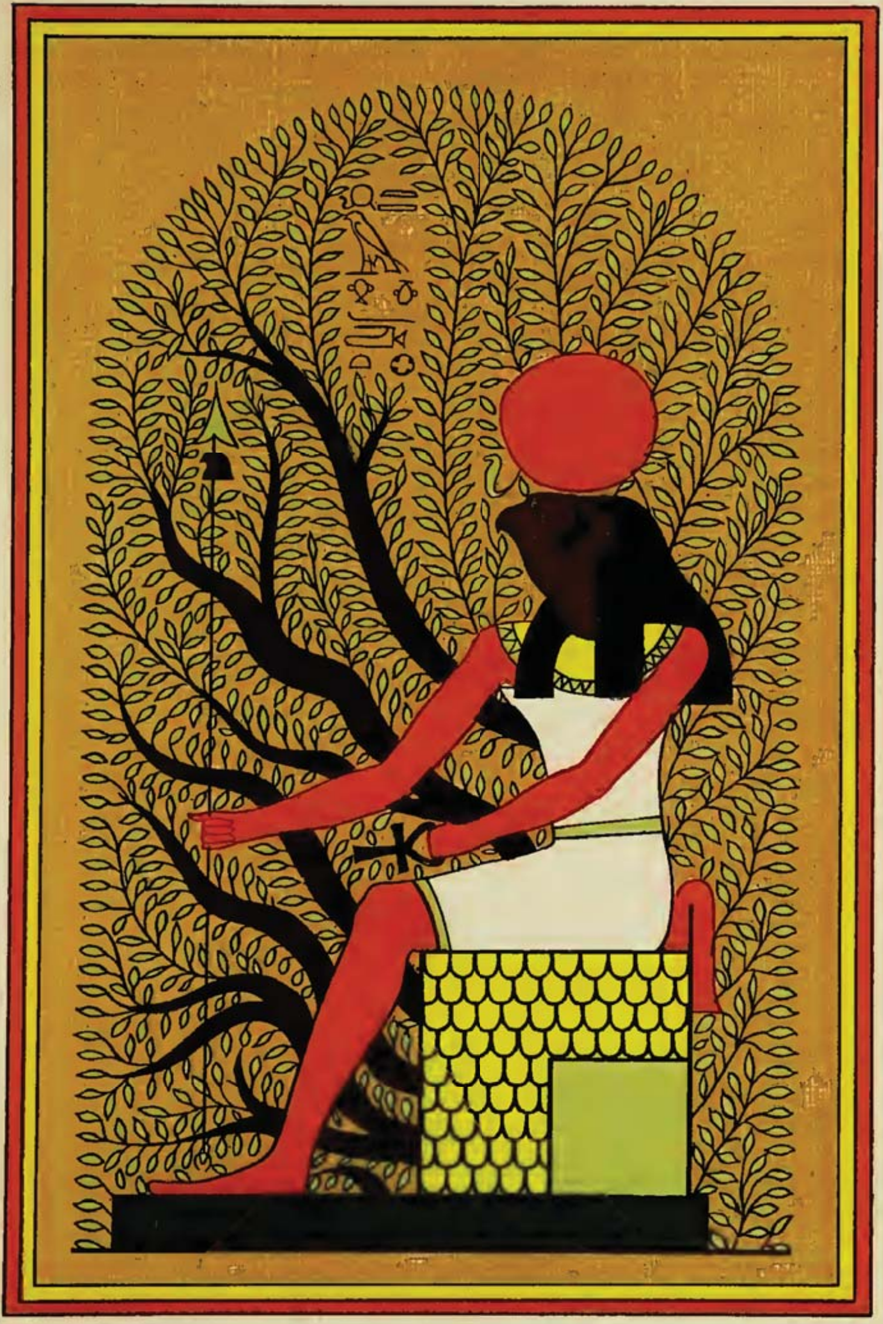
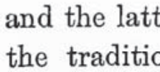
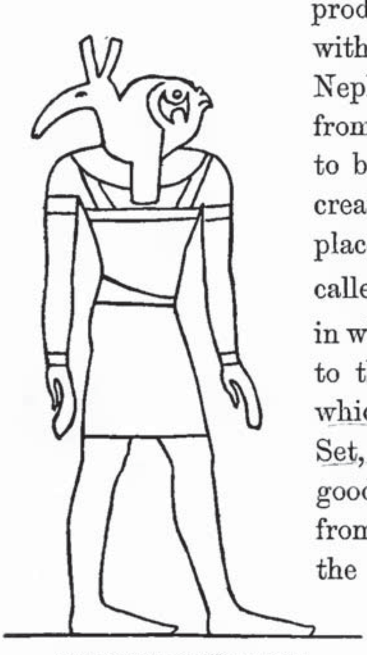
[1] He is here called .

[2] He is here called "smiter of the rebel," .



RĀ-HERU-KHUTI, THE DWELLER IN BEHUTET.

In an extract from a text inscribed on a wall of the temple of Edfû given by Dr. Brugsch,[1] Ḥeru-beḥuṭet is described as the power which dispels darkness and night, and drives away clouds, rain, and storms, and fills all heaven and the world with his brilliance and light; he rises with golden disk as the holy beetle of gold, and he is declared to be the lord and creator of the gods. He created himself, there is none like unto him, he renews his birth daily, and year by year he performs his appointed course in the heavens, bringing in his train the seasons, and their proper produce. In one of his aspects he is identified with Osiris, and then the goddesses Isis and Nephthys are said to help him to emerge from the abyss of Nu; he made the heavens to be the dwelling-place for his soul, and he created the deep that it might serve as a place wherein to hide his body, which is here called Un-nefer, . But the forms in which Ḥeru-beḥuṭet appealed most strongly to the mind of the Egyptians were those in which as the god of light he fought against Set, the god of darkness, and as the god of good against the god of evil. We know from a passage in the xviith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* (line 66) that in very early times a combat took place between Horus and Set, wherein the former destroyed the virility of Set, and the latter cast filth in the face of Horus, and it is this form of the traditional fight between the two "Combatants," or Reḥui, , which is the base of the narrative inscribed on the walls of the great Temple of Edfû. There was, however, one very great difference between the fight of Horus and Set of predynastic times and that described between the Horus and Set known at Edfû; in the former fight the two combatants were unarmed, but in the latter Horus was armed with weapons of iron, and he was



The double god Horus-Set.

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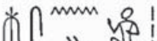
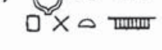
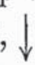
[1] *Religion*, p. 548.

accompanied by a number of beings who are called *mesniu*, , or *mesnitu*, .[1] It is pretty certain from ⲂⲀⲤⲚⲈⲦ, the Coptic equivalent of the word *mesneti*, that the *mesniu* were workers in metal, and that this name was first applied to them as blacksmiths, and that at a later period the *mesniu* were men armed with weapons made of metal. The place where metal work was done, i.e., where the ore was smelted and the weapons were forged, was called *mesnet*, , the "foundry," and the worshippers of Horus of Beḥuṭet never tired of describing their god as the "lord of the forge-city," i.e., Edfû, the place where tradition declared he first established himself as the great master blacksmith. And Edfû itself was regarded as the foundry wherein the great disk of the sun was forged, as we see from a passage quoted by Dr. Brugsch, in which it is said "when the "doors of the foundry are opened the Disk riseth up,"  .[2]

In support of this tradition we find that a certain chamber in the temple of Edfû, which lay just behind the sanctuary, was called *mesnet*, , and it was here that the "blacksmiths" waited in attendance to usher forth the image of the god in his temple. From the representations of the "blacksmiths" given on the walls of the temple of Edfû[3] we see that they were originally men with shaven heads who wore a short tunic and a deep collar, and that in their right hands they carried a spear inverted, , and in their left a metal instrument, . In the same scene in which these occur Horus of Beḥuṭet is represented standing in a boat, dressed like his followers, and driving a long spear into the head of a hippopotamus beneath the boat with his right hand, and holding the monster in restraint by a double chain which he grasps in his left hand. In the bows of the boat kneels Isis, who also holds the hippopotamus by a chain in each hand, and we may note that

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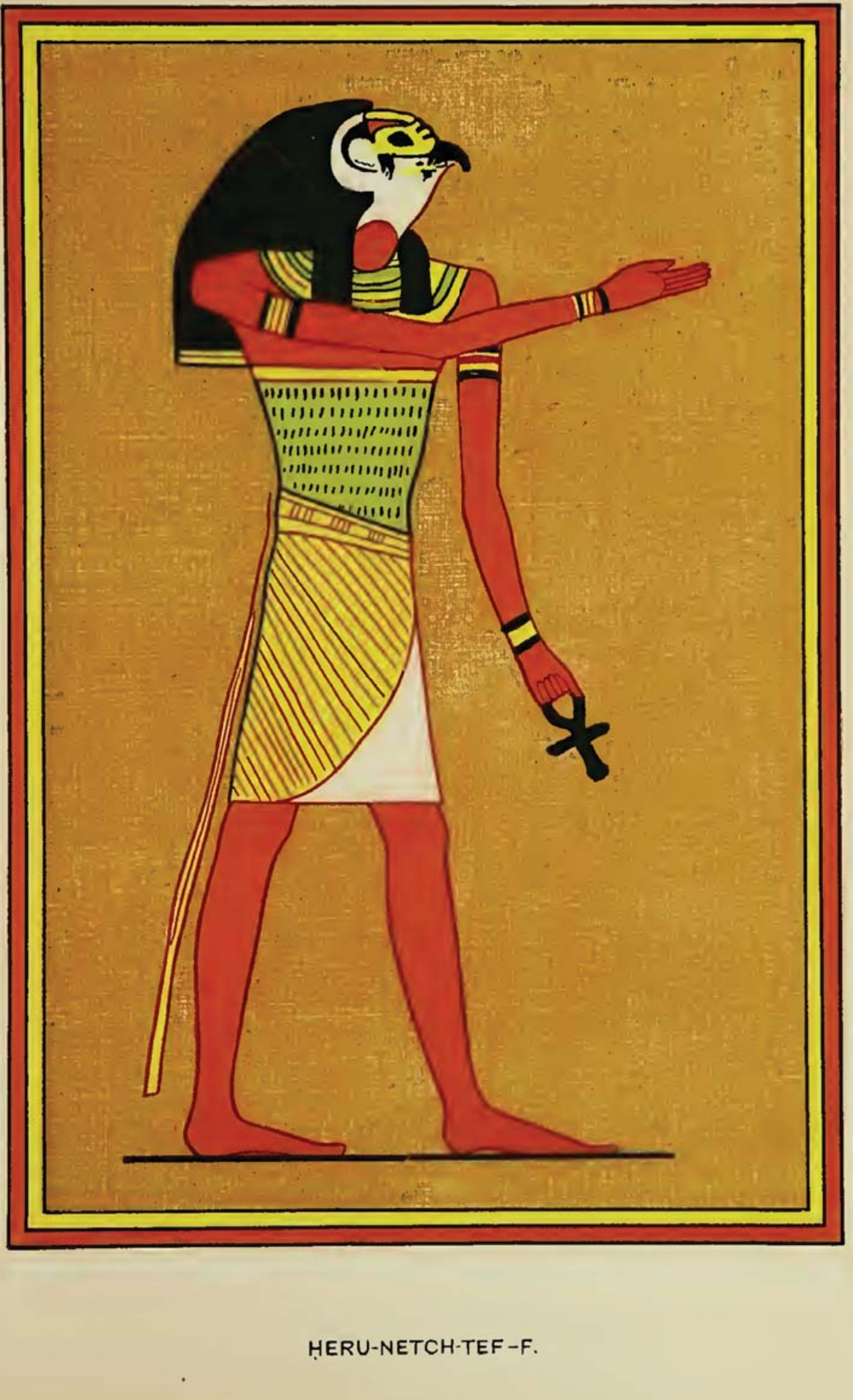
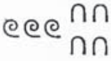
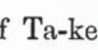
[1] Variants are .

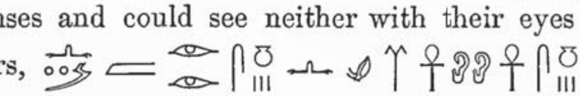
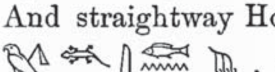
[2] *Wörterbuch*, p. 703.

[3] See Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, Geneva, 1870, pl. 7.



ḤERU-NETCH-TEF-F.

the tackle of the boat consists of chains, presumably of iron, and not of ropes. In another place[1] Horus stands on the back of the hippopotamus, the legs of which are tied together by chains, and the lower jaw of which is held fast by a chain. The story of the defeat of Set by Ḥeru-Beḥuṭet is told in the texts on the walls of the temple of Edfû substantially as follows:—In the year 363, , of Rā-Ḥeru-khuti, , the king of the South and North who liveth for ever and ever, his Majesty found himself in the country of Ta-kens (, or Nubia), for he had gone to the district of Uauat,[2] because certain folk had conspired against their lord. Having suppressed the rebellion he returned to Edfû, and deputed his son Ḥeru-beḥuṭet to continue the war on his behalf; this god had observed how men had conspired against his father, and he was ready to carry out his behests. Thereupon Ḥeru-beḥuṭet flew up to heaven in the form of a winged disk, , and ever after he was called "great god, lord of heaven."

From the height of heaven he was able to see his father's enemies, and he chased them in the form of a great winged disk; he attacked them with such wrath and vigour, that they lost their senses and could see neither with their eyes nor hear with their ears, , and every man fell upon his neighbour and slew him, and in a moment all were dead. And straightway Horus, with many-coloured shapes and feathers, , returned to his form as a winged disk and took up his position in the boat of Rā. At this juncture Thoth declared that Horus, son of Rā, should be called Ḥeru-Beḥuṭet, and Beḥuṭet (Edfû) should be called the city of Horus; and Rā referred with pleasure to the blood which his son had shed and which he likened to grapes. Then Horus suggested that Rā should come and look upon his dead enemies, and Rā, escorted by

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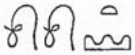
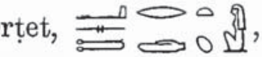
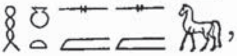
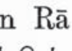
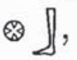
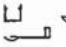
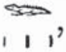
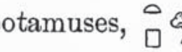
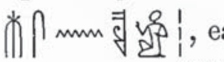
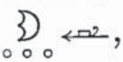
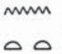
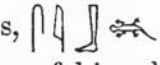
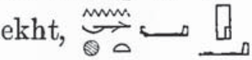
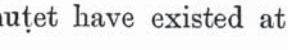
[1] Naville, op. cit., pl. 9.

[2] Note the pun on the name Uauat, , and the verb "to murmur, conspire," .

Hathor, and followed by the goddess Āsthertet, , who is described as the "mistress of horses," , and who in the form of a woman with the head of a lioness is seen standing in a chariot, agrees to his son's proposal. The chariot of the goddess is drawn by four horses, which trample upon the foes of Rā, who lie upon the ground bound with fetters. When Rā saw this he said to Horus, "This is a very pleasant life," , and therefore the temple of Horus was called "Pleasant Life," from that day. Then Thoth observed, "This was the spearing of my foes," and therefore Edfû was called Ṭeb, , from that day; and he further said to Horus, "Thou art a great protector," , and straightway the boat of Horus was called "Great Protector." After this Rā proposed that they should journey upon the water, and his enemies also went to the water, and as soon as they had entered it they turned into crocodiles, *emsuḥu* , and hippopotamuses, , *tepu*, and when they were near enough to him they opened their mouths intending to swallow up the god. Then Horus came along with his "blacksmiths," , each having a spear made of divine iron, , and a chain, , in his hand, and they slew the crocodiles, and the hippopotamuses, and they brought in 651[1] enemies, , immediately. Rā-Ḥeru-khuti next ordered that statues of himself should be set up in the land of the south in the place called Ḥet-ā-nekht, , and Thoth applauded Horus because he had made use of the formulae which were to be found in the Book of the slaughter of the Hippopotamus, ; from that day the blacksmiths of Ḥeru-Beḥuṭet have existed at Edfû.

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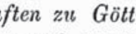
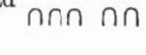
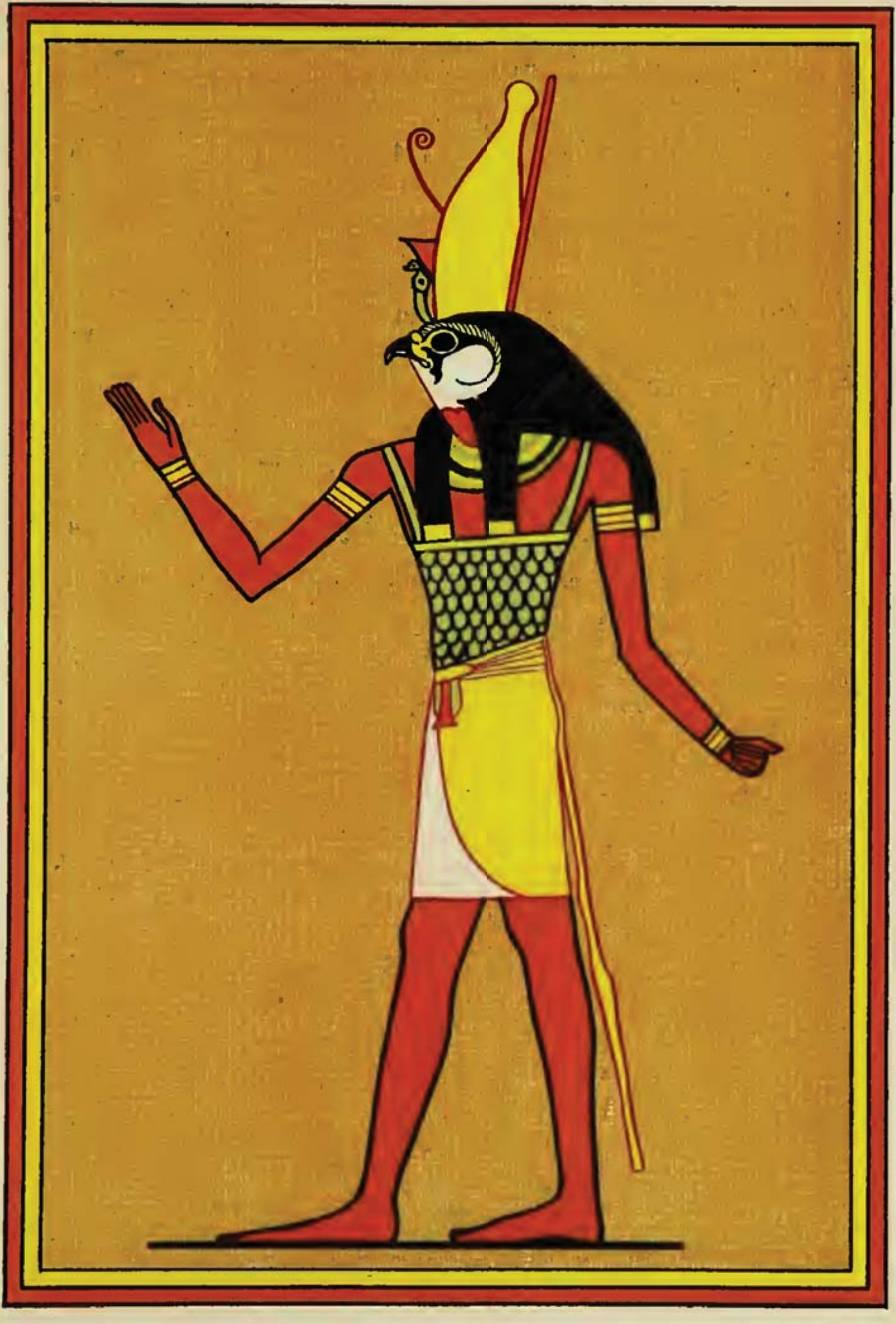
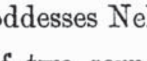
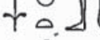
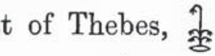
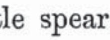
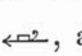
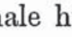
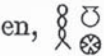
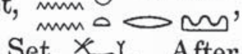
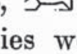
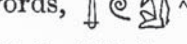
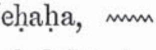
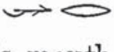
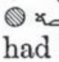
[1] Naville gives (pl. xiii., l. 8) , but Brugsch (*Abhandlungen Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Bd. xiv., p. 216) and Wiedemann both give 381, i.e., they read .

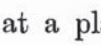


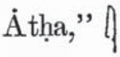
ḤERU-NETCH-ḤRĀ-TEF.-F.

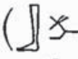
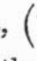
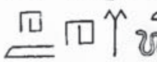
And Horus once again took the form of a winged disk, and placed himself in the bows of the boat of Rā, and he took with him the two goddesses Nekhebet, , and Uatchit, , in the form of two serpents, that they might destroy the crocodiles and the hippopotamuses in their dens. As soon as the enemies of Rā perceived that they were being followed they turned round and fled to the south, but they were overtaken by Horus and his blacksmiths, each with his spear and his chain in his hands, and a mighty slaughter took place on a plain which was situated to the south-east of Thebes, , and which on account of the terrible scenes of carnage that were enacted there was called Tcheṭemet, , i.e., "slaughter." This was the second slaughter of the foes of Rā, and after this they retreated northwards, to the region of the Mediterranean Sea, and they were utterly disheartened and in fear of Horus; but this god followed after them in the boat of Rā, and with him were his companions who were provided with spears and chains, Horus himself was provided with a battle spear, , and a chain, , and blacksmiths, , and when he had waited a whole day he saw his foes to the north-east of Dendera, , and having attacked them he made a third great slaughter, *khai*, among them: the name of the place where the enemy was defeated was called "Divine Slaughter," , and it was situated quite close to Dendera. Ḥeru-Beḥuṭet was made the god of the region, and the acacia, , and the sycamore, , were sacred to him.

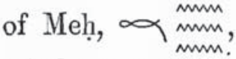
Once more the enemy fled to the north and was pursued closely by Horus, who was armed as before; for four whole days and nights, , he saw nothing whatsoever of the enemy, for they had changed themselves into crocodiles and hippopotamuses, but when he did see them he attacked them with great vigour and slew them in large numbers. One hundred and forty-two of them he bound in chains and dragged on to the boat of Rā, and he

captured also a "male hippopotamus," ; all the fiends he slew, and he gave their entrails to his companions, and their bodies to the gods and goddesses who were in the boat of Rā near the town of Ḥeben, . As a proof of his victory he got up and stood upon the back of the hippopotamus, and as a result he was called "Ḥer-pesṭ," i.e., "He who is on the back." All these things took place on the piece of ground which formed the temple estate of the town of Ḥeben, and which measured 342 *khet*, , on the South, North, West, and East. The enemy, however, was not wholly defeated, and some fled to the north hoping to reach the "Great Green Sea," ; but the god Horus followed after them and slew many of the rebels, the remainder of whom went to the Sea of Mertet, , and there joined themselves to the fiends of Set, . After some difficulty Horus found out where the enemies were, and having come up with them he captured 381 rebels, whom he slew in the bows of the boat of Rā, and he sent one body to each of his companions. When Set saw what had been done to his friends he cried out and uttered awful imprecations and complaints of the terrible destruction which Horus had wrought, and because of his foul words, , *meṭu-neḥa*, the fiend was ever after called Neḥaḥa, . Horus straightway attacked Set, and hurled his lance at him, and threw him down upon the ground in a place near the city which was always afterwards called Per-Rereḥu, ; when he came back he brought Set with him, and his spear was in his neck, 
, and the legs of the monster were chained, and his mouth had been closed by a blow from the club of the god. After these exploits Rā ordered that Horus should be called Urui-Ṭenṭen, , and he further decreed that the enemies of himself and Horus, Set and his confederates, should be handed over to the goddess Isis and her son Horus for them to do with them as they pleased. Thereupon Isis and Horus took up

their position near Rā, and the young god drove his weapon, *māb*, into Set, at a place called "She-nu-āḥa," , i.e., "Lake of Battle," or, "She-neter," , i.e., "Lake of God;" he next cut off his head, and the heads of his followers, in the presence of Rā and the great company of the gods, and then dragged his body through the length and breadth of his land with his spear thrust through his head and his back.

Then Rā ordered that Horus, the son of Isis, should drag the body of the monster about, and because of this "dragging" the place was called "Åtḥa," , ever after. At this juncture the divine Isis asked her father Rā that the winged sun-disk, , might be given to her son Horus as a talisman, because he had cut off the heads of the fiend and his companions, and as a result Ḥeru-beḥuṭet and Horus, son of Isis, together pursued the foe Set, and both gods were of the same form and appearance. They had the bodies of men, and the heads of hawks, and they wore the White and Red Crowns, with plumes, and uraei. All these events took place on the seventh day of the month Tybi, , and the place wherein they happened was called Åat-shatet, .

After these things Set changed himself into a serpent which hissed loudly, and he sought out a hole for himself in the ground wherein he hid himself and lived, whereupon Rā said, "the monster "Ba (), hath turned himself into a hissing serpent, let "Horus, the son of Isis, set himself above his hole in the form of a "pole on the top of which is the head of Horus, (), so that he "may never again come forth therefrom." As the result of this the serpent of that town was called "Hisser" or "Roarer," , Hemhemet, and Horus the son of Isis stood upon him in the form of a pole, or staff, on the top of which was the head of a hawk. When all these things were done the boat of Rā arrived at Per-āḥa, , or "House of Battle"; the fore part of the boat was made of acacia wood, and the after part of sycamore wood, and both kinds of wood were, henceforth, holy.

Meanwhile, however, there still remained some of the enemies of Rā in the land, and this god exhorted his son to set out and to make an end of them, whereupon Horus told his father that if he would allow the boat to go whither he pleased, he would treat the enemy in such a way that it would be pleasing to Rā. When the boat had sailed but a little way on the water of Meḥ, , he found one of the friends of Set, and having hurled his spear at him, he caught him, and slaughtered him in the presence of Rā, at a place called Åståbet, . A truce for six days and six nights then followed, and Horus had rest, while Isis made use of her words of power to keep away Ba, i.e., Set, from the district called "Ån-ruṭ-f." Soon afterwards Horus slew 106 of the enemy, and then made a final attack upon them in the neighbourhood of Ån-ḥat, , and Tchar, , or Tanis; some made their escape and succeeded in getting away to the mountains, and others threw themselves into the sea. Horus changed himself into the form of a lion, with the head of a man surmounted by the triple crown, and grasping in his hand his keen-edged knife he pursued them, and brought back 142 of the enemy, whom he slew, and he tore out their tongues, and their blood gushed out upon the ridges of the ground,

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When this was done Rā told Horus that he wished to travel further upon the sea, and to smite the remainder of his foes who still lived in the form of crocodiles and hippopotami near Egypt, but Horus told him that it was impossible to sail further on the sea because the one-third of the enemy which still remained were therein.[1] When Thoth heard this he recited certain chapters containing magical formulae, with the view of protecting the Boat and the vessels of the blacksmiths which were with it, and of quieting the sea during the period of storm. It is clear that when these chapters had been recited, Rā and his company set out and went over the whole sea, but as no more enemies were seen they

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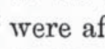
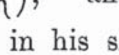
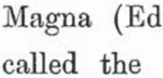
[1] .

returned to Egypt, travelling by night. Finally, Horus and his companions went back to Nubia, to the town of Shȧsḥertet, , where he destroyed the rebels of Uauat, and their ablest soldiers. When this was done Horus changed himself once more into the form of the winged sun-disk with uraei, and took with him the goddesses Nekhebet and Uatchit in the form of two serpents, that they might consume with fire any rebels who still remained. When the gods who were in his boat saw this they said, "Great indeed is that which Horus hath done by means "of his double snake diadem; he hath smitten the enemy who "were afraid of him!" And Horus said, "Henceforward let the "double snake diadem of Ḥeru-Beḥuṭet be called Ur-uatchti "();" and it was so. After these things Horus journeyed on in his ship, or boat, and arrived at Apollinopolis Magna (Edfû) , and Thoth decreed that he should be called the "Light-giver, who cometh forth from the horizon "();" hereupon Horus commanded Thoth that the winged sun-disk with uraei, , should be brought into every sanctuary wherein he dwelt and in every sanctuary of all the gods of the lands of the South and of the North, and in Ȧmentet, in order that they might drive away evil from therein. Then Thoth made figures of the winged sun-disk with uraei, and distributed them among the temples, and sanctuaries, and places wherein there were any gods, and this is what is meant by the winged disks with uraei which are seen over the entrances of the courts of the temples of all the gods and goddesses of Egypt. The snake goddess on the right hand side of the disk is Nekhebet, and that on the left is Uatchit.[1]

The above legend is very important for the study of Egyptian mythology, notwithstanding the fact that in its form here described it belongs to a very modern period. The fundamental facts of the story are very old, for they belong to the earliest period of

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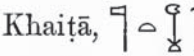
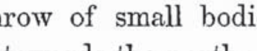
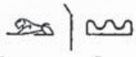
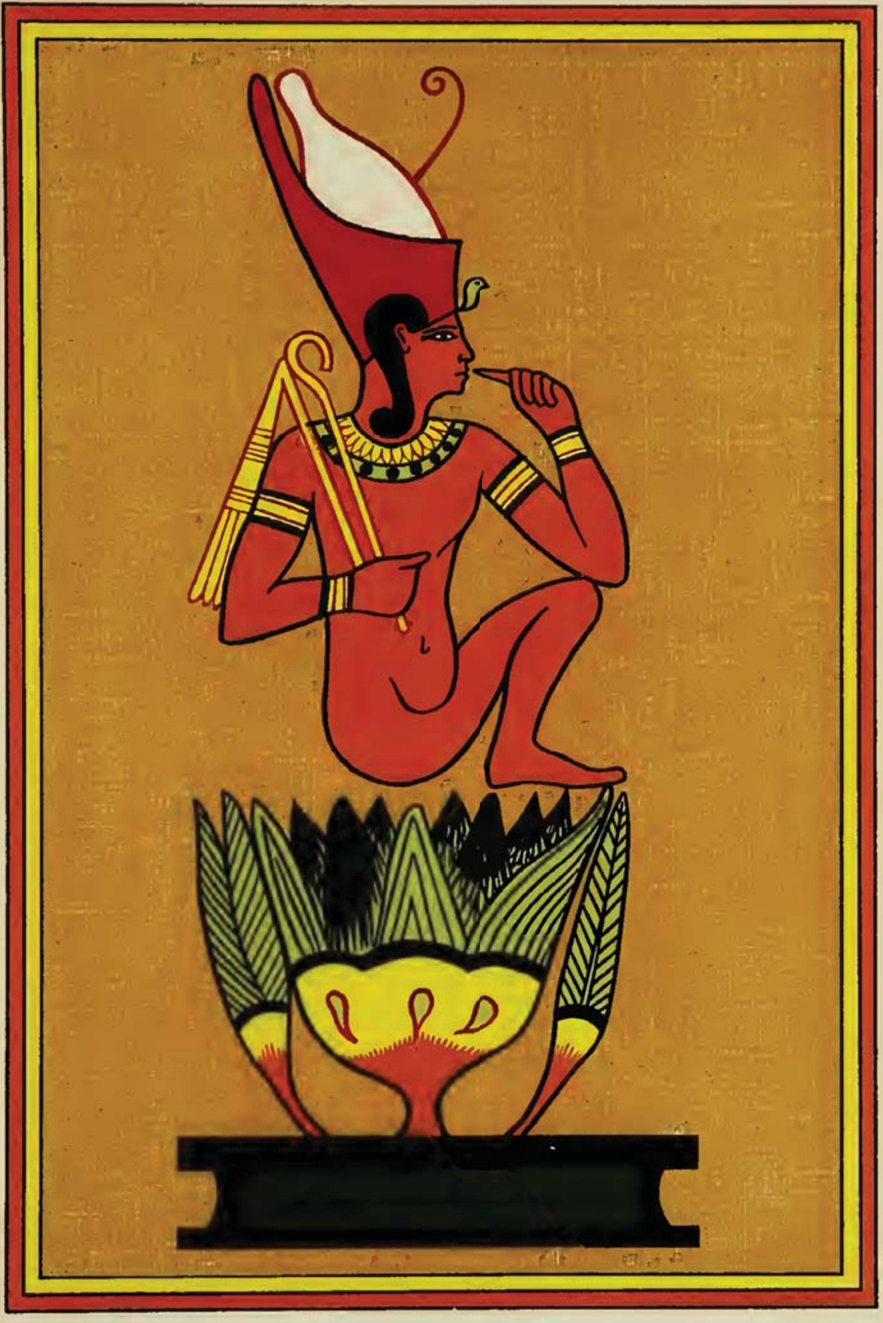
[1] For the text of the legend summarized above see Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, pll. xii. ff.; and for a translation, with transliteration of text and commentary, see Brugsch, *Die Sage von der geflügelten Sonnenscheibe* in the *Abhandlungen* of the Royal Society of Sciences in Göttingen (Phys. Classe, Bd. xiv., p. 173 ff.).

Egyptian history, and are derived from the old nature myth of the combat between Light and Darkness. With these, however, we have mingled another element, which is apparently historical, and is also of very great antiquity. In the original fight between Rā and Āpep, or Horus and Set, the Sun-god was accompanied by his followers, whose duties, apparently, consisted in watching the combat, and who were, like Rā himself, unconnected with the earth. But in the fight of Ḥeru-Beḥuṭet with Set, the companions of the gods were beings in the forms of men who were armed with spears and chains for fettering purposes, and they were rewarded by him after the manner of men. The god himself was armed with a very long spear made of "iron of the god" or "divine iron," and with a chain of unusual length, and his method of fighting was to hurl his spear at his foes, and when it had struck home, he fettered them with his chain, and having dragged them to his boat, slaughtered them at leisure. The first great defeat of the enemy took place at Ȧat-Tcheṭemi, , near Thebes; the second took place at Neter-Khaiṭā, , near Dendera, and was followed by the overthrow of small bodies of them in the neighbouring nomes going towards the north; and the last great conquest was effected by the god, who took the form of a lion, at Tchar, , or Tanis, in the east of the Delta, not far from the modern Suez Canal.

All these facts indicate that we are not dealing entirely with mythological events, and it is nearly certain that the triumphant progress ascribed to Ḥeru-Beḥuṭet is based upon the exploits of some victorious invader who established himself at Edfû in very early times, and then made his way with his followers northwards, beating down all opposition as he went. It is pretty clear that he owed his success chiefly to the superiority of the weapons with which he and his men were armed, and to the material of which they were made; given equality of bravery in two bodies of men opposed each to the other, troops armed with weapons of flint would not long oppose successfully those armed with weapons of iron. In other words, the followers of Horus, who are called



HORUS, THE SON OF ISIS, THE SON OF OSIRIS.

mesniti in the text, as we have already shown, were actually workers in metal, or, "blacksmiths," and men who knew how to smelt iron ore and to forge the metal into weapons of offence and defence. These men called their workshop or foundry *mesnet* or *mesnit*, and later, when their leader and themselves had become deified, and priests had been appointed to perform the worship of the god, the portion of the temple which was set apart for them was also called *mesnet* or *mesnit*, and when the metal statue of the god of the rising sun, Ḥeru-Beḥuṭet, was brought out by them from their chamber the god was said to issue from the foundry wherein he had been cast, and the *mesnet* was identified with that portion of the sky from which the Sun-god appeared.

It is, of course, impossible to say who were the blacksmiths that swept over Egypt from south to north, or where they came from, but the writer believes that they represent the invaders in predynastic times, who made their way into Egypt, from a country in the East, by way of the Red Sea, and by some road across the eastern desert, e.g., that through the Wâdî Ḥammâmât, or that which touches the Nile a little to the south of Thebes. They brought with them the knowledge of working in metals and of brick-making, and having conquered the indigenous peoples in the south, i.e., those round about Edfû, they made that city the centre of their civilization, and then proceeded to conquer and occupy other sites, and to establish sanctuaries for their god or gods.[1] In later times the indigenous priesthoods merged the legendary history of the deified king of the blacksmiths in that of Horus, the god of heaven in the earliest times, and in that of Rā, which belonged to a later period. The priests of Edfû found many parts of this mixed history very difficult to explain, and they endeavoured to get out of their difficulties by the fabrication of foolish etymologies and puns, whereby they sought to elucidate events and names. These, however, have a certain importance, for they at least prove that parts of the legends were not understood when the puns or plays on words were made, and that the legends themselves are of great antiquity; another point is also made clear by them, i.e., that the Egyptians themselves were not better informed on such subjects than we are.

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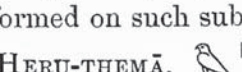
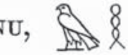
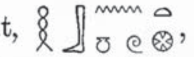
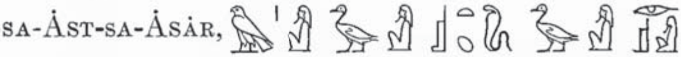
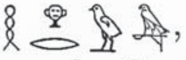
[1] The historical element in the legend was long ago recognized by Maspero; see *Les Forgerons d'Horus et la Légende de l'Horus d'Edfou* (in *Bib. Egypt.*, tom. ii., pp. 313 ff.).

12. ḤERU-THEMĀ, , i.e., "Horus the piercer." This form of Horus is that in which the god attacked Set, the murderer of his father Osiris, with his long spear with a sharp-pointed iron head; he is represented in the form of a hawk-headed man in the act of driving his long spear into some unseen foe on or below the ground.

13. ḤERU-ḤEBENU, , i.e., Horus of Ḥebenu, or Ḥebennut, , the metropolis of the sixteenth nome of Upper Egypt.[1] He is mentioned in the myth of Ḥeru-Beḥuṭet, with whom he is often identified, and he is usually depicted in the form of a hawk-headed man standing upon the back of an antelope; this animal was supposed to be connected with Set, and Horus of Ḥebennu mounted upon his back as a symbol of his sovereignty over the god of darkness and all his host.

14. ḤERU-SA-ȦST-SA-ȦSȦR, , i.e., "Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris," like many other forms of Horus, represented in general the rising sun, and appears to have been to the Egyptians exactly what Apollo was to the Greeks in this respect; the aspects of this god were many, and in consequence his shrines were very numerous both in the South and in the North. In him were at one time or another included all the various Horus gods, beginning with Ḥeru, , the god of the heights of heaven, and Horus the Elder, and ending with the least important Horus, i.e., the god of some provincial town. His principal aspects were, however, two, i.e., he represented the new Sun which was born daily, and which was the successor of Ḥeru-khuti or of Rā, and he was also the offspring of the dead man-god Osiris and his lawful successor. Horus, the son of Isis and of Osiris, was a god whose attributes appealed strongly to the Egyptians from one end of Egypt to the other, because in him

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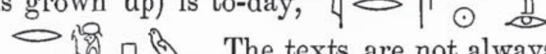
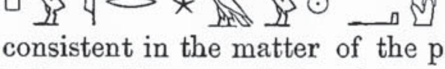
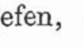
[1] Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 490; and Brugsch, *Religion*, pp. 558 ff.

every man and woman saw the type of what he or she wished to possess, that is to say, renewed life, and life as opposed to death, and movement as opposed to inactivity, and intercourse with the living instead of with the dead. In a way Osiris and Horus were complements, each of the other, but the chief difference was that Osiris represented the past, and Horus the present, or, as we have it expressed in the *Book of the Dead* (xvii. 15), "Osiris is Yester-"day, and Rā (i.e., Horus grown up) is to-day,"  . The texts are not always consistent in the matter of the paternity of Horus, for though Isis is invariably regarded as his mother, his father is sometimes said to be Osiris, and sometimes Rā; but this inconsistency is easily accounted for by remembering that Osiris is, under one aspect, a form of the dead Sun-god. Of the circumstances under which Horus was begotten we gain a good idea from a hymn to Osiris in which the sorrow of his mother Isis at the death of her husband is described. The goddess was greatly distressed, but she was equipped with mighty words of power, and she knew how to utter them so that they might have the greatest effect, and she set out in search of the dead body of Osiris and never rested until she had found him. With her hair she made light, and with her wings she stirred the air as she made lamentation for her brother Osiris, and at length she brought his body into a state of activity, and was then united to him; thus she became with child by him, and her son Horus was born in a secret place where she suckled him and reared him.[1]

This spot appears to have been situated among the papyrus swamps in the Delta, and the event is alluded to in many scenes in which the goddess is seen, suckling her child amidst a dense mass of papyrus plants. Soon after the birth of her child she was persecuted by Set, who kept herself and Horus prisoners in a house, but by the help of Thoth she escaped with her child one evening, and set out on her way under the protection of seven scorpions called Tefen, , Befen, , Mestet,

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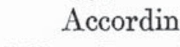
[1] See Chabas, *Revue Archéologique*, 1857, p. 65; Ledrain, *Monuments Égyptiens*, pll. 22 ff.

, Mestetef, , Petet, , Thetet, , and Matet, . These scorpions probably represent the seven stars of the constellation Canis Major, in which the stars of Isis and Sothis were situated. The last three scorpions showed Isis the way and led her to the town of Per-Sui, ,[1] or Crocodilopolis, and then on to the city of Thebti, the city of the Two Sandals-Goddesses, , where the swamp country begins. Whilst Isis was absent one day Horus was stung by a scorpion, and when she came home she found him lying on the ground, and the foam was on his lips, and his heart was still, and there was not a muscle or limb of him which was not rigid; she had protected him against Set, and against the possibility of attack by any being in the papyrus swamps, but a scorpion had stung the child, and he was dead. Whilst Isis was lamenting his death her sister Nephthys came with Serqet, the scorpion goddess, and advised her to cry out to heaven for help, and she did so, and her cry penetrated to Rā in his "Boat of Millions of Years." The great god stopped his boat, and Thoth came down with words of power, and by means of these her son was once more raised to life and health. Soon after these things had taken place Horus set to work to avenge the death of his father Osiris, and it was under his form of "Horus, the avenger of his father," ,[2] that he appealed so strongly to the imagination of the Egyptians.

According to a notice in the Calendar given in the Fourth Sallier Papyrus (Brit. Mus., No. 10,184), Horus began his fight with Set, which lasted three days, on the 26th day of the month of Thoth, and the two gods fought in the form of two men. Isis was present at the fight and, because she in some way supported Set against Horus, her son turned upon her with the fury of a "panther of the south," and cut off her head. Thoth, however, seeing what had been done, took the head of the goddess, and by

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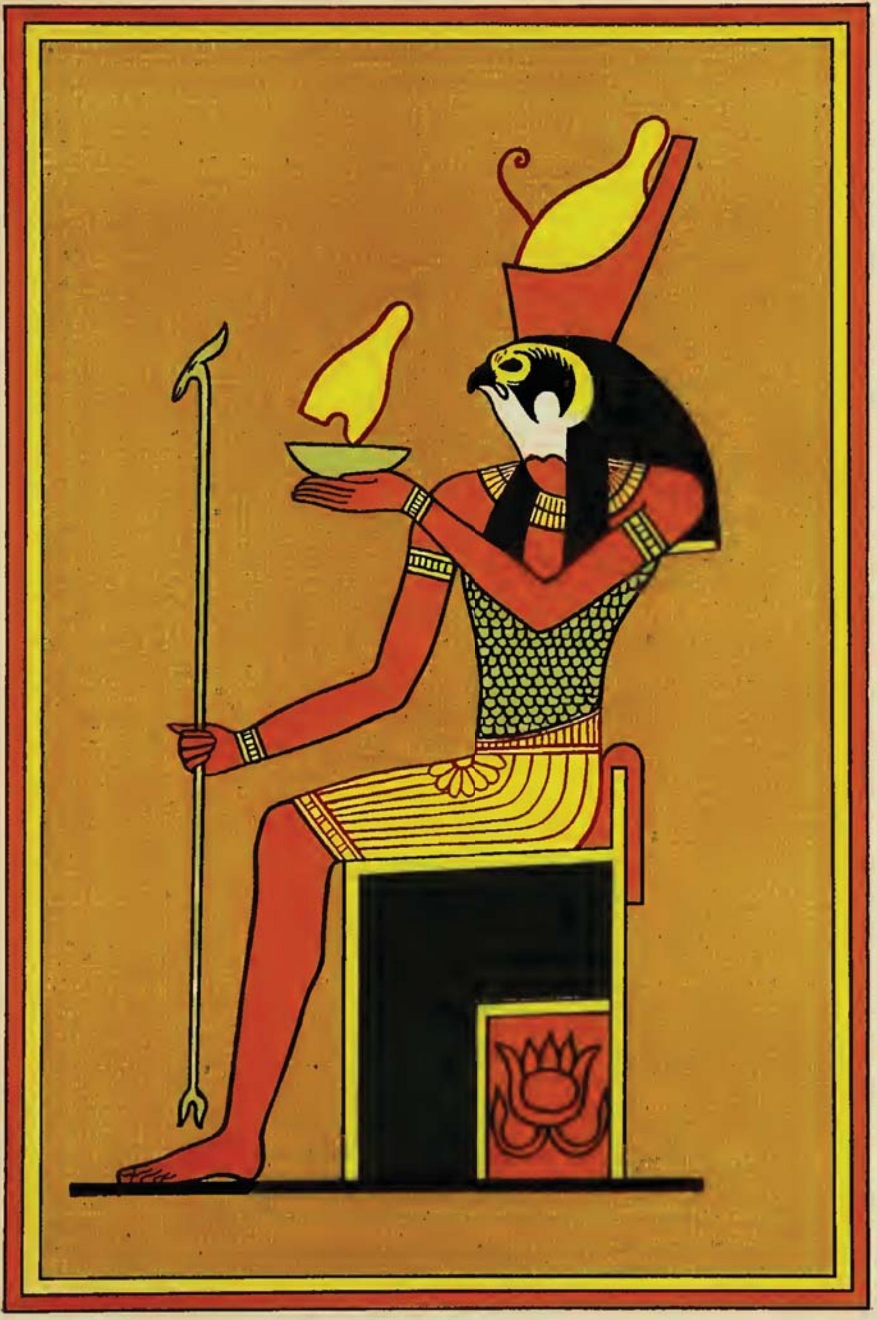
[1] The story is told on the *Metternichstele*, ed. Golénischeff, Leipzig, 1877, pl. iii., ll. 46 ff.

[2] For references to him in the *Book of the Dead* see my *Vocabulary*, p. 225.



ḤERU-NETCH-TEF-RĀ.

means of his words of power transformed it into the head of a cow, and then fixed it upon the body of Isis.[1] According to Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*), Isis found that her son Horus had succeeded in fettering Set and in binding him in chains, but not wishing that he should perish she loosed his fetters and set him at liberty; then it was that Horus tore off her head the symbols of sovereignty which were upon it. We have no means of assigning a date to the composition of the above legend, but it must be very old, and it is easy to see that it is only a version of the older legend of the combat between Rā and Āpep, and Ḥeru-ur and Set, and Ḥeru-Beḥuṭet and Set, and it is, of course, one of the sources of all the post-Christian legends of the overthrow of dragons by kings and heroes, e.g., Alexander the Great and Saint George. When Horus had overcome Set he succeeded to the inheritance of his father, and took his seat upon the throne of Osiris, and reigned in his stead; and, in the words addressed to Osiris by the official Hunefer, "Horus "is triumphant in the presence of the whole company of the gods, "the sovereignty over the world hath been given unto him, and his "dominion is in the uttermost parts of the earth. The throne of "the god Seb hath been adjudged unto him, along with the rank "which hath been founded by the god Temu, and which hath been "stablished by decrees in the Chamber of Books, and hath been "inscribed upon an iron tablet according to the command of thy "father Ptaḥ-Tanen, on the great throne. . . . Gods celestial and "gods terrestrial transfer themselves to the service of thy son "Horus, and they follow him into his hall, [where] a decree is "passed that he shall be lord over them, and they perform the "decree straightway."[2]

Now, besides the fight in which he engaged with Set, Horus performed many other filial duties which endeared him to the Egyptians. Thus he took the greatest care that every ceremony which could possibly benefit the deceased was performed on his father's behalf, and every detail of the mummification of the god, and of the method of swathing, and of the placing of amulets, etc., upon the body was watched by him with loving attention, and his filial affection became the pattern which was followed by every pious Egyptian from time immemorial. We find, however, that Horus was believed to help the dead generally, even as he helped Osiris, and all men hoped that he would come to their assistance after death, and act as a mediator between the judge of the Underworld and themselves. In the Judgment Scene in the *Book of the Dead* (Papyrus of Ani, plates 3 and 4), Horus, the son of Isis, leads the deceased, after his heart has been weighed, into the presence of Osiris, and he says to his father, "I have come to thee, "O Un-nefer, and I have brought unto thee Osiris Ani," and then goes on to say that Thoth has weighed Ani's heart in the Balance according to the decree of the gods, and has found it right and true. He also asks Osiris that Ani may be allowed to appear in his presence, and that cakes and ale may be given to him, and that he may be among the followers of Horus for ever. In none of the variants of the Judgment Scene do we find that the place of Horus as introducer of the dead is taken by any other god, and there is no doubt that this duty was assigned to him because it was believed that Osiris would favourably receive those who were led into his presence by the son who had done so much for him. From the Pyramid Texts we learn that, at the time when man believed that it was necessary to have a ladder in order to ascend into heaven from the earth, Horus was regarded as the god of the ladder, and that he was entreated to set up the ladder and to hold it in place whilst the deceased climbed up it. Sometimes Rā held one side of it whilst Horus held the other, and sometimes its supporters were Horus and Set, but even so the deceased seems sometimes to have experienced difficulty in ascending it, for we read that Horus had to give him a push upwards with his two fingers.[1]

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[1] Chabas, *Calendrier*, Paris, 1863, pp. 29 ff.

[2] *Book of the Dead*, Chap. clxxxiii., ll. 12 ff.

More than this, however, was done for the deceased by Horus, for he took the bodies of the dead under his care just as he took the body of his father Osiris into his own hands, and superintended the performance of his funeral rites and ceremonies. In this great work he was assisted by a number of beings called Ḥeru-shemsu,

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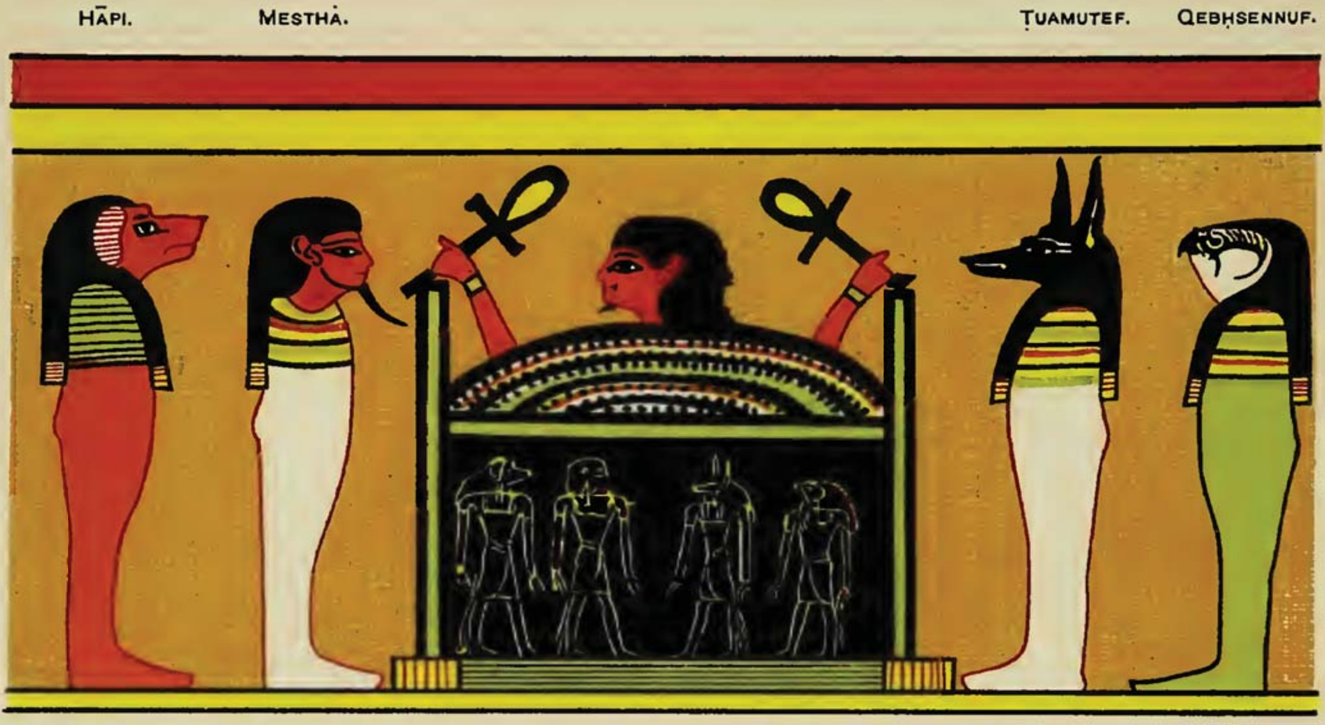
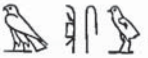
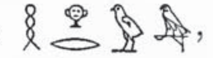
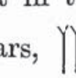
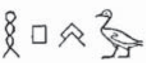
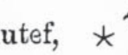
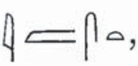
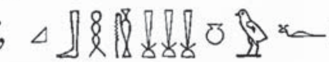
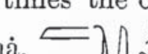
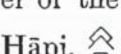
[1] English renderings of the passages will be found in my *Egyptian Magic*, pp. 52 ff.

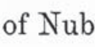
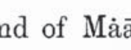
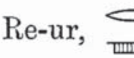
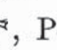
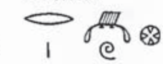
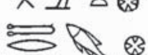
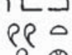
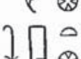
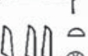
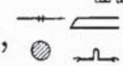
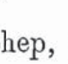
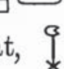
THE FOUR CHILDREN OF HORUS. OR THE GODS OF THE CARDINAL POINTS.


HĀPI.
MESTHȦ.
ṬUAMUTEF.
QEBḤSENNUF.

The Deceased Rising from the Funeral Chest, which is the type of the Aat of Abydos with the Symbol of Life in each Hand.

, i.e., "Followers of Horus." Now we know from several passages in the *Book of the Dead* that Osiris, Rā, Nefer-Tem, Neb-er-tcher, Meḥi, Hathor, and, in fact, all great gods were ministered to by a number of lesser gods, but none of these are of the importance of the followers of Horus, and none of them are as old. We have already seen that the original Horus-god, , who represented the face of heaven, was supposed to have long hair which hung down from his face, and which probably supported it, and that in the myth of Shu the supports of this god, i.e., the four pillars, , which held up the vast, rectangular, iron plate that formed the floor of heaven were placed in the tresses of Horus. At a later period, when the four followers of Horus, son of Isis, were identified with the followers of the older Horus, these gods were made to dwell near the pillars of Shu and to have dominion over them, and also over the four quarters of heaven, and they took the place of the earlier gods of the cardinal points. In the *Book of the Dead* these four children of Horus play very prominent parts, and the deceased endeavoured to gain their help and protection at all costs, both by offerings and prayers. In the pictures of the funeral procession four men draw along the coffin containing the mummied intestines of the deceased, four animals are taken for sacrifice, and all the instruments used in the ceremony of "opening the mouth," as well as the vases, and boxes of unguents, etc., are in quadruplicate. Even prayers and formulae are said four times over, e.g., in Chapter xl., the deceased in addressing the Eater of the Ass says, "I know thee," four times; and in Chapter cxxiv., he says, "I am pure," four times. Most important of all, however, it was to remember that the four children of Horus shared the protection of the body of the deceased among them, and as far back as the Vth Dynasty we find that they presided over his life in the underworld. The names of the four gods are:—Ḥāp, , Ṭuamutef, , Àmset, , and Qebḥsennuf, ; this is the order in which they are mentioned in the Pyramid Texts, but in

later times the order of the names and the spelling vary thus:—Mesthȧ, , Ḥāpi, , Ṭuamutef, , and Qebḥ-sennuf, . The two arms of the deceased were identified with Ḥāpi and Ṭuamutef, and his two legs with Ȧmset and Qebḥsennuf; and when he went into the Sekhet-Ȧaru they were his guides and went in with him, two on each side. Ḥāpi represented the north and protected the small viscerae of the body; Ṭuamutef represented the east, and protected the heart and lungs; Ȧmset represented the south, and protected the stomach and large intestines, and Qebḥsennuf represented the west, and protected the liver and the gall bladder. Associated with the four gods, perhaps as female counterparts, were the goddesses Nephthys, Neith, Isis, and Selqet, or Serqet.

As Horus, son of Isis, was so thoroughly identified with Horus the Elder, and with other forms of the rising sun, it is not surprising to find that the sanctuaries of the god were very numerous, and that they existed in all parts of the country; the names of a great many of these have been collected by Signor Lanzone,[1] and from them we learn that Horus, dweller in the two Egypts, , was lord of Nubti,  (Ombos), and lord of Uast, (Thebes), and of Mȧām, , Kenset, , Ḥet-Ānt, , Re-ur, , Pe, , Behen, , Nekhen, , Per-netchem, , Re-āu, , Ḥurent, , Ka-qem, , Reqetit, , Therer, , Bak, , Ȧat-āat, , Ḥu, , Tchart, , Ȧat-āb, , Ḥut, , Ḥet-suten, , Petchatcha, , It, , Rethma , Ḥeben, , Sekhem, , Ȧbṭu, , Shes-en-meḥ, , Ḥet-neḥ, , Ḥebt, , Shep, , Khat, , Qāḥ,

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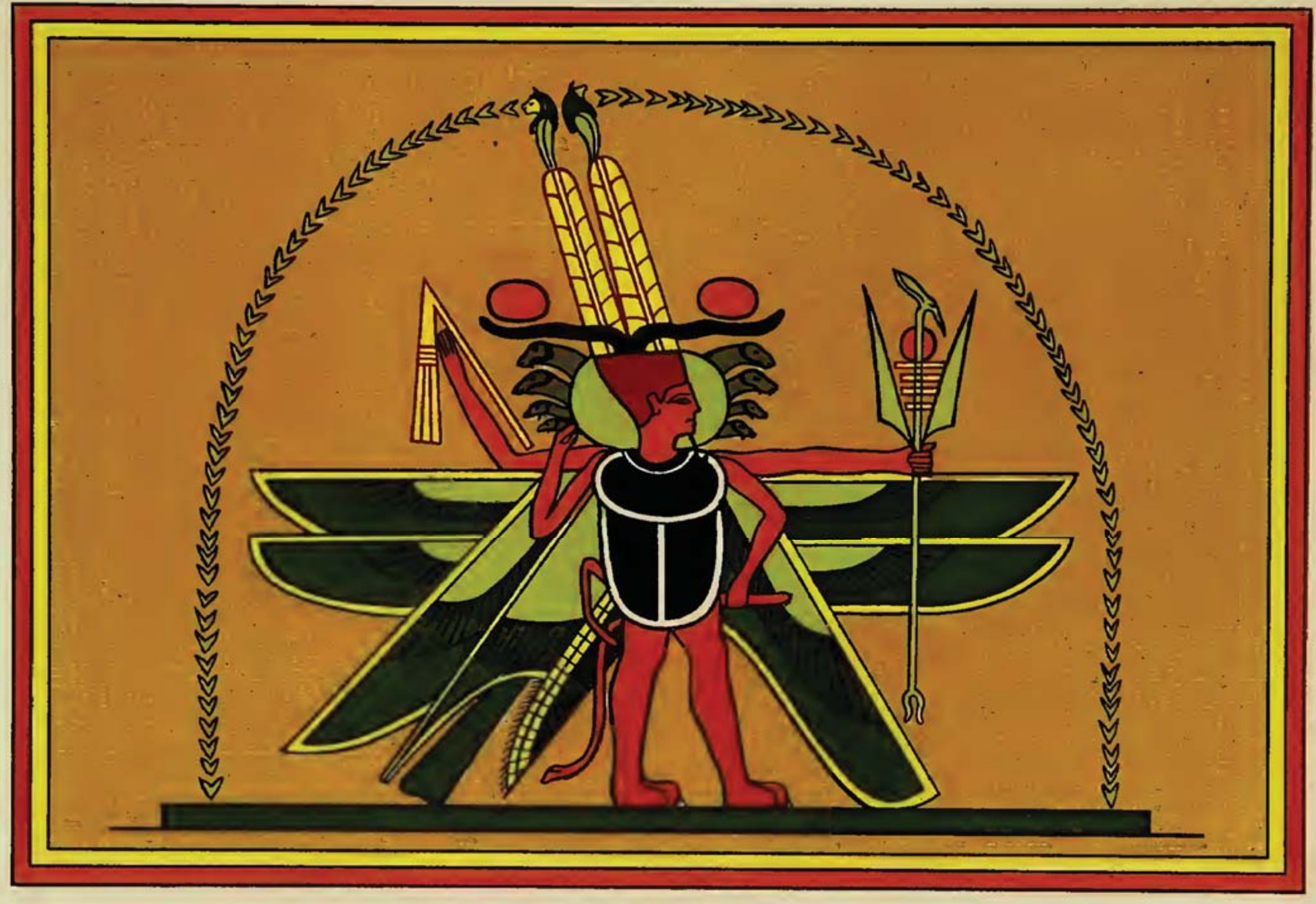
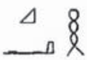
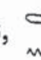
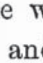
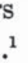
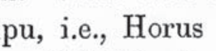
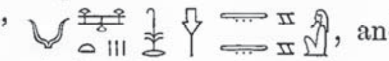
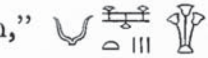
[1] Op. cit., p. 569.



THE GOD COMPREHENDING ALL GODS.

, Ṭenretut, , Ȧnt, , and Baka, , etc.

The forms in which Horus, son of Isis, is depicted are both numerous and interesting, and they show how completely he absorbed the attributes of all the other Horus gods. Thus he is represented as a child seated on a lotus flower, with one of his forefingers touching his lips, and with the lock of hair on the side of his head; he wears the crowns of the South and North, and holds both  and .[1] In another section he stands on the back of a hippopotamus, into the head of which he is driving a spear; in this instance he is clearly identified with Ḥeru-Beḥuṭet. In late dynastic times the god was depicted in a great many fantastic forms, and the various attributes which were ascribed to him are indicated in many curious ways. Thus as guardian of the funeral coffer of Osiris he has the head of a hawk, on which is the triple crown, with the body of a lion, and a tail in the form of a head and neck of some unknown animal. Elsewhere he is represented with seven heads, among which are those of a bull, a ram, a cat, and a crocodile, and with the body of a man, ithyphallic, and the legs and hoofs of a bull, and the wings of a bird; in one hand he holds a knife, and in the other a serpent.

But besides the attributes of the other Horus gods, Horus, son of Isis, was endowed with many of the characteristics of other gods. Thus with the god Ȧnpu or Anubis, he becomes Ḥeru-em-Ȧnpu, i.e., Horus as Anubis, and is said to dwell in the "divine hall," ; he recalls under this name the god "Hermanubis," who is mentioned by Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, § 61) and by Diodorus (lines 18, 87). This dual god is represented in the form of a man with the head of a jackal, and it is impossible to distinguish him by his picture from the two jackal gods Ȧnpu, or Anubis, and Ȧp-uat, who are only two forms of one and the same god. Strictly speaking, Ȧnpu is the "opener of the roads of the South, the power of the two lands," , and Ȧpuat is the "opener of the roads of the North, the power of heaven," [1] The two jackal gods are often seen depicted on stelae, where they symbolize the two halves of the year, and the night and the day sky, and the periods of waxing and waning of the powers of nature in summer and winter.

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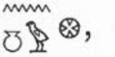
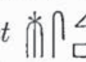
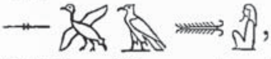
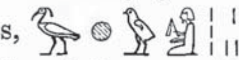
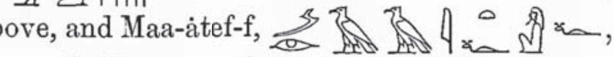
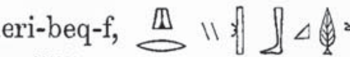
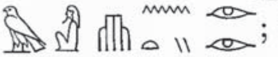
[1] See Lanzone, op. cit., pll. 214 ff.

The particular form of Horus which was identified with Horus, son of Isis, was Horus of Ḥebennu, , the Hipponon of the Greeks, where also Anubis was specially venerated. The identification of Horus, son of Isis, with Anubis is easy to explain, for both gods assisted in mummifying the dead body of Osiris, and it is expressly stated in the *Book of the Dead* (xvii. 125 ff.), that it is Anubis who passes through the purification chamber in the *Mesqet* , and that he stood "behind the chest which contained the inner parts of Osiris." According to the same chapter (lines 100-108), it was Anubis who appointed the SEVEN SPIRITS, "the followers of their lord Sepa," , to be the protectors of the dead body of Osiris. One authority quoted in the same chapter stated that the Seven Spirits, , were the Four Children of Horus, already mentioned above, and Maa-àtef-f, , and Kheri-beq-f, , and Ḥeru-khenti-maati, ; but another authority gives the names of the Seven Spirits as follows:—1. Netcheḥ-netcheḥ; 2. Àaqeṭeṭ; 3. Àn-erṭā-nef-bes-f-khenti-heh-f; 4. Āq-ḥer-àmmi-unnut-f; 5. Ṭesher-maati-àmmi-ḥet-Ànes; 6. Ubes-ḥrà-per-em-khetkhet; 7. Maa-em-ķerḥ-àn-nef-em-hru.[2] In connexion with these must be

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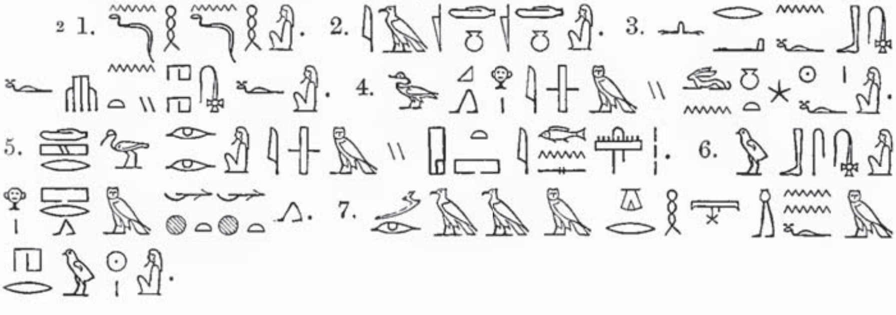
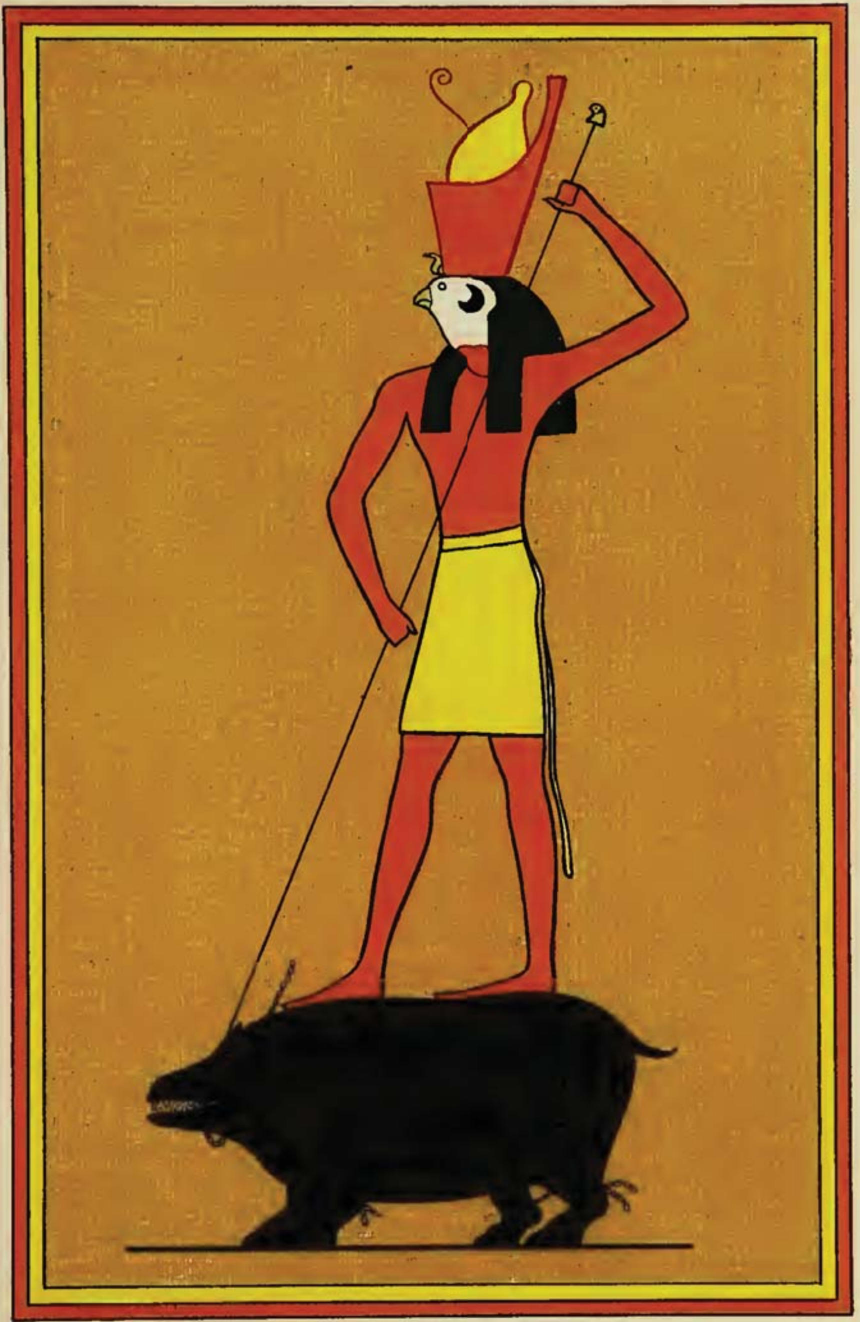
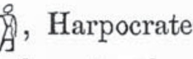
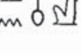
[1] *Book of the Dead*, Chap. cxlii., § iv. 24, 25.

[2] 



HORUS, THE SON OF ISIS, THE SON OF OSIRIS.

mentioned the goddess Ḥetep-sekhus, , who is identified either with the Eye of Rā or with the flame which follows Osiris to burn up his enemies, and the assessors of that section of the Underworld which is called Ȧn-ȧareretef, , or Ȧn-ȧretf, , i.e., the "place where nothing grows," the chief of whom was Ḥeru-netch-ḥrȧ-ȧtef-f, , or "Horus, the avenger of his father."

15. Ḥeru-pa-kharṭ, , i.e., "Horus the Child." We have already described Horus the Child, who was the son and successor of Horus the Elder, and brief mention must be made of Horus the Child who was the son and successor of Osiris. The greater number of the attributes which belonged to the old Horus gods were transferred to the son of Isis and Osiris, especially in late dynastic times when the worship of Osiris was dominant in Egypt, and Horus the Child became the type of the new birth, and new life, the first hours of the day, and the first days of the month, and the first months of the year, and in fact of everything which was young and vigorous. Soon, however, the characteristics of the great forms of the Sun-god were added to his own, and his original conception as Horus the Child was somewhat forgotten; at times it is very difficult to distinguish in the texts exactly which Horus is referred to. In all the great sanctuaries of Egypt, from the period of the New Empire onwards, we find that Horus the Child, or Harpocrates, was identified by the priests of the local gods as a form of their principal deities in which the chiefs of the companies or triads of gods had renewed and rejuvenated themselves. The late Dr. Brugsch collected a large number of examples of this fact,[1] and he proved that as Ḥeru-sma-taui-pa-kharṭ he was identified with Tem, and was said to be son of Ḥeru-khuti and Hathor; that joined with Ȧḥi, , Harpocrates became a form of Rā, and was called "son of Hathor, to whom Isis gave birth," and was regarded as the offspring of Un-nefer, ,

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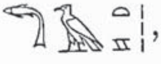
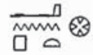
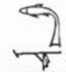
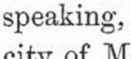
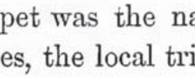
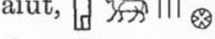
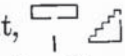
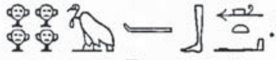
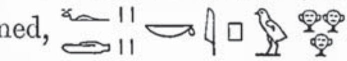
[1] *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 373.

i.e., of Osiris; and that he was also made to be the renewed form of the gods Shu, Seb, Khensu, and Åmsu, or Min.

In connexion with Horus, son of Isis, in one or other of his forms must be mentioned the interesting legend which is preserved in the cxiith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, and which has reference to the district or place called Khat, , of the dweller in Khat, in the city of Ānpet, , in the nome of Ḥā-meḥit, , i.e., the sixteenth nome of Lower Egypt. Strictly speaking, Ānpet was the name of the temple and quarter of the city of Mendes, the local triad of which consisted of Ba-neb-Ṭeṭet, , Ḥā-meḥit, , and Ḥeru-pa-kharṭ. Mendes was full of associations with the worship of the god Osiris, for in the temple there were preserved the phallus and the back-bone of Osiris; the temple was called Ḥet-baiut, , i.e., "House of the Rams," and the place where the relics were found Per-khent, .[1] The rams here referred to recall the legend in which the Ram of Mendes was said to unite within himself the souls of Rā, Osiris, Shu, and Kheperå, and he was known as the "Ram with four heads upon one neck," .[2] It is possible that he is also referred to in the text of Pepi I. (line 419) where a god with four faces is mentioned, . In the Chapter above mentioned the deceased is made to ask a number of gods, "Do ye know for what reason the city of Pe hath "been given unto Horus?" and he goes on to say, "I, even I, "know it though ye know it not. Behold, Rā gave the city to him "in return for the injury to his Eye; for which cause Rā said to "Horus, 'Let me see what is coming to pass in thine eye,' and "forthwith he looked thereat. Then Rā said unto Horus, 'Look "at that black pig,' and he looked, and straightway an injury was "done unto his eye, that is to say, a mighty storm [took place

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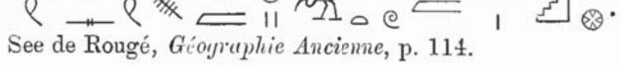
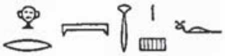
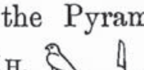
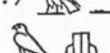
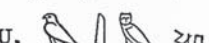
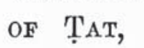
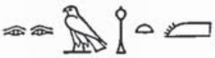
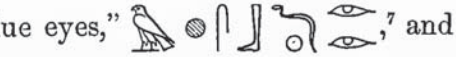
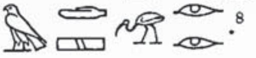
[1] .

[2] See de Rougé, *Géographie Ancienne*, p. 114.

"therein]. Then said Horus unto Rā, 'Verily, my eye seems as if "it were an eye upon which Suti had inflicted a blow'; and [thus "saying] he ate his heart.[1] Then said Rā to those gods, 'Place ye "him in his chamber, and he shall do well.' Now the black pig "was Suti (Set) who had transformed himself into a black pig, and "he it was who had aimed the blow of fire which struck the eye of "Horus. Then said Rā unto those gods, 'The pig is an abominable "'thing unto Horus; but he shall do well, although the pig is an "'abomination unto him.' Then the company of the gods, who "were among the divine Followers of Horus when he existed in "the form of his own child, said, 'Let sacrifices be made of his "bulls, and of his goats, and of his pigs.' Now the father of "Mesthi, Ḥāpi, Ṭuamutef, and Qebḥ-sennuf is Horus, and their "mother is Isis. Then said Horus to Rā, 'Give me two divine "'brethren in the city of Pe and two divine brethren in the city of "'Nekhen, who [have sprung] from my body and who shall be with "'me in the guise of everlasting judges, and then shall the earth "'blossom and thunder-clouds and rain be done away.' And the "name of Horus became Ḥer-uatch-f, ."

In addition to the forms of Horus mentioned in the above paragraphs the Pyramid Texts make known the following:—1. ḤERU-ÅĀḤ, , i.e., Horus, the Moon-god;[2] 2. ḤERU-KHENT-PERU, ;[3] 3. ḤERU-ÅM-ḤENNU, ;[4] and ḤERU OF ṬAT, .[5] According to the same authorities Horus possessed one white eye and one black, ,[6] which king Unås is said to have taken to illumine his face; and two other titles of the god are "Horus of the two blue eyes," ,[7] and "Horus of the two red eyes," .[8] In the Theban Recension of the

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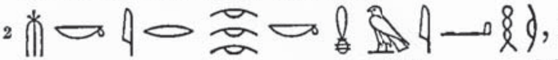
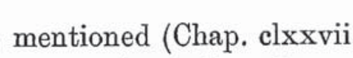
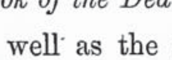
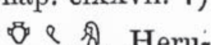
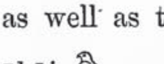
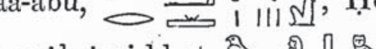
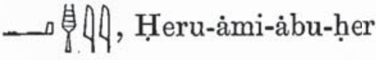
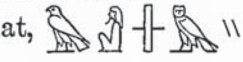
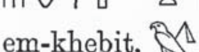
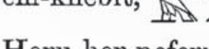
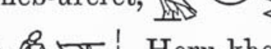
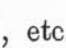
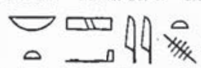
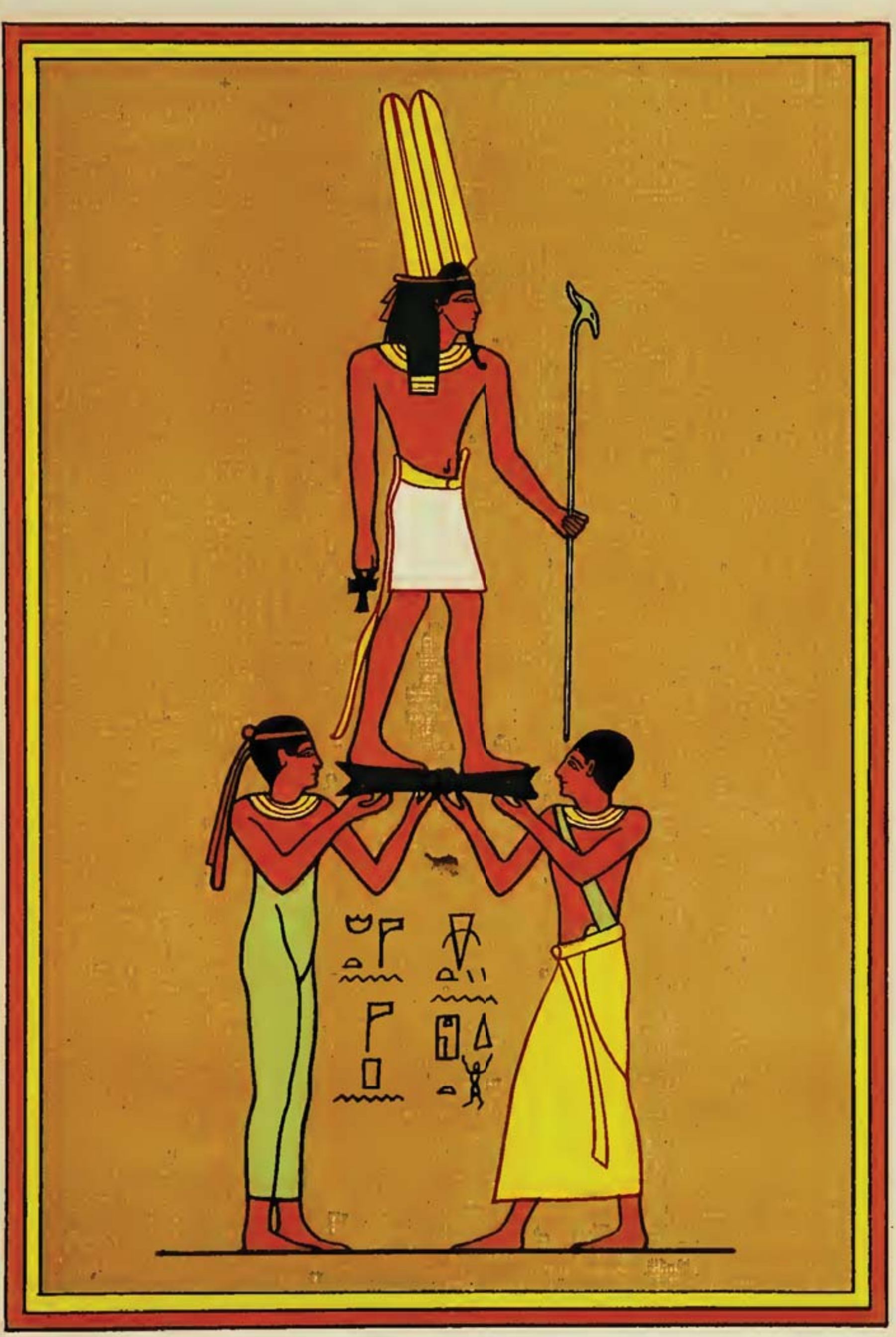
[1] I.e., he lost his temper and raged.

[2] , Tetå, l. 365.

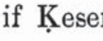
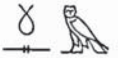
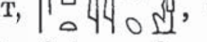
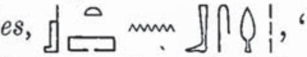
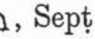
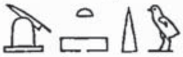
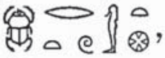
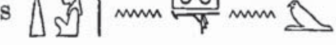
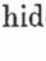
[3] Unås, l. 202.
[4] Unås, l. 211.
[5] Unås, l. 218.
[6] Unås, l. 37.
[7] Unås, l. 369.
[8] Unås, l. 869.

Book of the Dead these titles are also mentioned (Chap. clxxvii. 7) as well as the following:—Ḥeru-āa-àbu, , Ḥeru-āḥāi, , Ḥeru-àmi-àbu-ḥer-àb-àmi-khat,  , Ḥeru-àmi-àthen, , Ḥeru-em-khebit, , Ḥeru-neb-ureret, , Ḥeru-ḥer-neferu, , Ḥeru-khenṭ-ḥeḥ, , Ḥeru-khenti-ḥeḥ, , Ḥeru-sekhai, , Ḥeru-sheṭ-ḥrà, , etc. Finally, in the text of Unàs (line 462 ff.) we meet with the form of ḤERU-SEPṬ, , who is mentioned in connexion with Rā, Tem, Thoth, and Horus of Ṭat, and the star Nekhekh, . Ḥeru-Sepṭ is a form of Horus, presumably the god of the rising sun, united to the particular form of the same god Sepṭ which was worshipped in the twentieth nome of Lower Egypt, i.e., the nome SEPṬ, . In the examples given by Signor Lanzone of the various forms under which Sepṭ is depicted he is sometimes seen in the form of a man having upon his head either the symbol , or double plumes, , or a disk, ⊙, and sometimes in the form of a mummied hawk, , with plumes on his head, and the symbol in front of him, and the *menàt*, , on his back. The titles which accompany these representations describe him as the "lord of the east," i.e., the eastern part of the Delta and Arabia. On a shrine discovered at Saft al-Henna by M. Naville he appears in the form of the god Bes, , who is represented with outspread arms, hands, and wings, and with feathers on the top of his head. In this form he is called, "Sepṭ, the smiter of the Menti," , i.e., the tribes of the Eastern Desert and Arabia. Sepṭ was clearly a god of battles, , and he was called the "Bull that trampleth on the Menti;" he was the



THE GOD SEPT.

"strengthener of Egypt, and the protector of the temples of the gods."[1]

The principal seat of the worship of the god was in the metropolis of the nome, i.e., at Per-Sepṭ, ; if Ḳesem, , was a distinct city from Per-Sepṭ a temple to the god may have stood there also. The female counterpart of Ḥeru-Sepṭ was a form of the goddess Hathor to whom, in the twentieth nome of Lower Egypt, the name SEPTIT, , was given; his sanctuary contained some fine *nebes*[2] trees, hence its name *àst nebes*, , "house of *nebes* trees." As the "lord of battle," , Sepṭ is depicted in the form of a hawk-headed lion with the tails of a lion and a hawk, and in his hands, which are those of a man, he holds a bow and a club; on his head are a disk[3] and plumes. Sepṭ is mentioned even in the *Book of the Dead* with the attributes of a god of war, and in Chapter xvii. (line 30) he is said to "thwart the acts of the foes of Neb-er-tcher." In the xxxiind Chapter the deceased drives away the Crocodile of the South, and says, "I am Sepṭ"; and in the cxxxth Chapter (line 11) we read of the "slaughtering block of the god Sepṭu," . Up to the present no satisfactory explanation has been given of the object which is the symbol of the god Sepṭ, but it appears to have been some kind of a triangle; a figure or model of it was preserved at Àmen-kheperutet, , which is described in the Edfû list as , i.e., "the hidden  of Khas (?) en-Sepṭ."

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[1] De Rougé, *Géographie Ancienne*, p. 141.

[2] The *Cordia Sebestena*, or *Zizyphus Lotos W.*, according to Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 567.

[3] Lanzone, op. cit., p. 1048.

CHAPTER XVI

THE GREAT TRIAD OF MEMPHIS, PTAḤ, 𓊪𓏏𓎛𓁰, SEKHET, 𓋾𓐍𓏏𓁗, AND I-EM-ḤETEP, 𓇋𓇌𓅓𓊵𓏏𓊪𓀭.

THE greatest of all the old gods of Memphis was undoubtedly Ptaḥ, 𓊪𓏏𓎛𓀭, or Ptaḥ-neb-ānkh, 𓊪𓏏𓎛𓎟𓋹𓈖𓐍𓀭, and his worship, in one form or another, goes back to the earliest part of the dynastic period. He has usually been regarded as a form of the Sun-god, and as the personification of the rising sun, either at the time when it begins to rise above the horizon or immediately after it has risen. The name has often been explained to mean "Opener," and to be derived from a root which was cognate in meaning with the well-known Semitic root *pâthakh*, פָּתַח, in fact Ptaḥ was thought to be the "Opener" of the day just as Tem was considered to be the "Closer" of the day. The chief drawback, however, to the acceptance of this derivation is the fact that Ptaḥ never forms one of the groups of the chief forms of the Sun-god in the texts, and his attributes are entirely different from those of Kheperȧ, Tem, Ḥeru, and Rā. Moreover, although the word *ptaḥ*, 𓊪𓏏𓎛, is found in Egyptian it never has the meaning "to open," in the sense of opening a door, and the determinative which follows it,[1] 𓍑, proves conclusively that although it does mean "to open" it is always in the sense of "to engrave, to carve, to chisel," and the like; compare Heb. פִּתּוּחַ "engraving, sculpture." The meaning proposed for the name "Ptaḥ" by Dr. Brugsch is "sculptor, engraver," and many passages in the texts of all periods make it plain that Ptaḥ was the chief god of all handicraftsmen,

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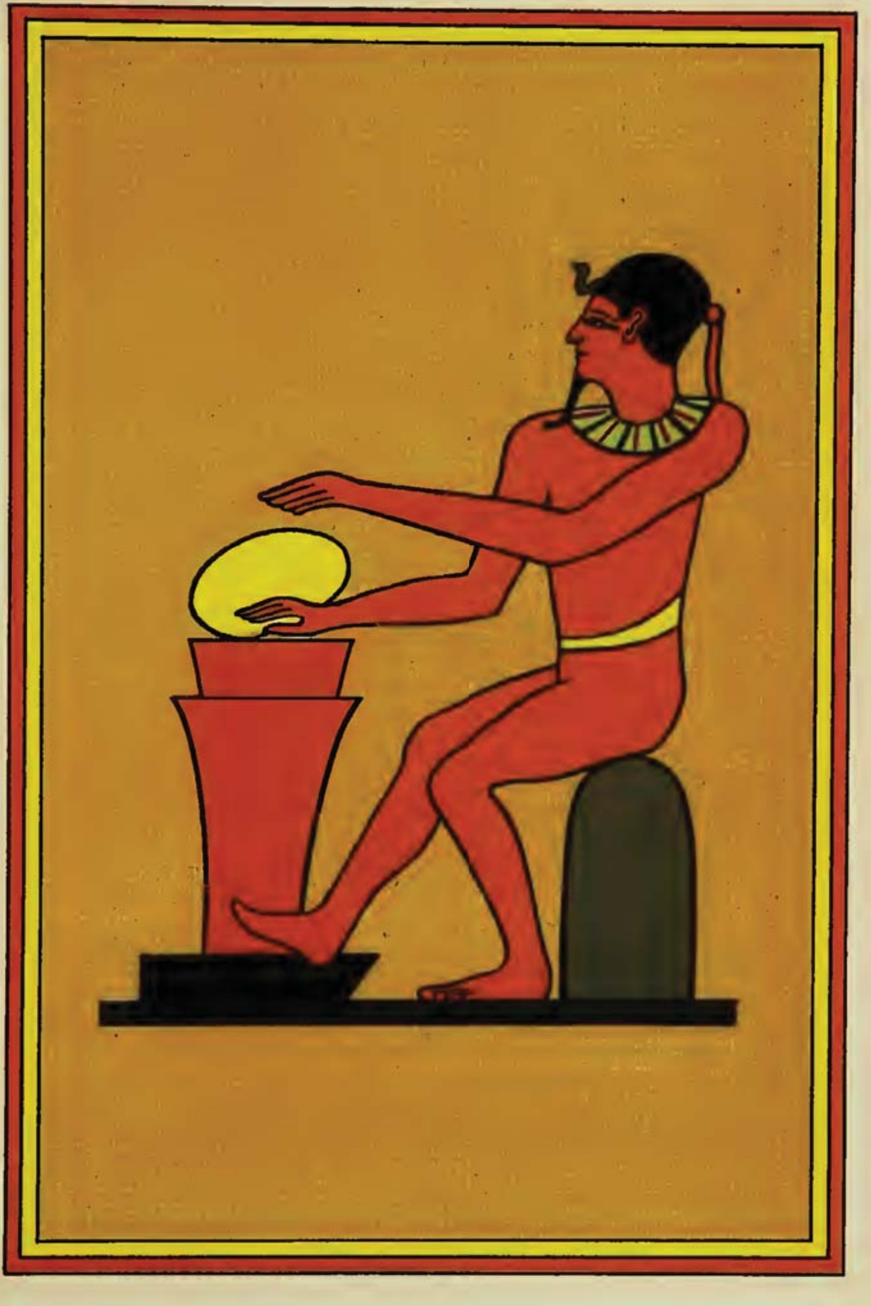
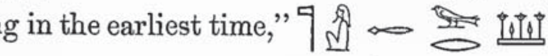
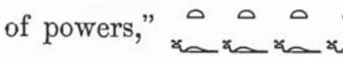
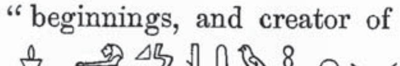
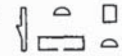
[1] Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 528.



PTAH FASHIONING THE EGG OF THE WORLD UPON A POTTER'S WHEEL, WHICH HE WORKS WITH HIS FOOT.

and of all workers in metal and stone. What the form of the god was originally it is, unfortunately, impossible to say, but from the titles which the dynastic Egyptians gave to him it is clear that his main characteristics did not change from the period of the IInd Dynasty to that of the Ptolemies and Romans. At a very early period he was identified with one of the great primeval gods of Egypt, and he was called "the very great god who came into "being in the earliest time," ; "father "of fathers, Power of powers," ; "father of "beginnings, and creator of the egg[s] of the Sun and Moon," ; "lord of Maāt, king of the two "lands, the god of the Beautiful Face in Thebes, who created his "own image, who fashioned his own body, who hath established Maāt throughout the two lands;"[1] "Ptaḥ, the Disk of heaven, illuminer "of the two lands with the fire of his two eyes."[2] In the text of Tetȧ (lines 87, 97) the "workshop of Ptaḥ," , is mentioned, and the general sense of the passages indicates that it was Ptaḥ who was believed to fashion the new bodies in which the souls of the dead were to live in the Underworld. Ptaḥ, as we shall see later from the passages quoted from the *Book of the Dead*, was the great artificer in metals, and he was at once smelter, and caster, and sculptor, as well as the master architect and designer of everything which exists in the world. The Greeks and the Latins rightly identified one form of him with Hephaistos and Vulcan.

Ptaḥ was the fellow-worker with Khnemu in carrying into effect the commands concerning the creation of the universe which were issued by Thoth, and whilst the latter was engaged in fashioning man and animals, the former was employed in the construction of the heavens and the earth. The large rectangular

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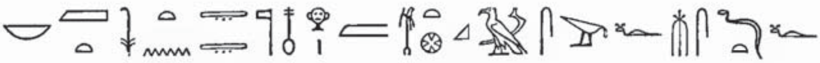
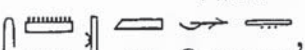
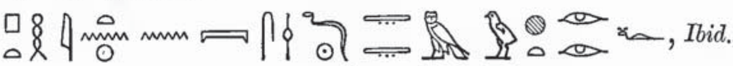
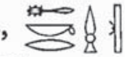
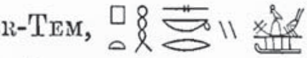
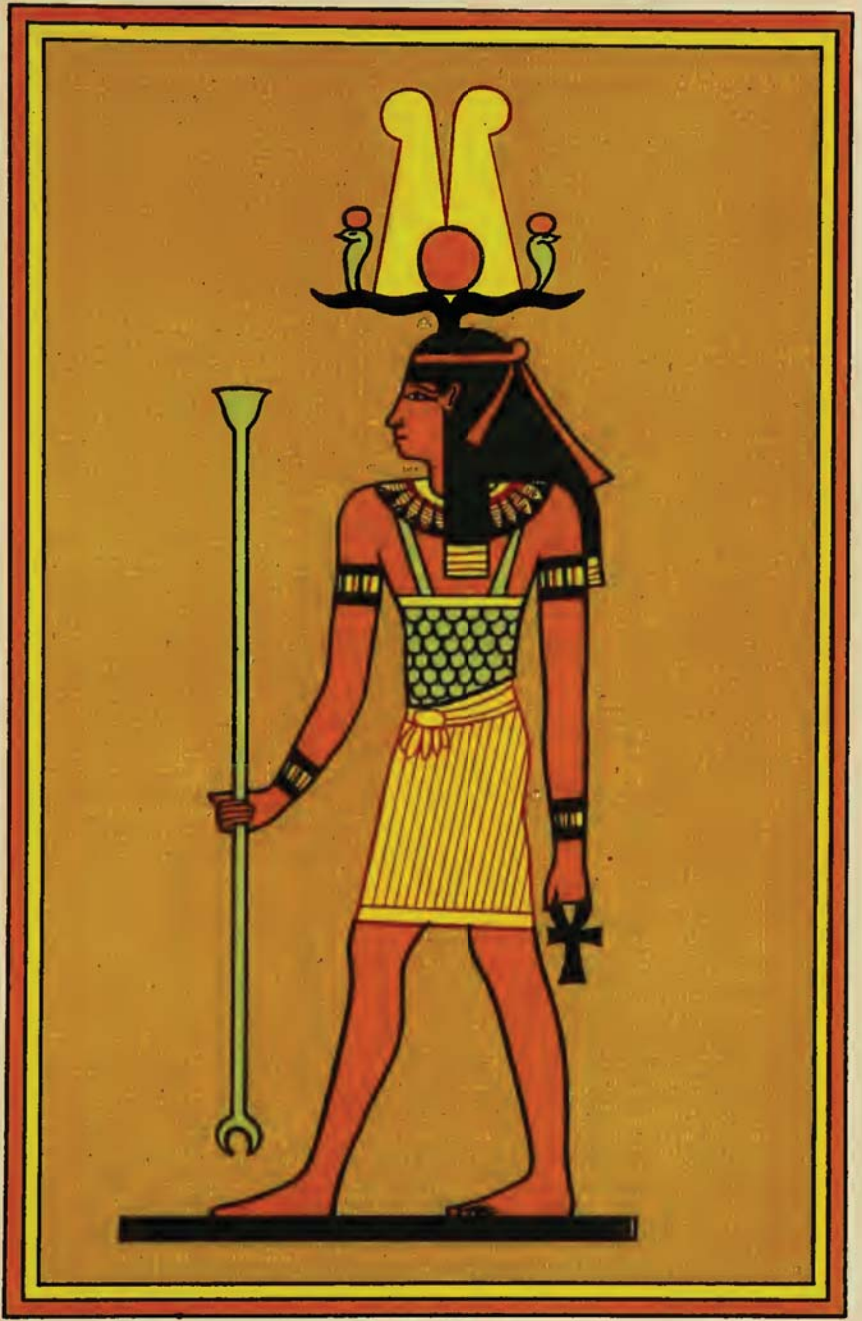
[1] 
, Lanzone, op. cit., p. 240.

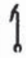
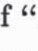
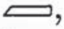
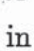
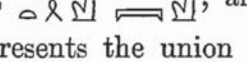
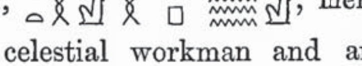
[2] , *Ibid.*, p. 240.

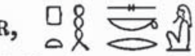
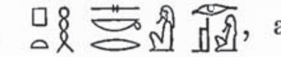
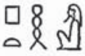
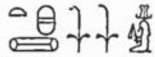
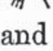
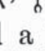
iron slab which formed the floor of heaven and the roof of the sky was beaten out by Ptaḥ, and he and his assistants made the stays and supports which held it in position. In the character of architect of the universe he partakes of the nature of Thoth, especially in respect of his title "lord of Maāt;" and, as the god who beat out the iron firmament with a hammer and supported it, his attributes resemble those of Shu. In other capacities he was supposed to be endowed with powers which we are wont to associate with other gods, and thus we find enumerated in religious and funeral texts PTAḤ-ÀSȦR (Ptaḥ-Osiris), PTAḤ-ḤĀPI, PTAḤ-NŪ, PTAḤ-SEKER, PTAḤ-SEKER-ÀSȦR, PTAḤ-SEKER-TEM, PTAḤ-TANEN, and the like. The part which Ptaḥ in his various forms plays in the *Book of the Dead* is well illustrated by the following:—In Chapter iv. he is said to come forth from the Great Temple of the Aged One in Ànnu; in Chapter xi. the deceased says, "I shall "stand up like Horus, I shall sit down like Ptaḥ, I shall be mighty "like Thoth, and I shall be strong like Tem." From Chapter xxiii. we learn that Shu or Ptaḥ performed the ceremony of "opening the mouth" of the gods with an iron knife; in Chapter xlii. the feet of the deceased are identified with the feet of Ptaḥ; in Chapter lxiv., line 8, he is said to have covered his sky with crystal; Chapter lxxxii. is a text by the use of which a man transforms himself into Ptaḥ, when his tongue becomes like that of the god; in Chapter cxlv., line 67, the "writings of Ptaḥ" are referred to; in Chapter cli.A Mesthȧ tells the deceased that he has "stablished his house firmly according to what Ptaḥ hath commanded;" and in Chapter cliii., line 6, the "hook of Ptaḥ" is mentioned; in Chapter clxvi. Ptaḥ is said to overthrow the enemies of the deceased (see also Chapter clxxii. 10). In Chapter cli. the hair of the deceased is compared to that of Ptaḥ-Seker, and in Chapter clxx. this god is said to give him help with his *khakeru*, , weapons from his divine house. In a hymn to Osiris (Chapter xv.) Osiris is addressed as Un-nefer Ḥeru-khuti, and as "PTAḤ-SEKER-TEM, , in Ànnu, the "lord of the hidden place, and the creator of Ḥet-ka-Ptaḥ (i.e., "'the House of the Double of Ptaḥ,' or Memphis);" finally, Ptaḥ-



THE GOD PTAḤ-SEKER.

Tanen is mentioned in Chapter clxxxiii., line 15, as having caused to be inscribed certain decrees concerning Horus upon an "iron tablet."

The commonest form in which Ptaḥ is represented is that of a bearded man with a bald head who is shrouded in a close-fitting garment, from an opening in the front of which project his two hands; from the back of his neck hangs the *menȧt*, symbol of pleasure and happiness, and in his hands he holds a sceptre, , and the emblems of "life," , and "stability," . When standing upright his feet rest upon a pedestal made in the shape of the sign *maāt* , and when seated his throne rests upon a pedestal of similar shape. At the back of standing figures of the god we sometimes see an obelisk, , or the ṭeṭ, , which symbolizes both "stability" and the tree trunk in which the body of Osiris was hidden by Isis. Ptaḥ under his forms of PTAḤ-NU, , and PTAḤ-ḤĀPI, , merely represents the union of the great celestial workman and architect with the primeval elements of earth and water, and there are no representations specially set apart for these forms.

On the other hand, his forms of PTAḤ-SEKER, or PTAḤ-SEKER-ȦSȦR, , , and PTAḤ-TANEN,  , must be specially considered. PTAḤ-SEKER represents a personification of the union of the primeval creative power with a form of the inert powers of darkness, or in other words, Ptaḥ-Seker is a form of Osiris, that is to say, of the night sun, or dead Sun-god. SEKER is depicted in the form of a hawk-headed man in mummied form resembling that of Ptaḥ, and his hands project from the front of his close-fitting garment and hold the emblems of sovereignty and dominion, , , ; sometimes he has the head of a man and holds in each hand a knife.[1] Seker was originally a power of darkness, or of the night, which in later times was identified with forms of the night sun like Tem. He is

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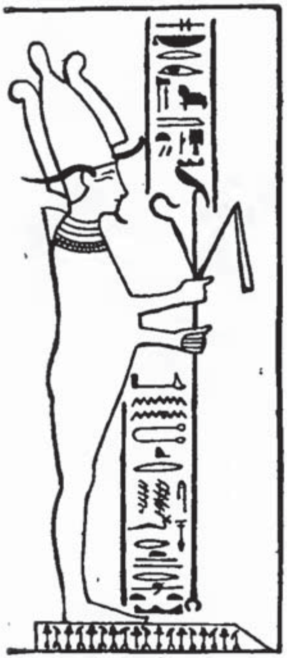
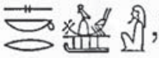
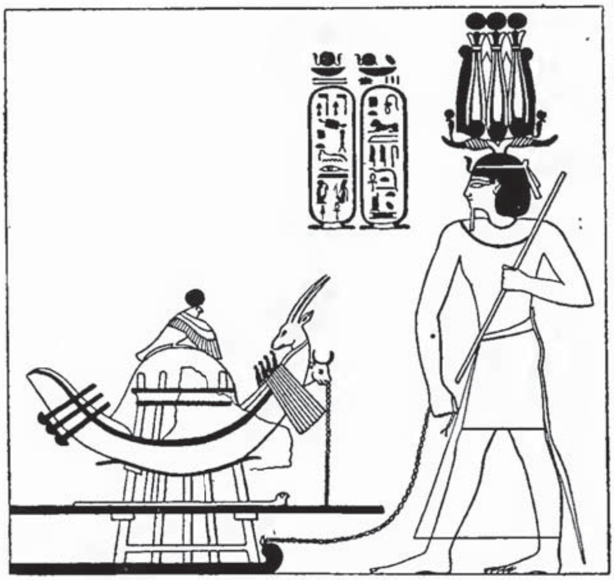
[1] Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 368, No. 4.

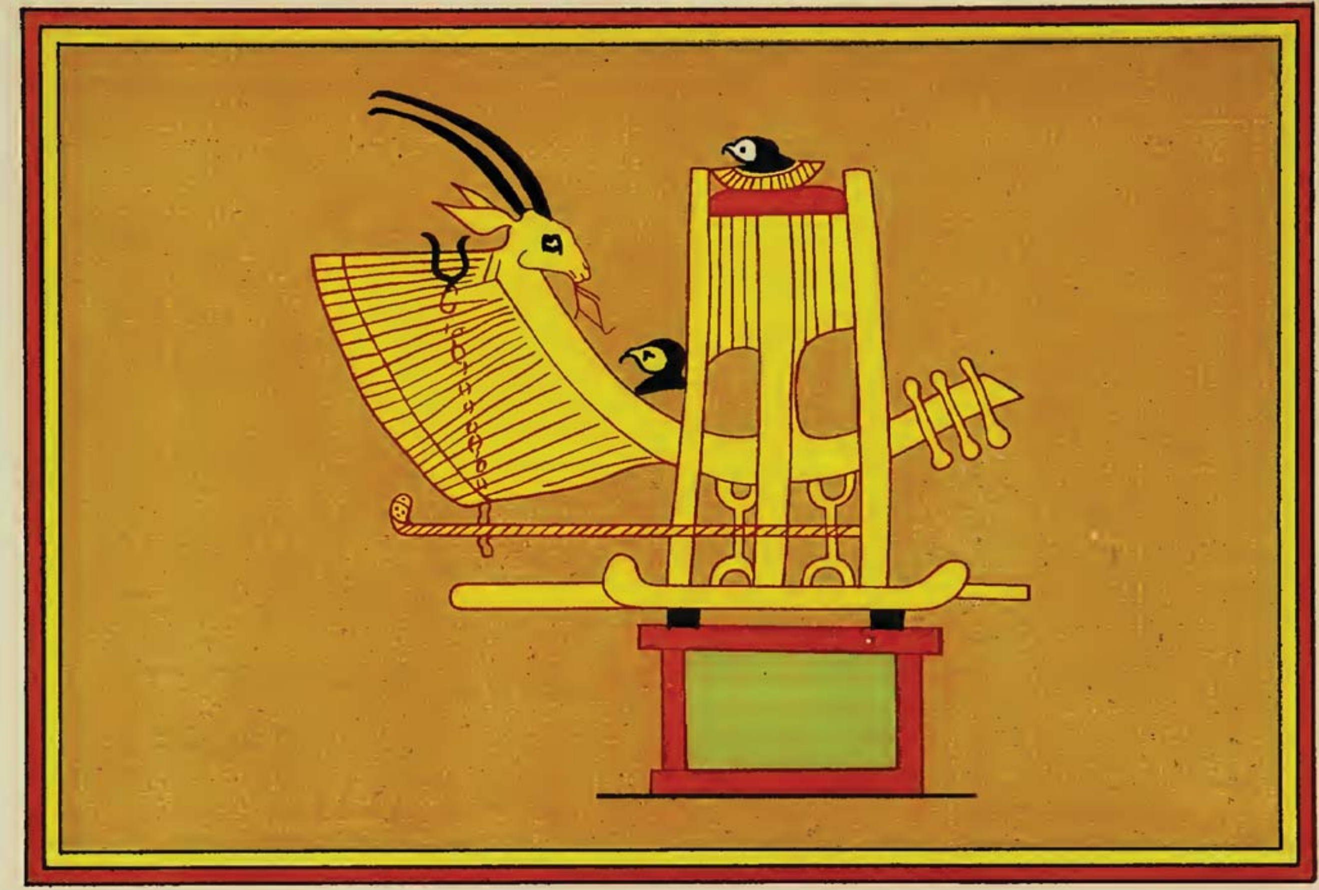


Seker-Åsår.

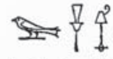
called "the great god, who came into being "in the beginning, he who resteth upon the "darkness," . In the xviith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* (line 113) occurs a petition in which the deceased begs to be delivered from the "great god who carrieth away "the soul, who eateth hearts, and who "feedeth upon offal, the guardian of the "darkness, the god who is in the Seker "boat, ," and in the explanation of the passage which is given in answer to the question, "Who is this?" the god who is in the Seker boat is said to be either SUTI, , or SMAM-UR, , the soul of Seb. Thus it is clear that Seker was an ancient spirit or god whose attributes were such that he might well be represented by Set, or Suti, the enemy of Rā, or by the soul of the earth-god Seb. In comparatively early dynastic times Seker was exalted to the position of god of that portion of the Underworld which was allotted to the souls of the inhabitants of Memphis and the neighbourhood, and it is tolerably certain that he was regarded as the tutelary deity of the necropolis of Ṣaḳḳâra.

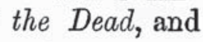


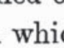
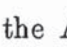
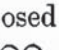
Ptolemy Euergetes and the Ḥennu Boat.



THE ARK OF THE GOD SEKER ON ITS SLEDGE.

The Seker Boat which has been mentioned above is often represented on sepulchral monuments and papyri, and it was certainly made to play a very prominent part in certain solemn, sacred ceremonies. It was not made in the form of an ordinary boat, but one end of it was very much higher than the other, and was made in the shape of the head of some kind of gazelle or oryx; the centre of the boat was occupied by a carefully closed coffer which was surmounted by a hawk with protecting wings stretched out over the top of it. This coffer contained the body of the dead Sun-god Af, or of Osiris, and it rested upon a framework or sledge which was provided with runners. On the great day of the festival of Seker which was celebrated in many places throughout Egypt, the ceremony of placing the Seker boat upon its sledge was performed at sunrise, at the moment when the rays of the sun were beginning to spread themselves over the earth. The whole ceremony was under the direction of the high priest of Memphis, whose official title was "Ur kherp ḥem," , "i.e., great chief of the hammer"; this official was expected to lift the Seker Boat upon its sledge, and to march at the head of the procession of priests which drew the loaded sledge round the sanctuary. By this action the revolution of the sun and other celestial bodies was symbolized, but no texts explaining the symbolism have come down to us. From the inscriptions which are found at Memphis and in the neighbourhood we know that the office of high priest of Ptaḥ was considered to be a most honourable position, and that many men of noble family and of high rank held it as far back as the period of the IInd Dynasty. Now since the priestly office existed in those remote times it is only reasonable to assume that the Seker Boat also existed, and that the ceremonies with which it was used in the later period were also performed in the earlier; the god Seker was, even when the Pyramids were built, an ancient god, and the chief characteristics of his worship must be as old as the god himself.

The name given to the Seker Boat is "Ḥennu," , and it is mentioned several times in the *Book of the Dead*, and sometimes in connexion with traditions of great importance.

Thus after the lxivth Chapter we have a rubric which states that the composition was found in the masonry below the shrine of Ḥennu during the reign of Semti (Ḥesepti) a king of the Ist Dynasty; now Ḥennu can only be the god of the Ḥennu boat, and the shrine of Ḥennu must be the place where it was kept. A most valuable proof of the antiquity of this boat is found on an ebony tablet in the British Museum[1] which was made for the royal chancellor Ḥemaka, who flourished during the reign of Semti, whose Horus name was ṬEN. On this we see a representation of the king dancing before Osiris, who is seated within a shrine on the top of a flight of steps, and in the register immediately below it is a figure of the Ḥennu Boat. The Seker or Ḥennu Boat was probably a form of the SEKTET BOAT, i.e., the boat in which the sun sailed over the sky during the second half of his daily journey, and in which he entered the Underworld in the evening, for Rā the Aged, , is said to be like Horus, and Rā the Babe, , to be like Seker. The sanctuaries of Seker must have been extremely numerous[2] in Lower Egypt in very early dynastic times, but it appears that before the great development of Rā worship took place, the god Seker was already identified with and merged in Ptaḥ, and that these gods were adored together in one temple. The forms in which Ptaḥ-Seker is represented are interesting, for they illustrate the attributes of the double god, and prove that it was Ptaḥ who usurped the characteristics of Seker, and that Seker was the older god. Ptaḥ-Seker is often depicted in the form of a man who wears upon his head a crown composed of disk, plumes, horns, and uraei with disks on their heads, ; a cognate form is perhaps that reproduced by Lanzone[3] in which the god, who in this case is called "Ptaḥ whose double plumes are lofty," has upon his head horns, plumes, and a uraeus, and a uraeus upon his forehead. Another interesting form is that of a mummy with a disk and the two feathers of Maāt, , upon his head.[4] Elsewhere he is found in the usual form of Ptaḥ seated upon

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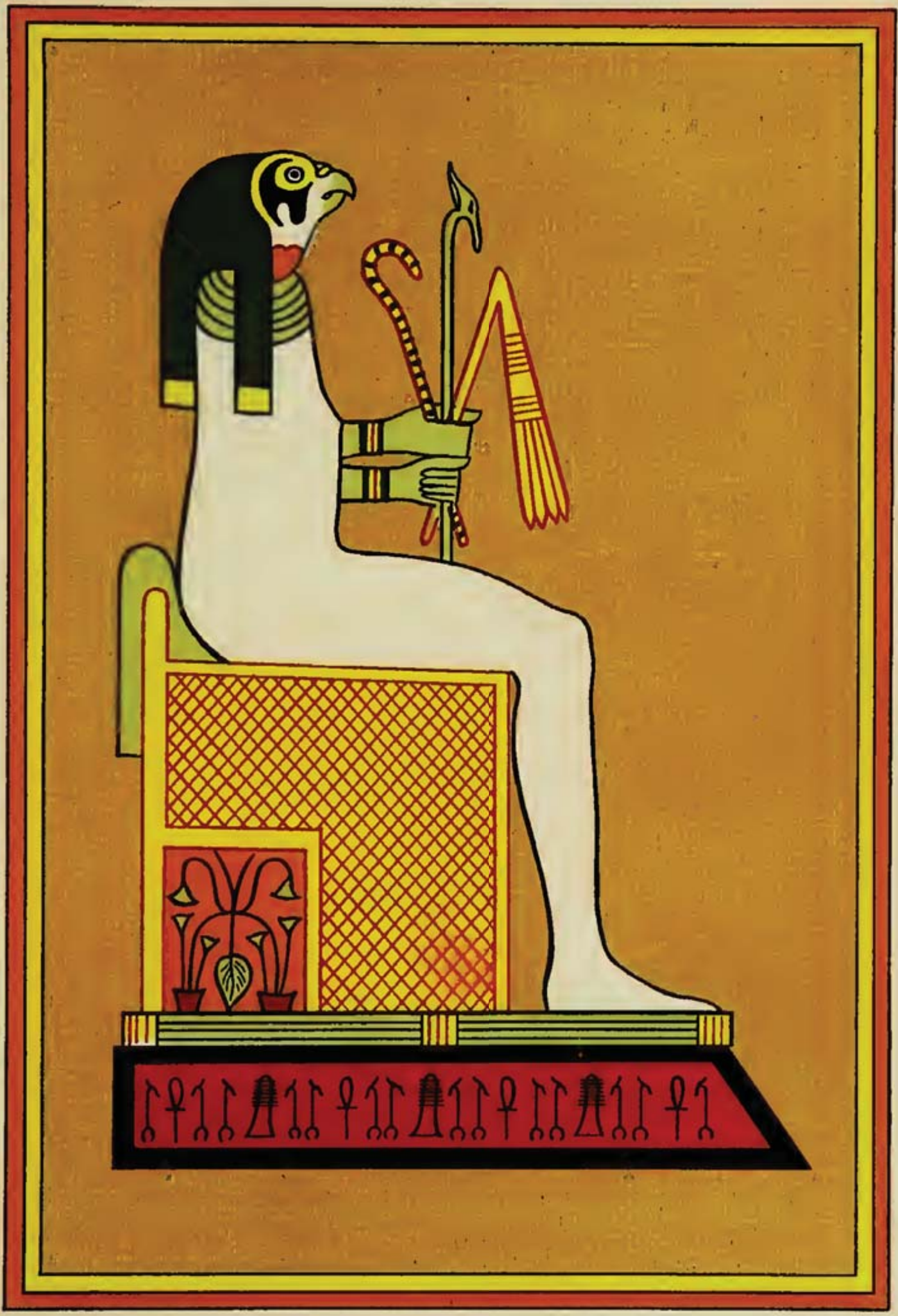
[1] No. 32,650.

[2] See a list given by Lanzone, op. cit., p. 1117.

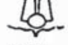
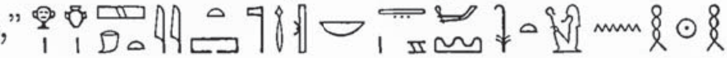
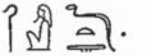
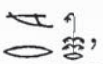
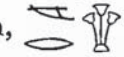
[3] Op. cit., pl. 94, No. 4.

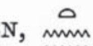
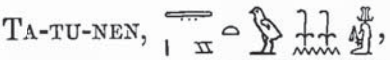
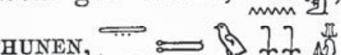
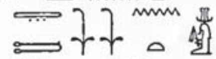
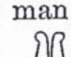
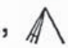
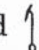
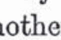
[4] *Ibid.*, pl. 95.



SEKER

a throne behind Osiris and followed by Anubis, Horus, son of Isis, and Hathor.

Under the name of Ptaḥ-Seker-Åsår we find Ptaḥ and Seker united with Osiris to form a remarkable triad, which is depicted in various ways. A common representation of the god is the hawk, with the White Crown and plumes upon his head, standing upon a low pedestal, from the front of which projects a serpent; in this form he is often met with on painted coffins and sepulchral chests. In the Papyrus of Ånhai (Brit. Mus., plate 5) the god is seated within a shrine in human form with the crown, , upon his head; behind him stand Isis and Nephthys. The titles here given to him are, "Dweller in the secret place, great "god, lord of Ta-tchesertet, king of eternity, governor of ever-"lastingness,"  . Before the god is the skin of the pied bull, of which the head has been cut off, with blood dripping from it into a bowl, and perched on the side of the throne is his son Horus in the form of a hawk. The cornice of the shrine in which the god is seated is composed of uraei with disks on their heads, and before it stand the Mer goddess of the South, , wearing a red garment, and the Mer goddess of the North, , wearing a blue garment, and it is quite clear from the general arrangement of the vignette that in the XXIInd Dynasty Ptaḥ-Seker-Åsår was wholly identified with Osiris. A very interesting form of the triune god is that in which he appears as a squat pigmy with a large, bald head, and thick limbs; on the top of his head he usually has a beetle, but occasionally plumes are given to him. An examination of the variants of this form proves that he was supposed to possess all the virile power of Åmsu, or Min, and the creative power of Kheperå, which is symbolized by the beetle, and the youth and vigour of Harpocrates, which is represented by the lock of hair on the right side of his head; and as sometimes he stands upon a crocodile, and holds a serpent in each hand, he must have possessed besides the powers of several of the great solar gods. Ptaḥ-Seker-Åsår is, then, like Osiris, the type and symbol of the resurrection from the dead, and he has been fittingly described as the "triune god of the resurrection"; that he was the outcome of some local Memphite belief, or the result of some compromise between the priests of Osiris and the priests of the old Memphite god is tolerably certain, but there is no evidence to show exactly what belief, or doctrine, or dogma was associated with this mysterious god who united within himself the attributes of Seker, and those of Ptaḥ the architect and builder of the material world, and of Kheperȧ the self-begotten and self-born, and Osiris the giver of everlasting life.

Finally must be mentioned Ptaḥ in his connexion with the primeval god TENEN, , or TA-TU-NEN, , or TA-THUNEN, , or TA-THU-NENET, . This god is represented in the form of a man, either sitting or standing, who wears on his head the crown, , and holds in his hands the symbols of sovereignty and dominion, , , and ; in a figure reproduced by Lanzone[1] we see him seated upon the oval object, . Another figure represents the god seated with a potter's wheel before him, which he works with his foot, and on the upper part of it is the egg of the world which he is fashioning with his hands; elsewhere he is depicted with a scimitar in his right hand, which suggests that in one form he was regarded as a destructive power of nature, or as a warrior-god. Tenen, or Ta-Tenen, must have been one of the earliest gods of Lower Egypt, and have been a personification of a nature power, the exact attributes of which appear to have been unknown even to the Egyptians. In the early part of the dynastic period it was thought that Ptaḥ, the local god of Memphis, might be fittingly identified with Tenen, or Ta-Tenen, and his name was, therefore, joined to that of the older god, just as in later days the name of Ȧmen was joined to that of Rā; later Tenen and Ta-tenen were merely forms and names of Ptaḥ. From a hymn to Ptaḥ-Tenen,[2] which is probably a product of the XXth or XXIst Dynasty, we may gain some

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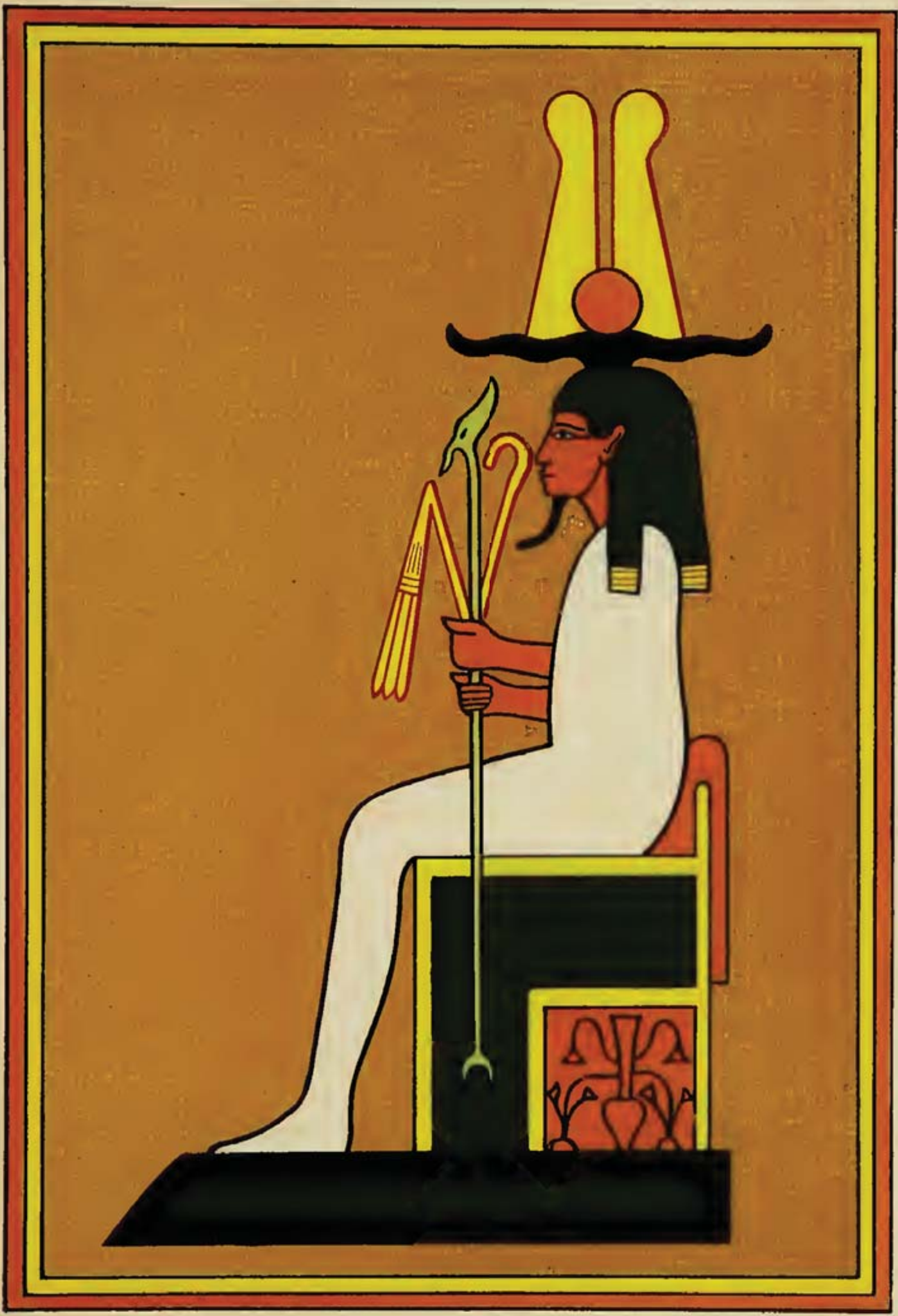
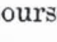
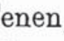
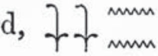
[1] Op. cit., pl. 401, No. 3.

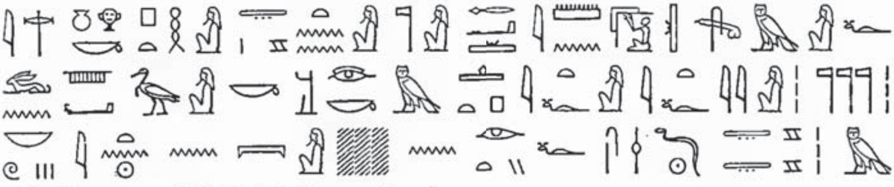
[2] For the hieratic text see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vi., pl. 118.

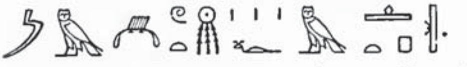
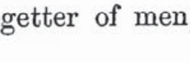


TATENEN

idea of the meaning of the name Ta-tenen, "Ta," , is of course "earth," and "Tenen," , is probably to be connected with the word, , *enen*, or *nen*, which means "inertness, inactivity, rest, motionless," and the like, and if this derivation be correct Ta-Tenen must be the god of the inert but living matter of the earth.

The passage on which this view is based is a very difficult one, and appears to read, "There was given to thee a SEKHEM "(i.e., Power) upon the earth in its things which were in a state "of inactivity, and thou didst gather them together after thou "didst exist in thy form of Ta-Tenen, in thy becoming the 'Uniter "of the two lands,' which thy mouth begot and which thy hands "fashioned."[1] It is, as Dr. Brugsch suggested, quite possible that in this passage the writer was not discussing the derivation of the name Tenen, or Ta-Tenen, seriously, and was only making a play upon the words of similar sound. In the hymn to Ptaḥ-Tenen already mentioned we find the following address to the god and titles:—"Homage to thee, O Ptaḥ-Tenen, thou great god, "whose form is hidden! Thou openest thy soul and thou wakest "up in peace, O father of the fathers of all the gods, thou Disk "of heaven! Thou illuminest it with thy two Eyes, and "thou lightest up the earth with thy brilliant rays in peace."



. In the lines which follow he is called the "begetter of men," , the "maker

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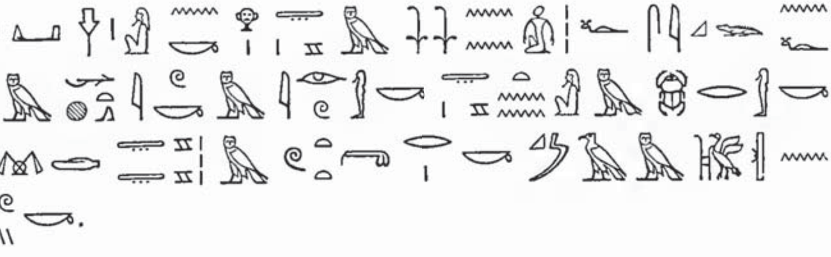
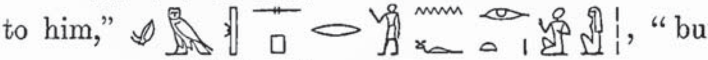
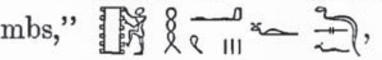
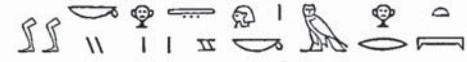
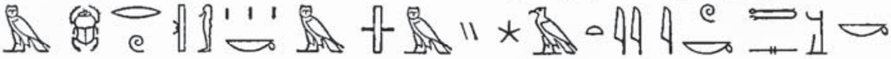
1 .

of their lives," the "creator of the gods," "he who passeth through eternity and everlastingness," , "of multitudinous forms," , "the hearer of prayers which men make to him," , "builder of his own limbs," , and maker of his body, "when as yet heaven and earth were not created, and when the "waters had not come forth,"

. "Thou didst knit together the "earth, thou didst gather together thy members, thou didst "embrace thy limbs, and thou didst find thyself in the condition "of the One who made his seat, and who fashioned (or, moulded) "the two lands.[1] Thou hadst no father to beget thee in thy "person, and thou hadst no mother to give birth unto thee; thou "didst fashion thyself without the help of any other being. Fully "equipped thou didst come forth fully equipped."[2] Next we have an allusion to thy "aged son," , i.e., Rā, and to the dissipation of night and darkness by the sun and moon, which are called the "Eyes" of Ptaḥ-Tenen. The hymn continues, "Thy feet are upon the earth and thy head is in the heights above "in thy form of the dweller in the Ṭuat. Thou bearest up the "work which thou hast made, thou supportest thyself by thine "own strength, and thou holdest up thyself by the vigour of thine "own hands. . . . The upper part of thee is heaven and the lower "part of thee is the Ṭuat." 


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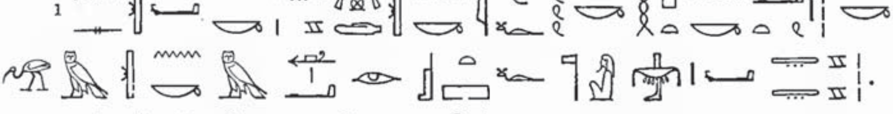
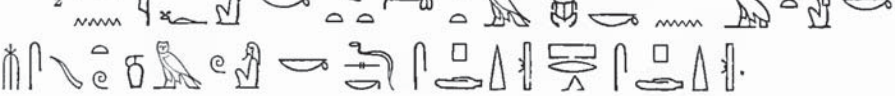
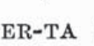
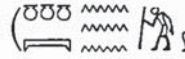
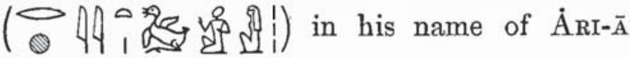
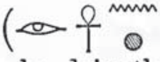
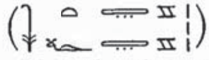
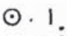
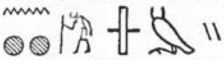
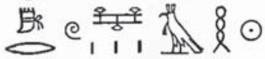
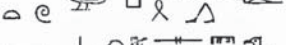
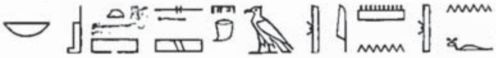
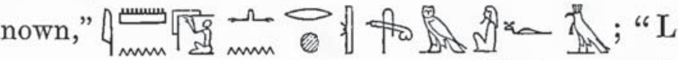
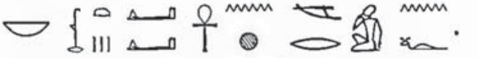
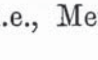
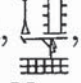
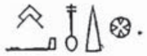
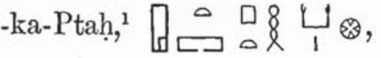
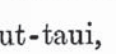
[1] 

[2] 

"The winds come forth from thy nostrils, and the celestial water "from thy mouth, and the staff of life (i.e., wheat, barley, etc.), "proceeds from thy back; thou makest the earth to bring forth "fruit, and gods and men have abundance, and they see Meḥ-urit "cattle in thy field. When thou art at rest the darkness cometh, "and when thou openest thy two eyes beams of light are produced. "Thou shinest in thy crystal form according to [the wont of] "thy majesty. . . . . The company of the gods of thy supreme "company praise thee, and they acclaim thee at thy rising and "hymn thee at thy setting in the land of life." A few lines lower down Ptaḥ-Tenen is called the "great god who stretched out the "heavens, who maketh his disk to revolve in the body of Nut and "to enter into the body of Nut in his name of RĀ, Moulder of "gods, and of men, and of everything which is produced, maker of "all lands, and countries, and the Great Green Sea in his name of "KHEPER-TA (), Bringer of Ḥāpi ( ) from his "source, making to flourish the staff of life, maker of grain which "cometh forth from him in his name Nu the Aged (), "who maketh fertile the watery mass of heaven, and maketh to "come forth the water on the mountains to give life to men "and women () in his name of ĀRI-ĀNKH "(), Maker of the Ṭuat with all its arrangements, "who driveth away the flame from those who live in their corners "in his name of SUTEN-TAUI (), King of eternity "and everlastingness, and lord of life." Among other titles of the god in this hymn we have:—"Babe, born daily," ; "Aged one on the borders of eternity,"  ; "Aged one traversing eternity," ; "Inert one passing over all his aspects," ; "Exalted one without his strength,"

; "Lord of the hidden throne, hidden is he," ; "Hidden one, whose eternal "form is unknown," ; "Lord of years, giver of life at will," .

The above extracts are sufficient to show the importance of the god Ptaḥ-Tenen in the eyes of the Egyptians about B.C. 1100, at which time, if we may judge from palaeographical evidence, the hymn was probably written, and there is no reason for supposing that he was thought less of during any period of Egyptian history. The papyrus upon which the text is inscribed is said to have been found at Thebes, and there is no doubt that the style of writing closely resembles the fine bold hand of the great papyrus of Rameses III., king of Egypt about B.C. 1200, which also was discovered at Thebes; we should not, however, expect to find, in the city of Ȧmen-Rā, the king of the gods, papyri containing hymns to Ptaḥ-Tenen, the god of Memphis, in which this god is made to possess all the attributes of all the great gods of Egypt, yet such has been, undoubtedly, the case. The fact that the triad of Ptaḥ, Sekhet, and Nefer-Tem was worshipped at Thebes is another proof of the influence which the priests of Heliopolis exerted over the religious views of the Thebans in almost every period of Egyptian history after the VIth Dynasty.

Returning now to the consideration of Ptaḥ in his simplest form, it must be noted that the principal centre of his worship was in the city of Men-nefer, , i.e., Memphis, the capital of Ȧneb-ḥetch, , the first nome of Lower Egypt. The commonest names for Memphis in the religious texts are :—1. Ḥā-nefer, . 2. Ḥet-ka-Ptaḥ,[1] , from which the Greek name for Egypt, Ἄιγυπτος, has been commonly derived. 3. Khut-taui, , i.e., "horizon of the two lands."

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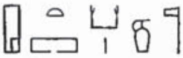
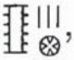
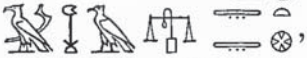
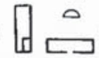
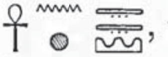
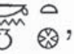
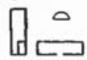
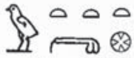
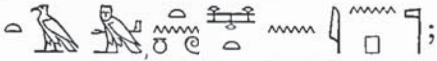
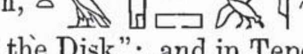
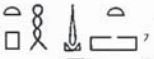
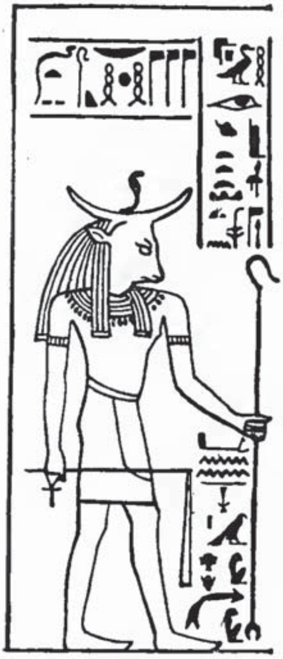
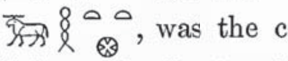
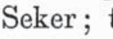
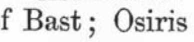
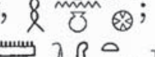
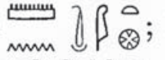
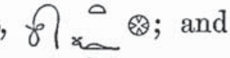
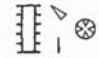
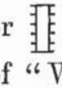
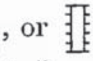
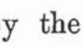
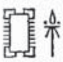
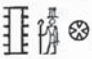
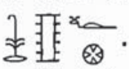
[1] I.e., "House of the Double of Ptaḥ."

4. Ḥet-ka-khnem-neteru,[1] . 5. Ȧnebu, , i.e., the "city of walls." 6. Makha-taui, , i.e., "the balance of the two lands." In the city of Memphis or its neighbourhood were the temples of Ptaḥ, Sekhet, Bast, Hathor, Osiris, Seker, and I-em-ḥetep, the most important being the Het-ȧa, , "the house of the Aged One," i.e., Rā. In the temple called Ānkh-taui, , were the sacred persea and acacia trees; in Ḥekennut, , Osiris was worshipped; in Ḥet-utet,  , i.e., "house of the begetter," the cult of Khnemu was observed; another sacred place was called the "Path of Anubis," ; and another Ta-ḥet-pa-Ȧten, , i.e., the "House of the Disk"; and in Tepeḥ-tchat, , was yet another sacred tree.[2]



Ȧsȧr-Ḥāpi (Serapis).

The Serapeum, which was discovered by M. Mariette in 1868, was known by the name of "Neter-ḥet per en Ȧsȧr-Ḥāp," ; a district called Baḥtet, , was the centre of the worship of Seker; the district of Pa-penāt, , was the centre of the worship of Bast; Osiris was adored in the district of Ḥekennut, ; Hathor was adored in the district of Smen-Maāt, ; Khnemu was adored at Uafet, ; and Ptaḥ and Sekhet and their son I-em-ḥetep appear to have possessed temples wherein they were worshipped exclusively. The city of Memphis is often called in the hieroglyphic texts "Ȧneb," a name which is written , or , or ,[1] and there is no doubt that the appellation of "Walls" was given to it because of its strong fortifications. Once a year the priests of Ptaḥ-Seker-Ȧsȧr formed a solemn procession, and led by the Sem-priest, , and usually accompanied by the king, they marched all round the walls of Memphis; it is probable that the image of this triune god was carried in the procession. The god Ptaḥ himself was worshipped in a temple on the eastern side of the city called "Ȧneb-ȧbt," ; the temple of Tenen bore the name of "Ȧneb Ȧthi," ; and Ptaḥ-Seker-Ȧsȧr was adored in a temple on the south side of the city called "Ȧneb-rest-f," i.e., "his southern wall," . The whole city was known by the name of "White Wall," , to which reference is made by Herodotus[2] (iii. 91).

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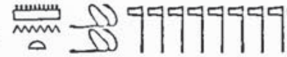
[1] I.e., "House of the Double which uniteth the gods."

[2] See de Rougé, *Géographie*, pp. 4 ff.

The principal female counterpart of Ptaḥ was the goddess Sekhet, , who was at once his sister and wife, and the mother of his son Nefer-Tem, and a sister-form of the goddess Bast. She is generally depicted in the form of a woman with the head of a lioness which is surmounted by the solar disk encircled by an uraeus, , but sometimes the disk is omitted, and a uraeus only is seen upon her head. The name of the goddess appears in the Pyramid Texts (Unȧs, line 390), where after the statement that Unȧs hath proceeded from the thighs of the company of the gods, , he is said to have been conceived by Sekhet, , and by Sheskhentet, , and by Sothis, . In comparatively late dynastic times Sekhet and Bast were identified with forms of Hathor, and were regarded as the goddesses of the West and the East respectively, just as Nekhebet and Uatchet were the goddesses of the South and the North respectively. Each goddess had the head of a lioness, but the body of Sekhet is said to have been draped in a red garment whilst that of Bast was arrayed in a green garment. Several special forms of Sekhet are known to have existed, viz., Sekhet, lady of Rekht,

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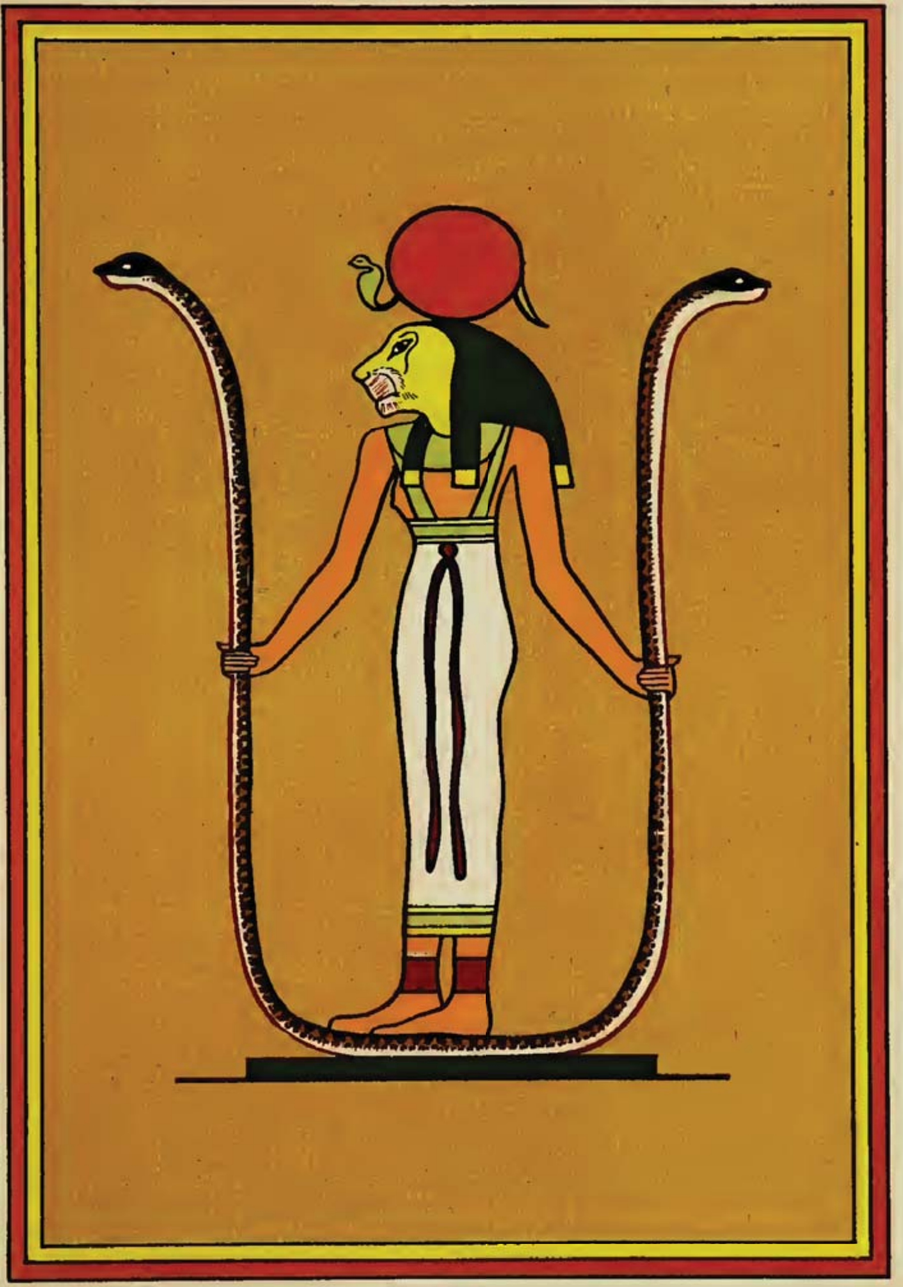
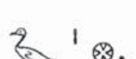
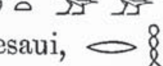
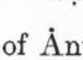
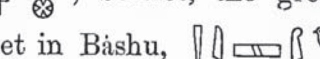
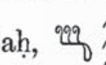
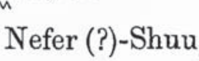
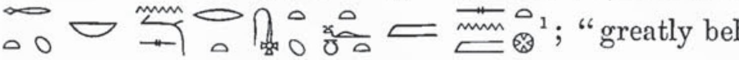
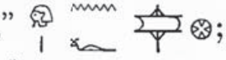
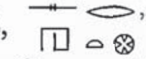
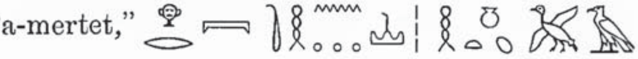
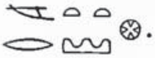
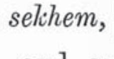
[1] Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 55.

[2] ἐν τῷ Λευκῷ Τείχεϊ τῷ ἐν Μέμφι.



THE GODDESS SEKHET.

, Sekhet, lady of Sa, , Sekhet, lady of Reḥesaui, , Sekhet, the great lady, the queen of Ȧnt, , Sekhet in Bȧshu, , Sekhet in Saḥ, , Sekhet-Nut in Ḥet-khāt, , and Sekhet in Nefer (?)-Shuu, . The principal titles of Sekhet were "Mighty lady, lady of Flame, Tefnut in Senemet," [1]; "greatly beloved one of Ptaḥ, lady of heaven, mistress of the two lands," ; "lady of Ṭep-nef," ; "lady of Tchār, , and of Sehert, "; "chief of the Libyan lands, mistress of Pa-mertet,"  .

The name "Sekhet" appears to be derived from or connected with the root *sekhem*, , "to be strong, mighty, violent," and the like, and as she was the personification of the fierce, scorching, and destroying heat of the sun's rays, these attributes would be very suitable for her character. In the form of the serpent-goddess Meḥenet, , she took up her position on the head of her father Rā, and poured out from herself the blazing fire which scorched and consumed his enemies who came near, whilst at those who were some distance away she shot forth swift fiery darts which pierced through and through the fiends whom they struck. In a text quoted by Dr. Brugsch[2] she is made to say, "I set the fierce heat of the fire for a distance of millions "of cubits between Osiris and his enemy, and I keep away from "him the evil ones, and remove his foes from his habitation." One of the commonest names of the goddess is "Nesert," i.e., Flame, as a destroying element, and in texts of all periods she plays the part of a power which protects the good and annihilates the wicked.

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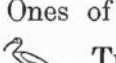
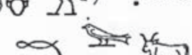
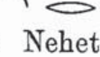
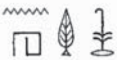
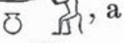
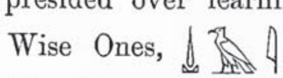
[1] Var. .

[2] *Religion*, p. 520.

In some aspects she may be compared with Uatchet, of whom a well-known name is "Lady of flame." We have already said that in some respects Sekhet may be regarded as a form of Hathor and Net, and indeed several of the titles of the last named goddesses are bestowed upon her, e.g., "Lady of Åmentet, lady of Manu "(i.e., the mountain of the setting sun), the queen of the Libyan "lands," etc.; these appear to suggest a western or Libyan origin for the goddess.

In connexion with Sekhet and her relationship with Hathor, Net, and Maāt must be mentioned the Seven Wise Ones of the goddess Meḥ-urt, who together with Thoth, , Ṭekh, planned the world; they were born of Meḥ-urt, , at the feet of Nu, , in their home in Nehet-rest, , and they came forth from the water, from the pupil of the Eye of Rā, and they took the form of seven hawks and flew upwards, and together with Åsṭen, , a form of Thoth, they presided over learning and letters. The names of these Seven Wise Ones, , are:—Nefer-ḥāti, Āper-peḥui, Neb-Ṭesheru, Ka, Båk, Khekh, and Sån.[1] Ptaḥ, as the master architect and workman who carried out the designs of Thoth and his Seven Wise Ones, partook, in some respects, of the characteristics of them all, and as Sekhet was his female counterpart she appears to have acquired some of their attributes also, because Thoth was in reality only a personification of the intelligence of Ptaḥ. It is in this way that Sekhet becomes identified with the goddess Maāt, for Maāt was the inseparable companion of Thoth, and inasmuch as Thoth was contained in Ptaḥ, Maāt became the female counterpart of Ptaḥ and a sister form of Sekhet. In one of the titles of Sekhet given above, the goddess is identified with Tefnut, the female counterpart of Shu;

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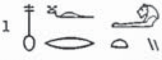
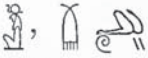
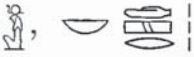
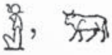
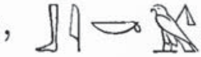
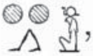
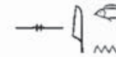
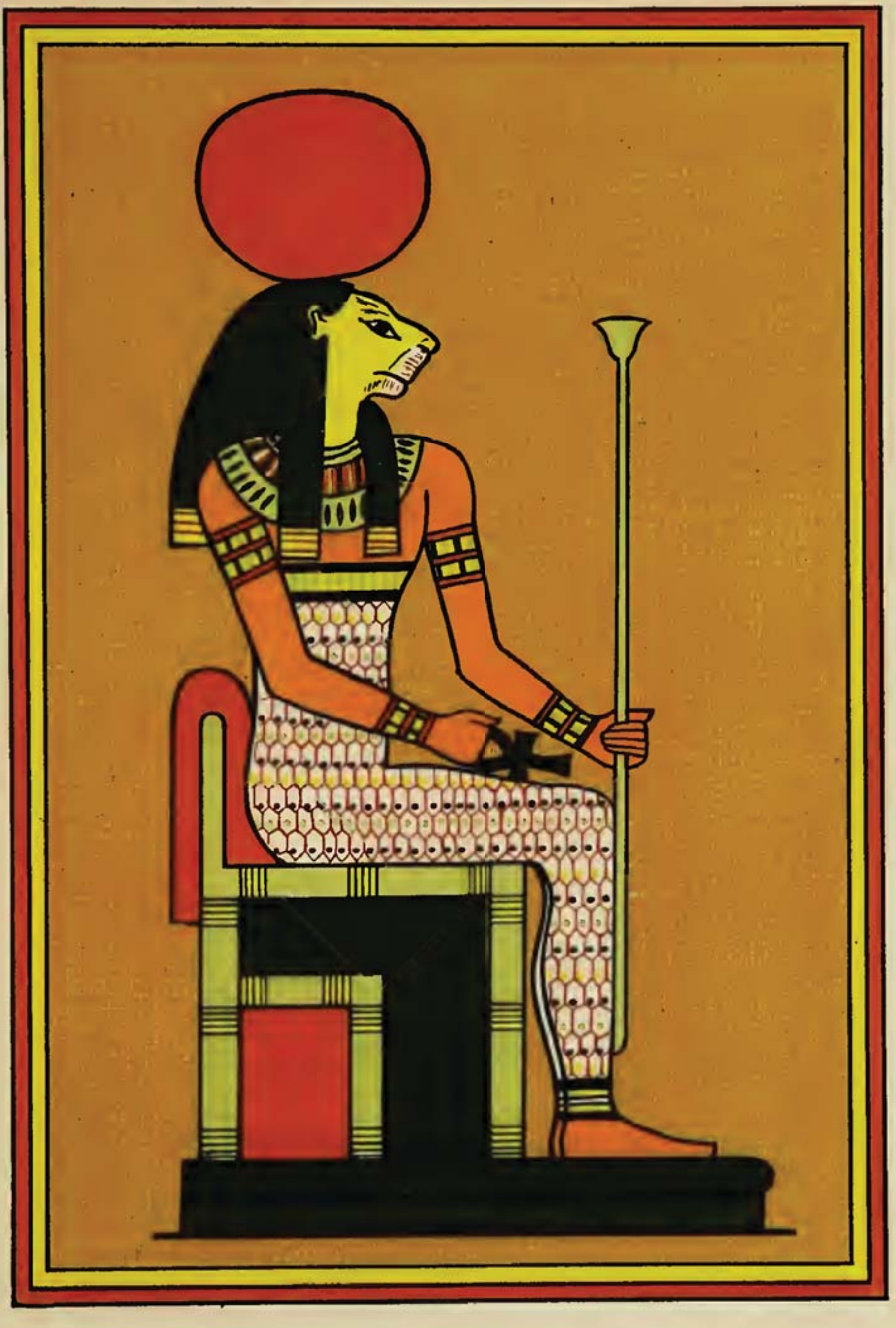
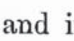
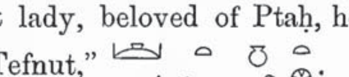
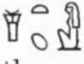
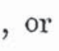
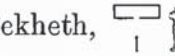
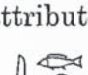
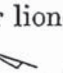
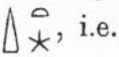
[1] , , , , , , ; see Dümichen, *Tempelinschriften*, pl. 25; Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 522.



THE GODDESS SEKHET.

this need cause no surprise, because Thoth was only the Hermopolitan form of Shu, and Tefnut was therefore his female counterpart, and as Ptaḥ absorbed Thoth, that is to say, Shu, the female counterpart of Ptaḥ (i.e., Sekhet) absorbed the female counterpart of Thoth, or Shu (i.e., Tefnut). In many texts Sekhet is called the "Eye of Rā," , and in a scene reproduced by Lanzone[1] we see the goddess in the form of a woman, with the *Utchat*, , in place of a head, kneeling upon a rectangular throne, whilst a hawk with outstretched wings stands behind her. Her titles in this form are, "Great lady, beloved of Ptaḥ, holy one, powerful one, "dweller in Ȧt-Tefnut," .

We have already mentioned the small porcelain figures of Ptaḥ-Seker-Ȧsȧr, and seen how they were intended to represent the union of the powers of the three great gods whose names are here joined together, and we must now note that on the backs of certain examples we find outlined the form of a goddess, who might be identified with any of the female counterparts of the great gods to whom the head of a lioness was given by Egyptian sculptors and artists. The goddess here found, however, is BAST, , who was for some time confounded by Egyptologists with the goddess PEKHETH, , or PEKHET, , or PEKH, , the Cat or Lioness deity of Pekhit, , in honour of whom a temple of Pekheth, , was hewn out of the solid rock in the mountain near the modern village of Beni Hasan in Upper Egypt; this temple is known by the names of "Stabl al-Anṭar," and "Speos Artemidos." The name Pekht, or Pakht, or Pasht means the "tearer," and is, of course, suitable for a goddess who possessed the attributes of the cat or lioness; this goddess was the lady of Ȧnt, , and of Set, , or , the supplementary nome of which the city Pekht, , was the capital.[2] Her title was "lady of Sept," , i.e., of the star Sothis, and she was identified with Isis and with a form of

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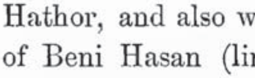
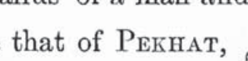
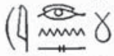
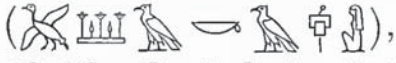
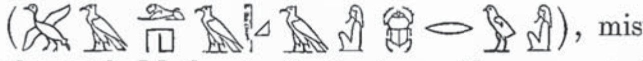
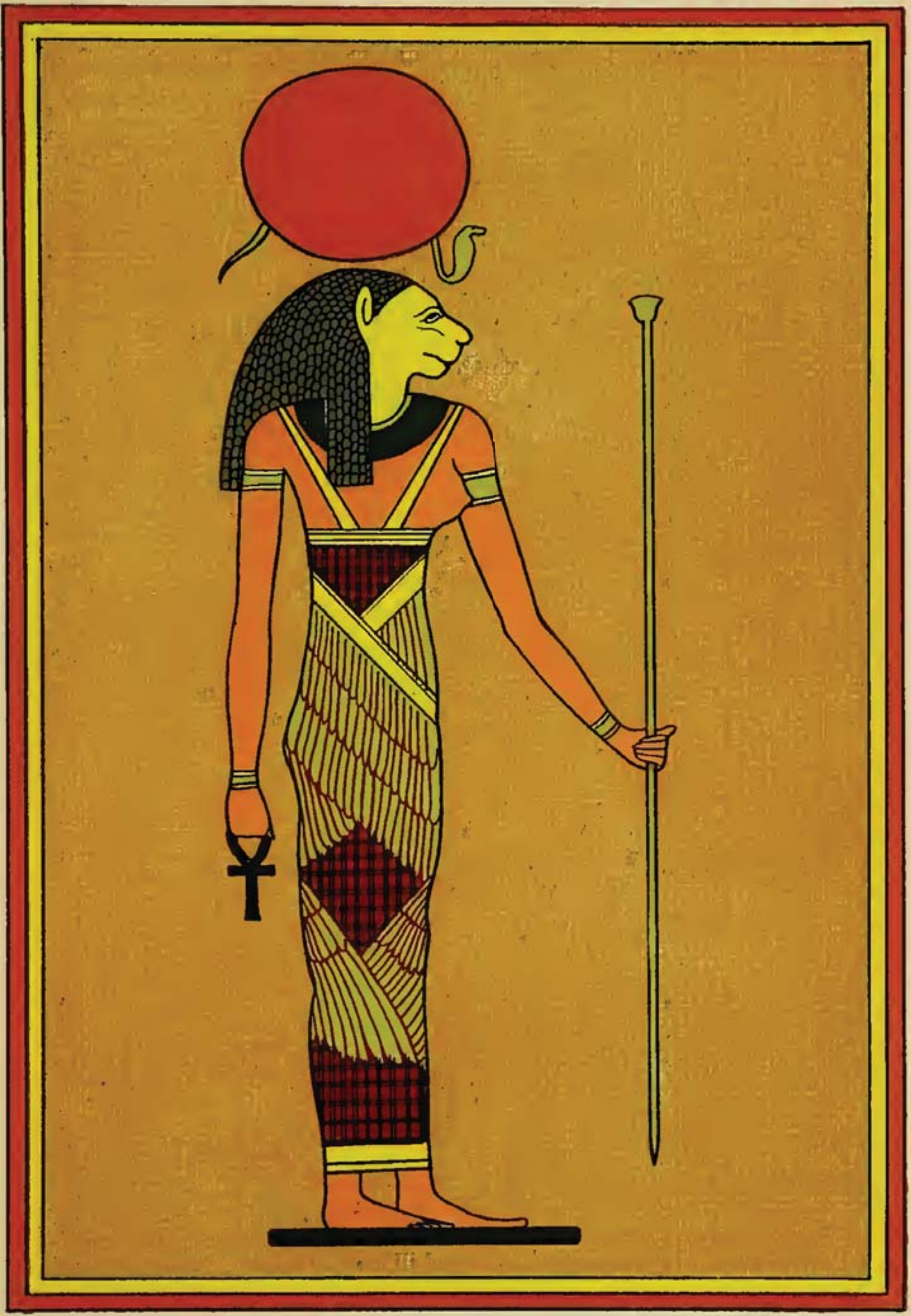
[1] Op. cit., pl. 364, No. 3.

[2] *Dict. Géog.*, pp. 225, 226.

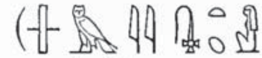
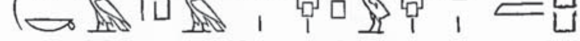
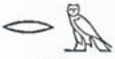
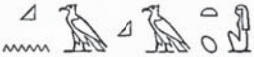
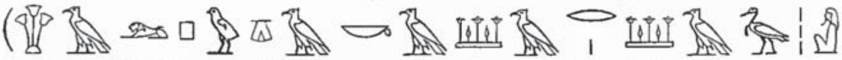
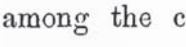
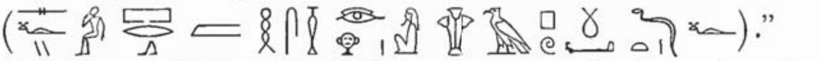
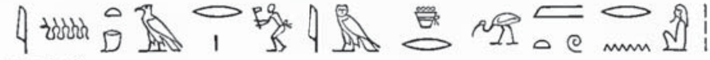
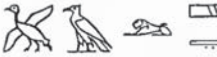
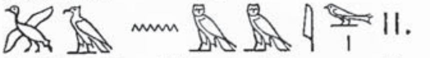
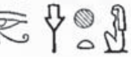
Hathor, and also with a form of Sekhet. In the great inscription of Beni Hasan (line 18) we find the mention of Horus Pakht, , and we may therefore assume that Pakht was in some way connected with one of the forms of Horus, and that she was a local deity of great importance.

It is probable that Bast was a female counterpart of the triune god Ptaḥ-Seker-Åsår, and that she possessed attributes which cannot at present be clearly defined. As a nature power she represented the gentle, fructifying heat of the sun, and its regenerative influence in the most comforting form. In late dynastic times Bast, and Sekhet, and Rā formed a deity whose existence is made known to us by a Chapter in the *Book of the Dead* (clxiv.). In the vignette Sekhet-Bast-Rā is represented as a woman with a man's head, and wings attached to her arms, and the heads of two vultures springing either from her head or neck; she has the phallus of a man and the claws of a lion. One vulture's head is like that of PEKHAT, , and has plumes upon it, and the other is like that of an ordinary vulture, and appears to have plumes upon it also; the man's head has upon it the united crowns of the South and North, and taken together with the phallus they indicate that the body of the woman, who is here called Mut, was supposed to possess the generative and procreative powers of Rā.

The text which forms the chapter is a very interesting one, and reads:—"Homage to thee, O Sekhet-Bast-Rā, thou mistress "of the gods, thou bearer of wings, thou lady of the red apparel "( *ånes*), queen of the crowns of the South and North, "only One, sovereign of her father, superior to whom the "gods cannot be, thou mighty one of enchantments (or, words "of power) in the Boat of Millions of Years, thou who art pre-"eminent, who risest in the seat of silence, mother of PASHAKASA "(), queen of PAREHAQA-KHEPERU "(), mistress and lady of "the tomb, Mother in the horizon of heaven, gracious one, beloved, "destroyer of rebellion, offerings are in thy grasp, and thou art



THE GODDESS SEKHET.

"standing in the bows of the boat of thy divine father to over-"throw Qeṭu.[1] Thou hast placed Maāt in the bows of his boat. "Thou art the fire goddess Àmmi-seshet (), "whose opportunity escapeth her not; thy name is TEKAHARESA-"PUSAREMKAKAREMET ( "). Thou art like unto the mighty flame of the "goddess SAQENAQAT (), which is in the "bows of the boat of thy father ḤAREPUḲAKASHARESHABAIU "(), "for behold, thus is [his] name in the speech of the Negroes, and "of the Ànti, and of the people of Ta-kensetet (Nubia). Praise "be unto thee, O Lady, who art mightier than the gods, words of "adoration rise unto thee from the Eight Gods of Hermopolis. "The living souls who are in their hidden places praise the "mystery of thee, O thou who art their mother, thou source from "which they sprang, who makest for them a place in the hidden "Underworld, who makest sound their bones and preservest them "from terror, who makest them strong in the abode of everlasting-"ness, who preservest them from the evil chamber of the souls "of ḤES-ḤRÀ[2] (), who is among the company "of the gods. Thy name is SEFI-PER-EM-ḤES-ḤRÀ-ḤAPU-TCHET-F "()." On each side of Sekhet-Bast-Rā in the vignette is a dwarf with two faces, one of a hawk and one of a man, and the body of each is fat; each has on his head the disk and plumes, , and each has one hand and arm raised after the manner of Àmsu, or Min. The name of one dwarf is ÀTARE-ÀM-TCHER-QEMTU-RENNU-PAR-SHETA,  , and that of the other, PA-NEMMÀ-NEMMÀ. . Finally, the last name given to Sekhet-Bast-Rā is UTCHAT-SEKHET-URT-ḤENT-NETERU, 

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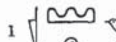
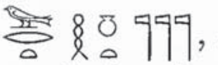
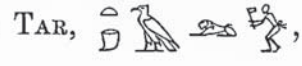
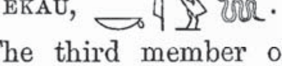
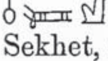
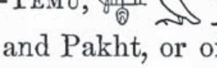
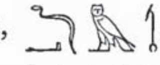
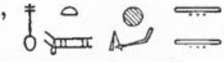
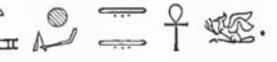
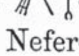
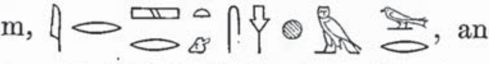
[1] , the name of a fiend.

[2] I.e., "god of the terrible face."

, and she is said to be the emanation of Mut, "who "maketh souls to be as gods, who maketh bodies to be sound, and "who delivereth them from the abode of the fiends which is in the "chamber of the evil one." According to the Rubric, the deceased for whom pictures of the goddess and the two dwarfs were made would become like the immortals, and worms would not eat his body, and his soul would never be fettered, and he would drink water at the source of the river, and would have a homestead of his own in Sekhet-Åanre, and he would become a star of heaven, and he would fight and overcome the fiends TAR, , and NEKÅU, .

The third member of the Memphite triȧd is NEFER-TEM, , or NEFER-TEMU, , who is the son of Ptaḥ and Sekhet, or of Ptaḥ and Pakht, or of Ptaḥ and Bast. He is usually represented in the form of a man who holds in his hands either the *tchām* sceptre, , and the symbol of life, or the lotus sceptre surmounted by plumes, ; in these forms he is called "NEFER-TEM KHU TAUI," and "NEFER-TEM KHU TAUI ĀNKH REKHIT," , and . The small blue and green glazed porcelain statues of the god make him to stand upon a lion, and sometimes he appears in religious scenes with the lotus flower, or the lotus flower and plumes upon his head.[1] In some cases Nefer-Tem has the head of a lion, and his body has the form of a mummy, and consistently with this his hands project from a close-fitting garment, and he holds in them the *tchām* sceptre and flail, . In the earliest times the lotus flower was associated with Nefer-Tem, and in the Pyramid Texts we find allusions to this fact. Thus in the text of Unȧs (line 392) the dead king is compared to a lotus at the nostrils of the Great Sekhem, , and a line or two further on it is said, "Unȧs hath risen like Nefer-Tem from the lotus to

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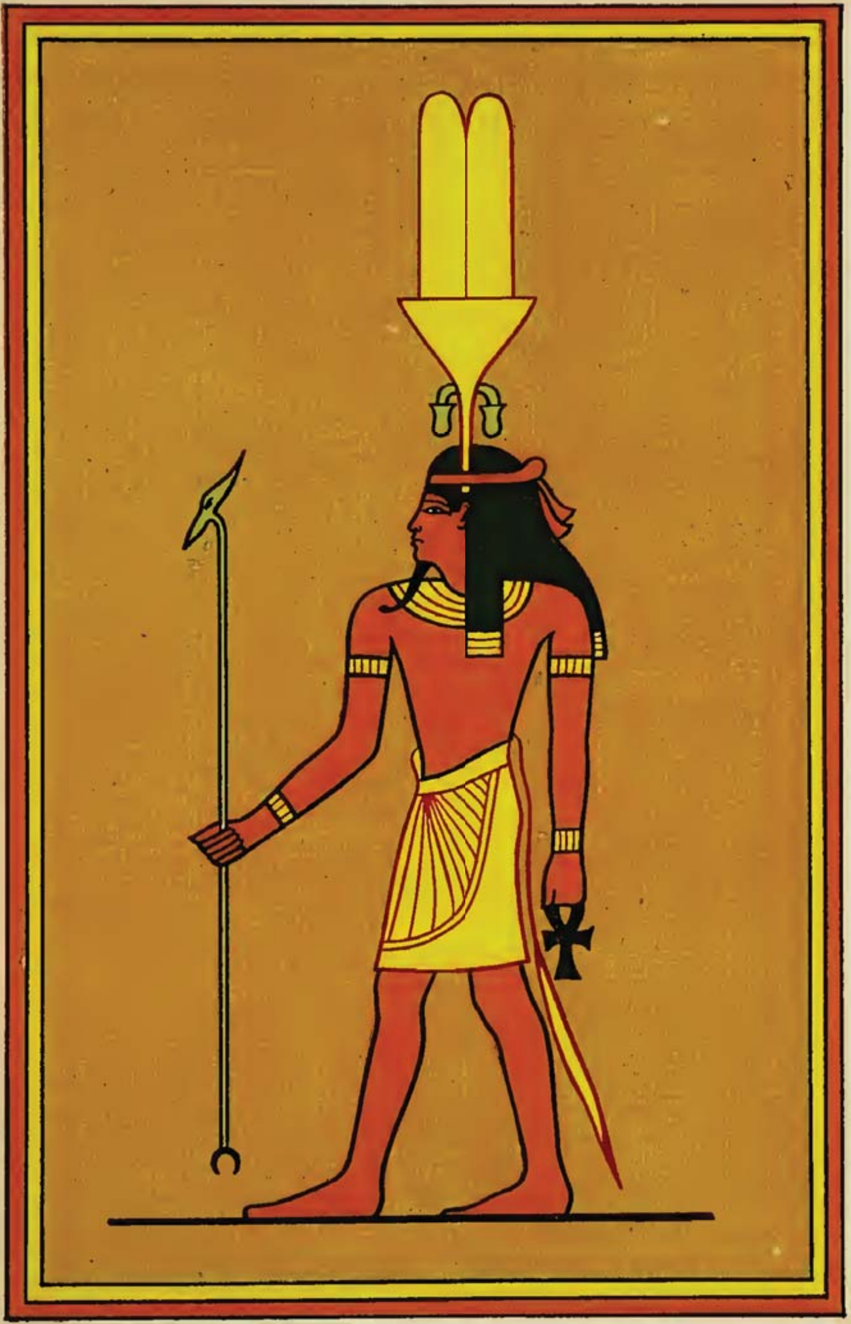
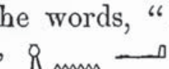
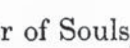
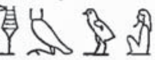
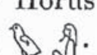
[1] See Lanzone, op. cit., pll. 147 and 148.



THE GOD NEFER-TEMU.

"the nostrils of Rā, and he goeth forth from the horizon on each "day, and the gods are sanctified by the sight of him."[1]

In the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* (xvii. 24) is a passage which appears to show that the attributes of Nefer-Tem were not well defined, and we find him mentioned in connexion with a number of gods in a manner which is hard to explain. The text makes the deceased to beseech Rā to deliver him from the god "whose form is hidden, and whose eyebrows are like unto "the two arms of the Balance on the night of reckoning destruction," and in answer to the question, "Who then is this?" we have the words, "It is Ȧn-ā-f," i.e., the "god who bringeth his "arm," ,[2] who is usually regarded as a form of Ȧmsu, or Min. The words "night of reckoning destruction" are explained by making them refer to the burning of the damned and the slaughter of the wicked on the block of the god by the "Slaughterer of Souls," , ṬENṬ-BAIU. The opinions of the Egyptian theologians differed greatly as to the identity of this god ṬENṬ-BAIU, for some thought he was NEMU,[3] , the headsman of Osiris, and others thought he might be Āpep, with one head, or Horus with two heads, or Horus the Great of Sekhem, or Thoth, or Nefer-Tem, or Sepṭu, . When we remember that Nefer-Tem is the "young Tem," i.e., a god of the rising sun, and that the Horus gods and Sepṭu were likewise forms of the rising sun, it is evident that Nemu and Āpep must have had some characteristic in common with the son of Ptaḥ and Sekhet. From Chapters lxxxi., versions A and B, we learn that the deceased had power to transform himself into a lotus; in the first version of the text he says, "I am the pure lotus which springeth up from "the divine splendour that belongeth to the nostrils of Rā," and in the second we read, "Hail, thou Lotus, thou type of the god

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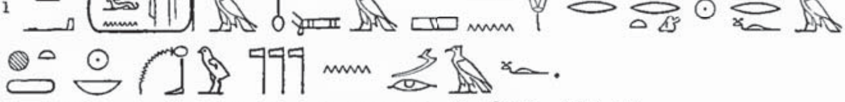
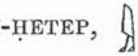
[1] 

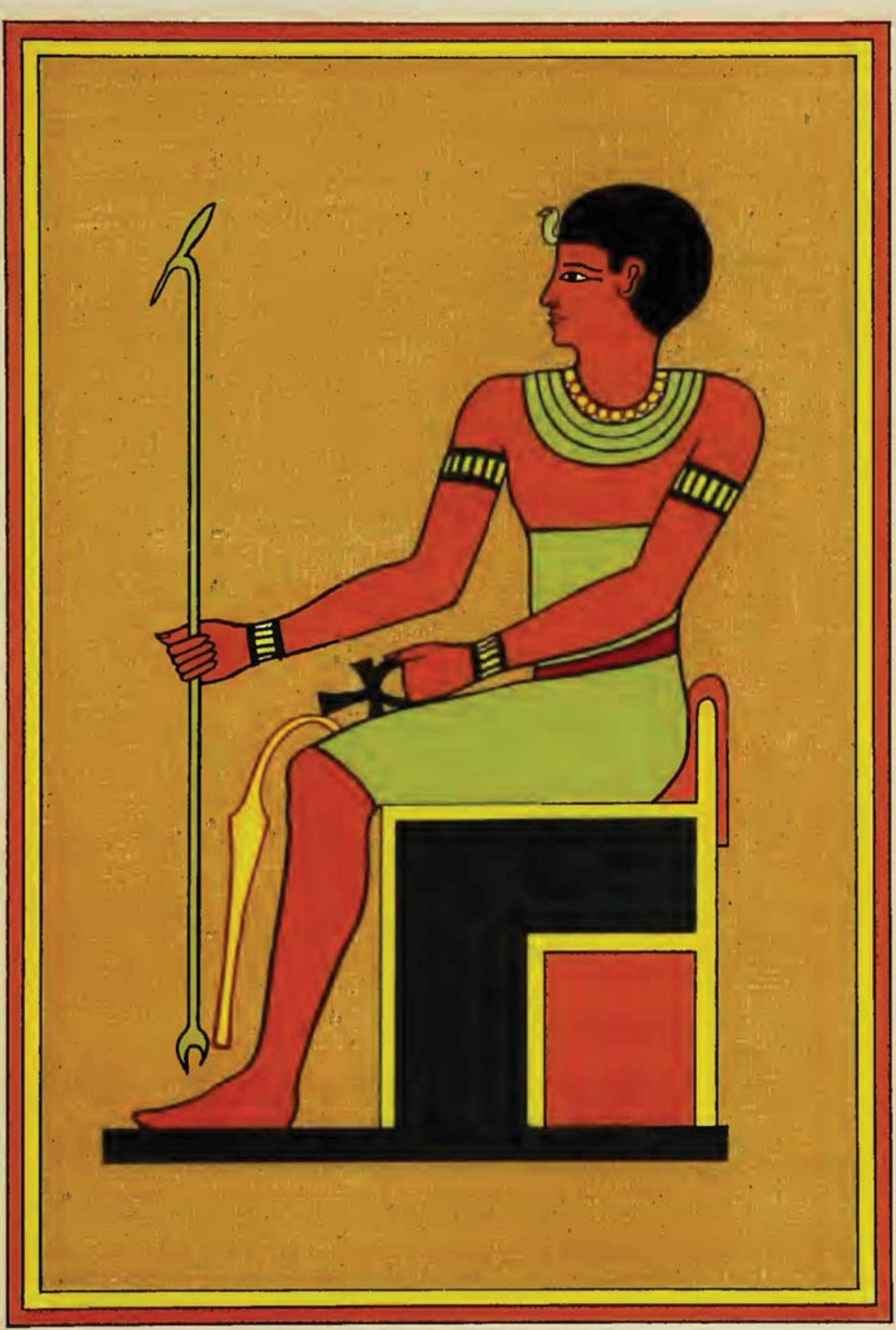
[2] He is one of the Forty-two Assessors in the Hall of Maāti.

[3] See *Book of the Dead*, cliii.A 8, 31, 32; cliii. 5; clxx. 6.

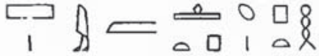
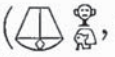
"Nefer-Tem! I am he who knoweth you, and I know your "names among the gods, the lords of the Underworld, and I am "one of you." The vignette of the first version is a lotus, and that of the second is a lotus plant with a flower and buds growing out of a pool of water, and out of the flower springs a human head, i.e., the head of the deceased.

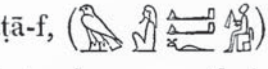
The idea conveyed by the last vignette seems to have originated in the mind of some early writer who was accustomed to see the sun rise over the flooded lands of the Delta where the lotus grew in abundance. In Chapter clxxiv. 19, the deceased says, "I rise like Nefer-Tem, who is the lotus at the nostrils of "Rā, when he cometh forth from the horizon each day," and in Chapter clxxviii. 36, Nefer-Tem has the same title. We must also note that he is the thirty-fourth Assessor in the Hall of Maāti and that the deceased makes the following address to him:—"Hail, Nefer-Tem, who comest forth from Ḥet-ka-"Ptaḥ (Memphis), I have not acted with deceit, and I have not "worked wickedness." In the late Egyptian texts Nefer-Tem is identified with a number of gods, all of whom are practically forms of Horus and Thoth, and in consequence the mother of each of these gods becomes his mother.

The Egyptian texts prove that besides Nefer-Tem another son of Ptaḥ called I-EM-ḤETEP, , was regarded as the third member of the great triad of Memphis; he was called Ἰμοῦθης by the Greeks, and possessed many attributes in common with their god Aesculapius. The name of I-em-ḥetep means, "He who cometh in peace," and is appropriate to the god who brought the art of healing to mankind. The god is represented like Ptaḥ, with a bald head, and he is depicted in a seated position with a roll of papyrus open upon his knees; he was a god of study and learning in general, but he owed his great power to the knowledge of medicine which he possessed. As a god of learning he partook of some of the attributes of Thoth, and he was supposed to take the place of this god in the performance of funeral ceremonies, and in superintending the embalming of the dead; in later times he absorbed the duties of Thoth as "scribe of the gods," and the



THE GOD I-EM-ḤETEP (IMOUTHIS).

authorship of the words of power which protected the dead from enemies of every kind in the Underworld was ascribed to him. In certain aspects the god had a funeral character which somewhat resembled that of Ptaḥ-Seker-Åsår, although he is not mentioned in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*. In the "Ritual of Embalmment"[1] it is said to the deceased, "Thy soul uniteth "itself to I-em-ḥetep whilst thou art in the funeral valley, and thy "heart rejoiceth because thou dost not go into the dwelling of "Sebek, and because thou art like a son in the house of his father, "and doest what pleaseth thee in the city of Uast (Thebes)." The oldest shrine of the god was situated close to the city of Memphis, and was called "the Temple of I-em-ḥetep, the son of Ptaḥ," , to which the Greeks gave the name, τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον;[2] it stood well outside the city, and lay quite near the Serapeum, on the edge of that portion of the desert which formed the necropolis of the city. Under the Ptolemies a small temple was built in honour of I-em-ḥetep on the Island of Philae; the hieroglyphic inscriptions are those of Ptolemy IV., Philopator, but the Greek text over the door was placed there by the command of Ptolemy V., Epiphanes. From one of the former we learn that the god was entitled, "Great one, son of Ptaḥ, the creative god, "made by Thenen, begotten by him and beloved by him, the god "of divine forms in the temples, who giveth life to all men, the "mighty one of wonders, the maker of times (?), who cometh unto "him that calleth upon him wheresoever he may be, who giveth "sons to the childless, the chief *kher-ḥeb* (, i.e., the wisest "and most learned one), the image and likeness of Thoth the "wise."[3]

I-em-ḥetep was the god who sent sleep to those who were suffering and in pain, and those who were afflicted with any kind of disease formed his special charge; he was the good physician both of gods and men, and he healed the bodies of mortals during life, and superintended the arrangements for the preservation of the same after death. If we could trace his history to its beginning we should find probably that he was originally a very highly skilled "medicine man" who had introduced some elementary knowledge of medicine amongst the Egyptians, and who was connected with the practice of the art of preserving the bodies of the dead by means of drugs, and spices, and linen bandages. He was certainly the god of physicians and of all those who were occupied with the mingled science of medicine and magic, and when we remember that several of the first kings of the Early Empire are declared by Manetho, whose statements have been supported by the evidence of the papyri, to have written, i.e., caused to be edited, works on medicine, it is clear that the adoration of the god of medicine was in Memphis as old as the archaic period. In the songs which were sung in the temple of Ȧntuf, the writer says, "I have heard the words of I-em-ḥetep and of "Ḥeru-ṭāṭā-f, (), which are repeated over and over "again, but where are their places this day? Their walls are "overthrown, their seats (or places) have no longer any being, and "they are as if they had never existed. No man cometh to declare "unto us what manner of beings they were, and none telleth us "of their possessions," etc. Ḥeru-ṭāṭā-f, as we know from later texts, was a very learned man, even though his speech could only with difficulty be understood, and we also know the prominent part which he took as a recognized man of letters in bringing to the court of his father, Khufu, the magician Teṭṭeṭa, and how his name is associated with the "finding" of certain Chapters of the *Book of the Dead*. Of the sage I-em-ḥetep, who is mentioned in connexion with him, it is difficult not to think that he was famous as a skilled physician whose acts and deeds were worthy of being classed with the words of Ḥeru-ṭāṭā-f.

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[1] See Maspero, op. cit., p. 80.

[2] Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 1098.

[3] See Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 783; *Religion*, p. 527; Sethe, *Imhotep*, 1903.

From the manner in which these great and wise men are referred to it is clear that they, who were the chosen representatives of the ablest and most learned among men, had become, even at the time when the Songs of Ȧntuf were composed, mythical beings in whole or in part, and there is no good reason why I-em-ḥetep, the third member of the triad of Memphis, should not be a deified form of a distinguished physician who was attached to the priesthood of Rā, and who flourished before the end of the rule of the kings of the IIIrd Dynasty. The pictures and figures of the god suggest that he was of human and of strictly local origin, but it is not evident how he came to usurp the place of Nefer-Tem at Memphis, especially as he was not the son of Ptaḥ by Sekhet, or Bast, or any form of these goddesses. The worship of I-em-ḥetep was commoner in the Saïte and Ptolemaïc periods than in the Early and Middle Empires, and all the bronze figures of the god belong to a period subsequent to the XXIInd Dynasty. The titles given to him in the inscriptions at Philae may, it is true, represent ancient beliefs, but it is improbable, and as he does not appear in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* it is tolerably certain that his worship was as popular and fashionable at Memphis immediately before and during the Ptolemaïc period as that of Ȧmen-ḥetep, the son of Ḥāpu, the famous sage who had seen and conversed with the gods, was at Thebes about the same time.

END OF VOL. I.

THE
GODS OF THE EGYPTIANS
OR
STUDIES IN EGYPTIAN MYTHOLOGY

BY

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., LITT.D., D.LITT., D.LIT.

KEEPER OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

WITH 98 COLOURED PLATES
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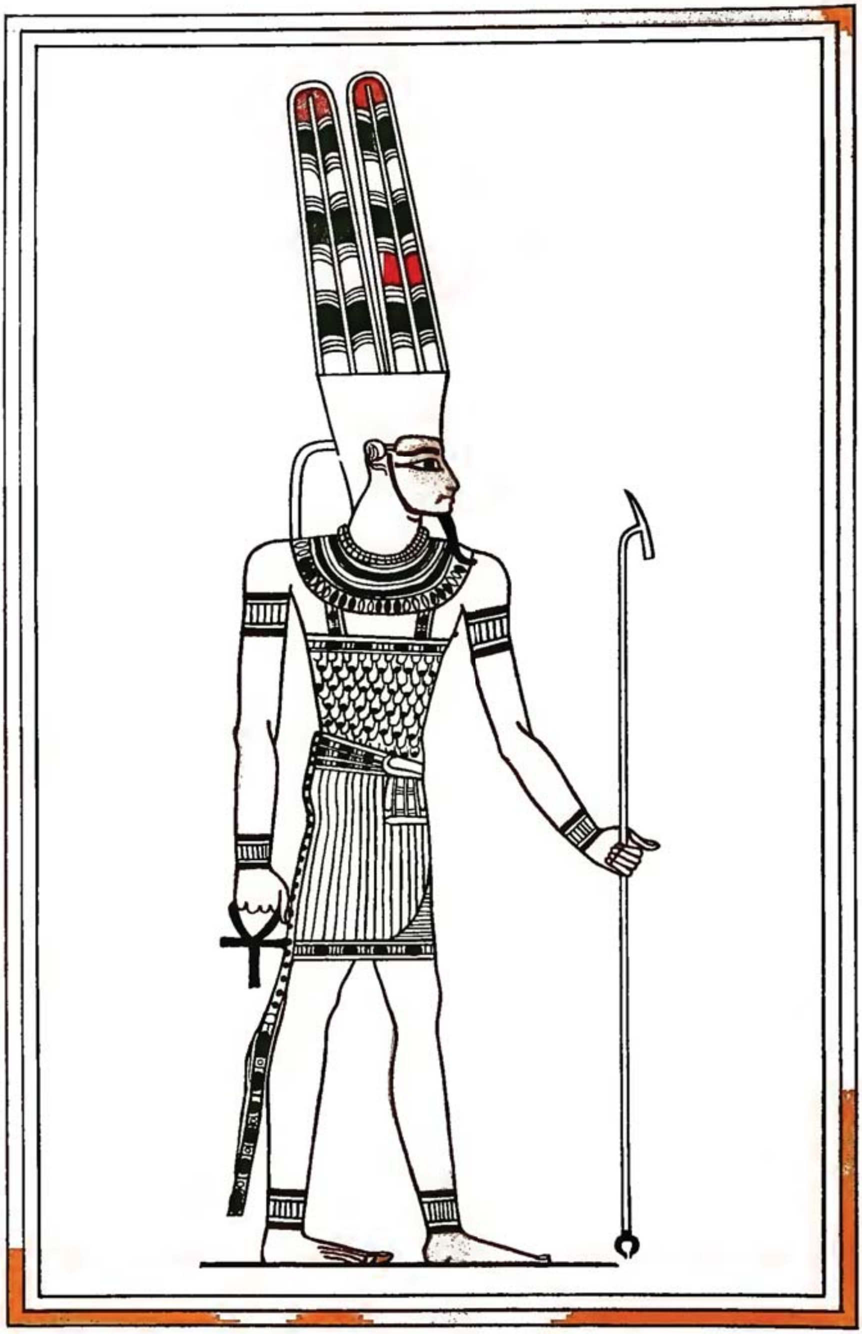

AMEN-RĀ, THE KING OF THE GODS, THE LORD OF HEAVEN.

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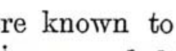
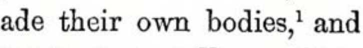
THE GODS OF THE EGYPTIANS

CHAPTER I

ȦMEN AND ȦMEN-RĀ, , KING OF THE GODS, AND THE TRIAD OF THEBES

AMONG the gods who were known to the Egyptians in very early times were ȦMEN and his consort ȦMENT, , and their names are found in the Pyramid Texts, e.g., Unȧs, line 558, where they are mentioned immediately after the pair of gods NȦU and NEN, , and in connexion with the twin Lion-gods Shu and Tefnut, who are described as the two gods who made their own bodies,[1] and with the goddess TEMT, the female counterpart of Tem. It is evident that even in the remote period of the Vth Dynasty Ȧmen and Ȧment were numbered among the primeval gods, if not as gods in chief certainly as subsidiary forms of some of them, and from the fact that they are mentioned immediately after the deities of primeval matter, Nȧu and Nen, who we may consider to be the equivalents of the watery abyss from which all things sprang, and immediately before Temt and Shu and Tefnut, it would seem that the writers or editors of the Pyramid Texts

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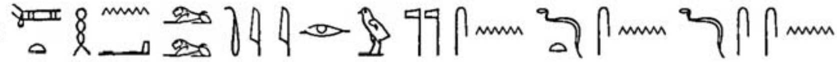
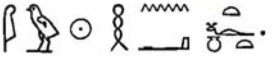
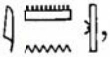
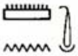
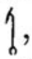
[1]  .

assigned great antiquity to their existence. Of the attributes ascribed to Ȧmen in the Ancient Empire nothing is known, but, if we accept the meaning "hidden" which is usually given to his name, we must conclude that he was the personification of the hidden and unknown creative power which was associated with the primeval abyss gods in the creation of the world and all that is in it. The word or root *ȧmen* , certainly means "what is hidden," "what is not seen," "what cannot be seen," and the like, and this fact is proved by scores of examples which may be collected from texts of all periods. In hymns to Ȧmen we often read that he is "hidden to his children," and "hidden to gods and men," and it has been stated that these expressions only refer to the "hiding," i.e., "setting" of the sun each evening, and that they are only to be understood in a physical sense, and to mean nothing more than the disappearance of the god Ȧmen from the sight of men at the close of day. Now, not only is the god himself said to be "hidden," but his name also is "hidden," and his form, or similitude, is said to be "unknown;" these statements show that "hidden" when applied to Ȧmen, the great god, has reference to something more than the "sun which has disappeared below the horizon," and that it indicates the god who cannot be seen with mortal eyes, and who is invisible, as well as inscrutable, to gods as well as men. In the times approaching the Ptolemaïc period the name Ȧmen appears to have been connected with the root *men* , "to abide, to be permanent;" and one of the attributes which were applied to him was that of *eternal*.

Ȧmen is represented in five forms:—1. As a man, when he is seen seated on a throne, and holding in one hand the sceptre, , and in the other the symbol of "life;" in this form he is one of the nine deities who compose the company of the gods of Ȧmen-Rā, the other eight being Ȧment, Nu, Nut, Ḥeḥui, Ḥeḥet, Kekui, Keket, and Hathor.[1] 2. As a man with the head of a frog, whilst his female counterpart Ȧment has the head of a uraeus. 3. As a man with the head of a uraeus, whilst his female counterpart has the head of a cat. 4. As an ape. 5. As a lion couchant upon a pedestal.

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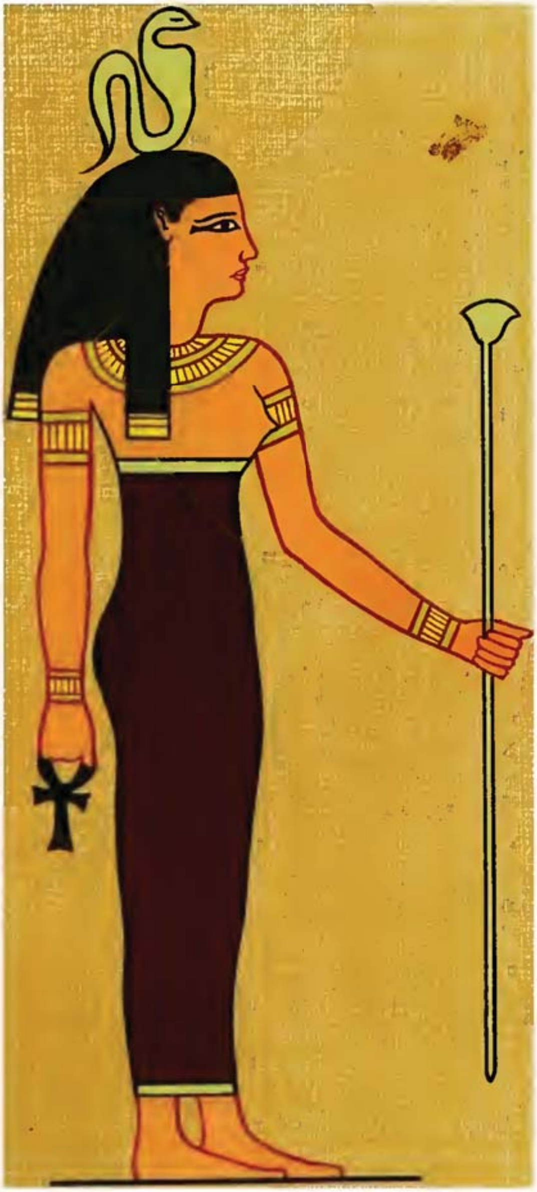
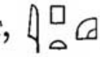
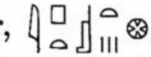
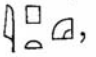
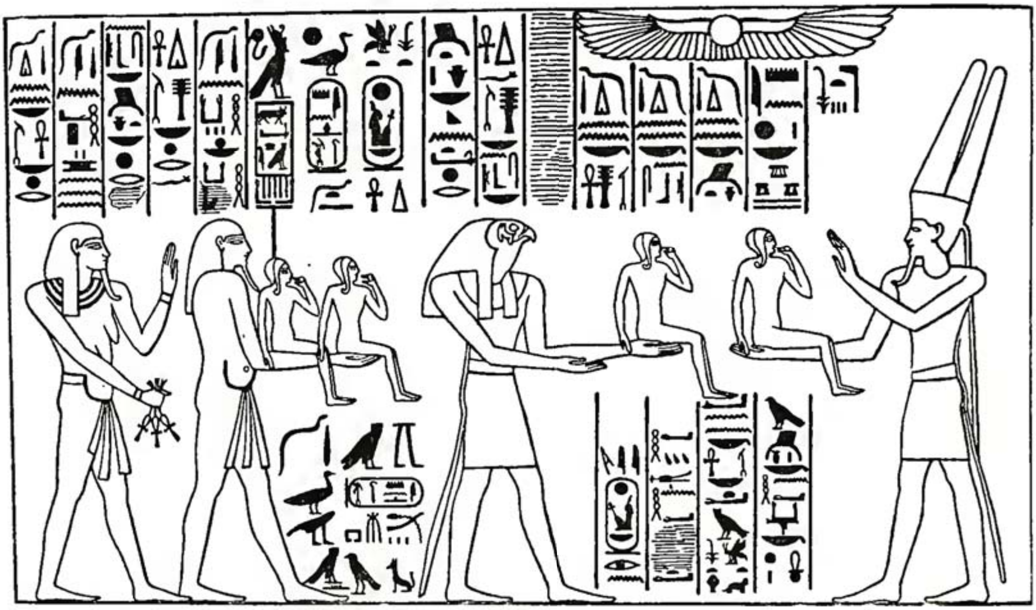
[1] See Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 12.



THE GODDESS APIT.

Of the early history of the worship of Ȧmen we know nothing, but as far as the evidence before us goes it appears not to have been very general, and in fact, the only centre of it of any importance was the city of Thebes. Under the XIIth Dynasty we find that a sanctuary and shrine were built in honour of Ȧmen at Thebes in the northern quarter of the city which was called Ȧpt, , later, ; from this word, with the addition of the feminine article T, the Copts derived their name for the city Tape, **Ⲧⲁⲡⲉ**, and from it also comes the common name "Thebes." Over Ȧpt the quarter of the city there presided a goddess also called Ȧpt, , who was either the personification of it, or a mere local goddess to whom accident or design had given the same name as the quarter; it is, however, most probable that the goddess was the spirit or personification of the place. In the reliefs on which she is represented we see her in the form of a woman holding the sceptre, , and "life," , in her hands, and wearing upon her head the disk and horns, , which rest upon , the hieroglyphic which has for its phonetic value *Ȧpt*, and stands for the name of the goddess. The disk and the horns prove that the tutelary goddess of Thebes was a form of Hathor.

Up to the time of the XIIth Dynasty Ȧmen was a god of no more than local importance, but as soon as the princes of Thebes had conquered their rival claimants to the sovereignty of Egypt, and had succeeded in making their city a new capital of the country their god Ȧmen became a prominent god in Upper Egypt, and it was probably under that dynasty that the attempt was made to assign to him the proud position which was afterwards claimed for him of "king of the gods." His sanctuary at Karnak was at that time a comparatively small building, which consisted of a shrine, with a few small chambers grouped about it and a forecourt with a colonnade on two sides of it, and it remained, practically, in this form until the rise to power of the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty. It is difficult to decide if the sanctuary of Ȧmen at Thebes was a new foundation in that city by the kings of the XIIth Dynasty, or whether the site had been previously occupied by a temple to the god; the probability is that the god possessed a temple in Ȧpt from the earliest times, and that all that they did was to rebuild Ȧmen's sanctuary. As soon as the Theban princes became kings of Egypt their priests at once began to declare that their god was not only another form of the great creative Sun-god who had been worshipped for centuries at Ȧnnu, or Heliopolis, in the North of Egypt, under the names of Rā, Temu, Kheperȧ, and Ḥeru-khuti, but that all the attributes which were ascribed to them were contained in him, and that he was greater than they. And as Thebes had become the capital instead of Memphis, it followed as a matter of course that all the attributes of all the great gods of Memphis were contained in Ȧmen also. Thus by these means the priests of Ȧmen succeeded in making their god, both theologically and politically, the greatest of the gods in the country.



Horus and Ḥekan presenting Ȧmen-ḥetep III., when a babe, and his double, to Ȧmen-Rā, lord of the thrones of Egypt, king of the gods.

Owing to the unsettled state of Egypt under the XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties, and under the rule of the Hyksos, pretensions of this kind passed unchallenged, especially as they were supported by arms, and by the end of the XVIIth Dynasty Ȧmen had attained to an almost unrivalled position among the gods of the land. And when his royal devotees in this dynasty succeeded in expelling the Hyksos from the land, and their successors the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty carried war and conquest into Palestine and founded Egyptian cities there, the power and glory of Ȧmen their god, who had enabled them to carry out this difficult work of successful invasion, became extraordinarily great. His priests began by asserting his equality with the other great gods of the old sanctuaries of Heliopolis, Memphis, Herakleopolis, and other ancient cities, and finally they satisfied, or, at all events, attempted to do so, all worshippers of every form of the Sun-god Rā by adding his name to that of Ȧmen, and thus forming a great god who included within himself all the attributes of the primeval god Ȧmen and of Rā. The highest conception of Ȧmen-Rā under the XIXth and XXth Dynasties was that of an invisible creative power which was the source of all life in heaven, and on the earth, and in the great deep, and in the Underworld, and which made itself manifest under the form of Rā. Nearly every attribute of deity with which we are made familiar by the hymns to Rā was ascribed to Ȧmen after his union with Rā; but the priests of Ȧmen were not content with claiming that their god was one of the greatest of the deities of Egypt, for they proceeded to declare that there was no other god like him, and that he was the greatest of them all.

The power and might ascribed to Ȧmen-Rā are well described in hymns which must be quoted in full. The first of these occurs in the Papyrus of Hu-nefer (Brit. Mus., No. 9,901, sheet i.), where it follows immediately after a hymn to Rā; this papyrus was written in the reign of Seti I., and it is interesting to observe that the two gods are addressed separately, and that the hymn to Rā precedes that to Ȧmen-Rā. The text reads:—"Homage to thee, "O Ȧmen-Rā, who dost rest upon Maāt; as thou passest over the "heavens every face seeth thee. Thou dost wax great as thy "majesty doth advance, and thy rays [shine] upon all faces. "Thou art unknown, and no tongue hath power to declare thy "similitude; only thou thyself [canst do this]. Thou art One, "even as is he that bringeth the *ṭenȧ* basket. Men praise thee in "thy name, and they swear by thee, for thou art lord over them. "Thou hearest with thine ears and thou seest with thine eyes.

"Millions of years have gone over the world, and I cannot tell the 'number of those through which thou hast passed. Thy heart "hath decreed a day of happiness in thy name of 'Traveller.' "Thou dost pass over and dost travel through untold spaces "[requiring] millions and hundreds of thousands of years [to pass "over]; thou passest through them in peace, and thou steerest "thy way across the watery abyss to the place which thou lovest; "this thou doest in one little moment of time, and then thou dost "sink down and dost make an end of the hours." How far the attributes ascribed to Ȧmen-Rā in this hymn represent those generally bestowed upon the god in the XIXth Dynasty is unknown, but the points chiefly dwelt upon are the unity, and the invisibility, and the long duration of the existence of the god; nothing is said about Ȧmen-Rā being self-begotten and self-born, or of his great creative powers, or of his defeat of the serpent-fiend Nȧk, and it is quite clear that Hu-nefer drew a sharp distinction between the attributes of the two gods.

The following hymn,[1] which was probably written under the XXth or XXIst Dynasty, well illustrates the growth of the power both of Ȧmen-Rā and of his priests:—"Praise be to Ȧmen-Rā, the "Bull in Ȧnnu, the chief of all the gods, the beautiful god, the "beloved one, the giver of the life of all warmth to all beautiful "cattle.[2] Homage to thee, O Ȧmen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the "two lands, the governor of the Ȧpts (i.e., Thebes, north and south), "thou Bull of thy mother, who art chief in thy fields, whose steps are "long, who art lord of the land of the South, who art lord of the "Mātchau peoples, and prince of Punt, and king of heaven, and first-"born god of earth, and lord of things which exist, and stablisher of "creation, yea, stablisher of all creation. Thou art One among the "gods by reason of his seasons. Thou art the beautiful Bull of the "company of the gods, thou art the chief of all the gods, thou art "the lord of Maāt, and the father of the gods, and the creator of

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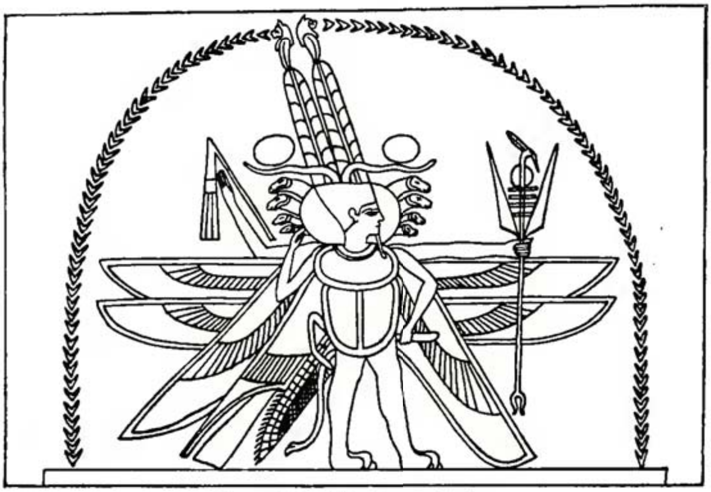
[1] For the hieratic text see Mariette, *Les Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*, pll. 11-13; and a French version of the hymn is given by Grébaut, *Hymne à Ammon-Ra*, Paris, 1875.

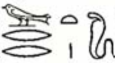
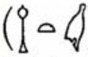
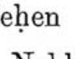
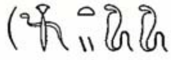
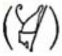
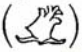
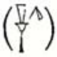
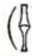
[2] The word used here for cattle is *menmen*, and a play is intended upon it and the name *Ȧmen*, who in his character of "bull of Ȧnnu" was the patron of cattle.

" men and women, and the maker of animals, and the lord of " things which exist, and the producer of the staff of life (i.e., " wheat and barley), and the maker of the herb of the field which " giveth life unto cattle. Thou art the beautiful Sekhem who wast " made (i.e., begotten) by Ptaḥ, and the beautiful Child who art " beloved. The gods acclaim thee, O thou who art the maker of " things which are below and of things which are above. Thou " illuminest the two lands, and thou sailest over the sky in peace, " O king of the South and North, Rā, whose word hath unfailing " effect, who art over the two lands, thou mighty one of two-fold " strength, thou lord of terror, thou Being above who makest the " earth according to thine own designs. Thy devices are greater " and more numerous than those of any other god. The gods " rejoice in thy beauties, and they ascribe praise unto thee in the " great double house, and at thy risings in (or, from) the double house " of flame. The gods love the smell of thee when thou comest from " Punt (i.e., the spice land), thou eldest born of the dew, who " comest from the land of the Mātchau peoples, thou Beautiful " Face, who comest from the Divine Land (Neter-ta). The gods " tremble at thy feet when they recognize thy majesty as their " lord, thou lord who art feared, thou Being of whom awe is great, " thou Being whose souls are mighty, who hast possession of



Åmen-Rā, with his attributes.

"crowns, who dost make offerings to be abundant, and who dost "make divine food (*tchefau*).

"Adorations be to thee, O thou creator of the gods, who hast "stretched out the heavens and made solid the earth. Thou art "the untiring watcher, O Ȧmsu-Ȧmen (or Min-Ȧmen), the lord of "eternity, and maker of everlastingness, and to thee adorations "are paid as the Governor of the Ȧpts. Thou hast two horns "which endure, and thine aspects are beautiful, and thou art the "lord of the *ureret* crown (), and thy double plumes are "lofty, thy tiara is one of beauty, and thy White Crown () "is lofty. The goddess Meḥen (), and the Uatcheti "goddesses (, i.e., Nekhebet and Uatchet), are about "thy face, and the crowns of the South and North (), and the "Nemmes crown, and the helmet crown are thy adornments (?) in "thy temple. Thy face is beautiful and thou receivest the Atef "crown (), and thou art beloved of the South and the North; "thou receivest the crowns of the South and the North, and thou "receivest the *amesu* sceptre (), and thou art the lord of the "*makes* sceptre (), and of the whip (or flail,).[1] Thou art "the beautiful Prince, who risest like the sun with the White "Crown, and thou art the lord of radiant light and the creator of "brilliant rays. The gods ascribe praises unto thee, and he who "loveth thee stretcheth out his two hands to thee. Thy flame maketh "thine enemies to fall, and thine Eye overthroweth the *Sebȧu* fiends, "and it driveth its spear through the sky into the serpent-fiend "Nȧk and maketh it to vomit that which it hath swallowed.

"Homage to thee, O Rā, thou lord of Maāt, whose shrine is "hidden, thou lord of the gods; thou art Kheperȧ in thy boat, "and when thou didst speak the word the gods sprang into being.

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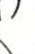
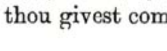
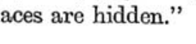
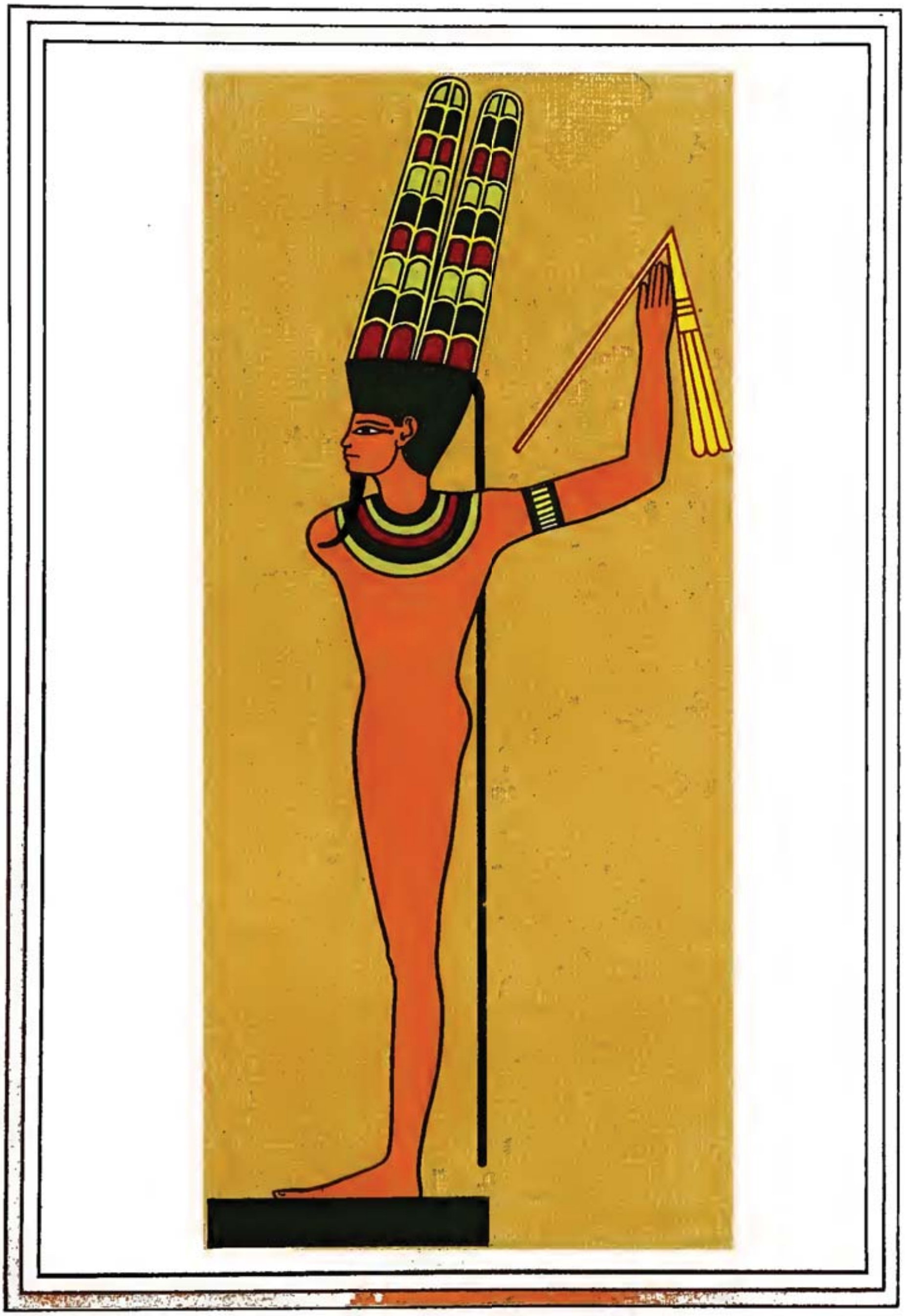
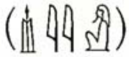
[1] In the text of Unȧs (l. 206 f.) we have, "O Unȧs, thou hast not departed "as one dead, but as one living thou hast gone to sit upon the throne of Osiris. "Thy sceptre *āb* () is in thy hand, and thou givest commands to the living, thy "sceptre *mekes* () and thy sceptre *neḥbet* () are in "thy hands, and thou givest commands to those whose places are hidden."



THE GOD AMSU.

"Thou art Temu, who didst create beings endowed with reason; "thou makest the colour of the skin of one race to be different "from that of another, but, however many may be the varieties of "mankind, it is thou that makest them all to live. Thou hearest "the prayer of him that is oppressed, thou art kind of heart unto "him that calleth upon thee, thou deliverest him that is afraid "from him that is violent of heart, and thou judgest between the "strong and the weak. Thou art the lord of intelligence, and "knowledge is that which proceedeth from thy mouth. The Nile "cometh at thy will, and thou art the greatly beloved lord of the "palm tree who makest mortals to live. Thou makest every work "to proceed, thou workest in the sky, and thou makest to come "into being the beauties of the daylight; the gods rejoice in thy "beauties, and their hearts live when they see thee. Hail, Rā, "who art adored in the Ȧpts, thou mighty one who risest in the "shrine: O Ȧni (), thou lord of the festival of the new "moon, who makest the six days' festival and the festival of the "last quarter of the moon. Hail, Prince, life, health, and strength, "thou lord of all the gods, whose appearances are in the horizon, "thou Governor of the ancestors of Ȧuḳert (i.e., the underworld), "thy name is hidden from thy children in thy name 'Ȧmen.'

"Hail to thee, O thou who art in peace, thou lord of joy of "heart, thou crowned form, thou lord of the *ureret* crown, whose "plumes are exalted, whose tiara is beautiful, whose White Crown "is lofty, the gods love to look upon thee; the crowns of the "South and North are established upon thy brow. Beloved art "thou as thou passest through the two lands, as thou sendest "forth rays from thy two beautiful eyes. The dead are rapturous "with delight when thou shinest. The cattle become languid "when thou shinest in full strength; beloved art thou when thou "art in the southern sky, and thou art esteemed lovely when thou "art in the northern sky. Thy beauties take possession of and "carry away all hearts, and love for thee maketh all arms to relax, "thy beautiful form maketh the hands to tremble, and all hearts "melt at the sight of thee.

"Hail, thou Form who art One, thou creator of all things;

"hail, thou ONLY ONE, thou maker of things which exist. Men "came forth from thy two eyes, and the gods sprang into being "as the issue of thy mouth. Thou makest the green herbs whereby "cattle live, and the staff of life for the use of man. Thou makest "the fish to live in the rivers, and the feathered fowl in the sky; "thou givest the breath of life to that which is in the egg, thou "makest birds of every kind to live, and likewise the reptiles that "creep and fly; thou causest the rats to live in their holes, and "the birds that are on every green tree. Hail to thee, O thou "who hast made all these things, thou ONLY ONE; thy might "hath many forms. Thou watchest all men as they sleep, and "thou seekest the good of thy brute creation. Hail, Ȧmen, who "dost establish all things, and who art Ȧtmu and Harmachis, all "people adore thee, saying, 'Praise be to thee because of thy "'resting among us; homage to thee because thou hast created "'us.' All creatures say, 'Hail to thee'! and all lands praise "thee; from the height of the sky, to the breadth of the earth, "and to the depths of the sea thou art praised. The gods bow "down before thy majesty to exalt the Will of their Creator; they "rejoice when they meet their begetter, and say to thee, 'Come "'in peace, O father of the fathers of all the gods, who hast spread "'out the sky, and hast founded the earth, maker of things which "'are, creator of things which exist, thou Prince (life, health, and "'strength [to thee!]), thou Governor of the gods. We adore thy "'Will (or, souls) for thou hast made us; thou hast made us and "'hast given us birth.'

"Hail to thee, maker of all things, lord of Maāt, father of the "gods, maker of men, creator of animals, lord of grain, who "makest to live the cattle on the hills. Hail, Ȧmen, bull, "beautiful of face, beloved in the Ȧpts, mighty of rising in the "shrine, who art doubly crowned in Heliopolis; thou art the "judge of Horus and Set in the Great Hall. Thou art the head "of the company of the gods, ONLY ONE, who hast no second, "thou governor of the Ȧpts, Ȧni at the head of the company of the "gods, living in Maāt daily, thou Horus of the East of the double "horizon. Thou hast created the mountain, and the silver and "real lapis-lazuli at thy will. Incense and fresh *ānti* are prepared "for thy nostrils, O beautiful Face, who comest forth from the "land of the Mātchau, Ȧmen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the two "lands, at the head of the Ȧpts, Ȧni, the chief of thy shrine. "Thou king who art ONE among the gods, thy names are manifold, "and how many they are is unknown; thou shinest in the eastern "and western horizons, and overthrowest thy enemies at thy birth "daily. Thoth exalteth thy two eyes, and maketh thee to set in "splendour; the gods rejoice in thy beauties which those who are "in thy [following] exalt. Thou art the lord of the Sektet Boat "and of the Ātet Boat, which travel over the sky for thee in "peace. Thy sailors rejoice when they see Nȧk overthrown, "and his limbs stabbed with the knife, and the fire devouring "him, and his filthy soul beaten out of his filthy body, and his "feet carried away. The gods rejoice, Rā is content, and Ȧnnu "(Heliopolis) is glad because the enemies of Ȧtmu are over-"thrown, and the heart of Nebt-Ānkh (i.e., Isis) is happy because "the enemies of her lord are overthrown. The gods of Ḳher-āḥa "rejoice, and those who dwell in the shrine are making obeisance "when they see thee mighty in thy strength. Thou art the "Sekhem (i.e., Power) of the gods, and Maāt of the Ȧpts in thy "name of 'Maker of Maāt.' Thou art the lord of *tchefau* food, "the Bull of offerings (?) in thy name, 'Ȧmen, Bull of his mother.' "Thou art the fashioner of mortals, the creator, the maker of all "things which are in thy name of Temu-Kheperȧ. Thou art the "Great Hawk which gladdeneth the body; the Beautiful Face "which gladdeneth the breast. Thou art the Form of [many] "forms, with a lofty crown; the Uatcheti goddesses (i.e., Nekhebet "and Uatchet) fly before his face. The hearts of the dead (?) go "out to meet him, and the denizens of heaven turn to him; his "appearances rejoice the two lands. Homage to thee, Ȧmen-Rā, "lord of the throne of the two lands; thy city loveth thy radiant "light."

The chief point of interest in connexion with this hymn is the proof it affords of the completeness with which Ȧmen had absorbed all the attributes of Rā and of every other ancient form of the Sun-god, and how in the course of about one hundred years he had risen from the position of a mere local god to that of the "king of the gods" of Egypt. In the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties the wealth of his priesthood must have been enormous, and the religious and social powers which they possessed made them, in many respects, as powerful as the reigning family. Thebes, the capital of Egypt and the centre of the worship of Ȧmen-Rā, was rightly called the "city of Ȧmen," (the No-Amon of Nahum iii. 8), and there is reason to think that many of the great Egyptian raids in Syria and Nubia were made as much for the purpose of supplying funds for the maintenance of the temples, and services, and priests of Ȧmen-Rā as for the glory and prestige of Egypt. The slavish homage which the Thothmes kings, and the Ȧmen-ḥeteps, and the Ramessids paid to Ȧmen-Rā, and their lavish gifts to his sanctuaries suggest that it was his priests who were, in reality, the makers of war and peace. Under the XXth Dynasty their power was still very great, and the list of the gifts which Rameses III. made to their order illustrates their influence over this monarch. Towards the close of this dynasty we find that they had succeeded in obtaining authority from the feeble and incapable successors of Rameses III. to levy taxes on the people of Thebes, and to appropriate to the use of their order certain of the revenues of the city; this was only what was to be expected, for, since the treasury of the god was no longer supplied by expeditions into Syria, the priests found poverty staring them in the face. When the last Rameses was dead the high-priest of Ȧmen-Rā became king of Egypt almost as a matter of course, and he and his immediate successors formed the XXIst Dynasty, or the Dynasty of priest-kings of Egypt.

Their chief aim was to maintain the power of their god and of their own order, and for some years they succeeded in doing so; but they were priests and not warriors, and their want of funds became more and more pressing, for the simple reason that they had no means of enforcing the payment of tribute by the peoples and tribes who, even under the later of the kings bearing the name of Rameses, acknowledged the sovereignty of Egypt. Meanwhile the poverty of the inhabitants of Thebes increased rapidly, and they were not only unable to contribute to the maintenance of the acres of temple buildings and to the services of the god, but found it difficult to obtain a living. These facts are proved by many considerations, but chiefly by the robberies which are described or referred to in several papyri of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes; and the discoveries of the royal mummies at Dêr al-Baḥarî shows that the Government of the period was unable either to protect the royal tombs or to suppress the gang of robbers who systematically pillaged them. The robberies were carried out with the connivance of several high officials, and it was to the interests of large numbers of the inhabitants of Thebes to make abortive the legal proceedings which were taken by the Government against them. Notwithstanding their growing poverty and waning influence the priests in no way abated the pretensions of their god or of themselves, and they continued to proclaim the glory and power of Åmen-Rā in spite of the increasing power of the Libyans in the Delta.

In a very remarkable document written for Nesi-Khensu, the daughter of one of the priest-kings of Åmen-Rā, the god is made to enter into an agreement to provide for the happiness and deification of the deceased in the Underworld, and the terms of this agreement are expressed with all the precision, and in the phraseology, of a legal document. This is interesting enough as illustrating the relations which the priests assumed to exist between themselves and their gods, but the introduction to the agreement is more important for our purpose here, because in it are enumerated all the chief attributes which were ascribed to Åmen-Rā under the XXIst Dynasty. The following is a rendering of this portion of the papyrus of Nesi-Khensu:—[1]

"This holy god, the lord of all the gods, Åmen-Rā, the lord of "the thrones of the two lands, the governors of Åpt; the holy soul "who came into being in the beginning; the great god who liveth "by (*or* upon) Maāt; the first divine matter which gave birth "unto subsequent divine matter![2] the being through whom every

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[1] A hieroglyphic transcript of the hieratic text of this remarkable document, together with a French translation, has been published by Maspero in *Les Momies Royales de Déir-el-baharî*, p. 594 f.

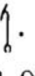
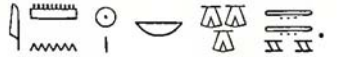
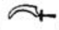
[2] Or, "the primeval *paut* which gave birth unto the [other] two *pautti*."

" [other] god hath existence; the One One who hath made every- " thing which hath come into existence since primeval times when " the world was created; the being whose births are hidden, whose " evolutions are manifold, and whose growths are unknown; the " holy Form, beloved, terrible, and mighty in his risings; the lord " of wealth, the power, Kheperȧ who createth every evolution of " his existence, except whom at the beginning none other existed; " who at the dawn in the primeval time was Ȧtennu, the prince of " rays and beams of light; who having made himself [to be seen, " caused] all men to live; who saileth over the celestial regions " and faileth not, for at dawn on the morrow his ordinances are " made permanent; who though an old man shineth in the form of " one that is young, and having brought (*or* led) the uttermost " parts of eternity goeth round about the celestial regions and " journeyeth through the Ṭuat to illumine the two lands which he " hath created; the God who acted as God, who moulded himself, " who made the heavens and the earth by his will (or heart); the " greatest of the great, the mightiest of the mighty, the prince who " is mightier than the gods, the young Bull with sharp horns, the " protector of the two lands in his mighty name of 'The everlast- " 'ing one who cometh and hath his might, who bringeth the " 'remotest limit of eternity,' the god-prince who hath been prince " from the time that he came into being, the conqueror of the two " lands by reason of his might, the terrible one of the double " divine face, the divine aged one, the divine form who dwelleth in " the forms of all the gods, the Lion-god with awesome eye, the " sovereign who casteth forth the two Eyes, the lord of flame " [which goeth] against his enemies; the god Nu, the prince who " advanceth at his hour to vivify that which cometh forth upon his " potter's wheel, the disk of the Moon-god who openeth a way " both in heaven and upon earth for the beautiful form; the " beneficent (*or* operative) god, who is untiring, and who is " vigorous of heart both in rising and in setting, from whose " divine eyes come forth men and women; at whose utterance the " gods come into being, and food is created, and *tchefau* food is " made, and all things which are come into being; the traverser of " eternity, the old man who maketh himself young [again], with

" myriads of pairs of eyes and numberless pairs of ears, whose " light is the guide of the god of millions of years; the lord of " life, who giveth unto whom he pleaseth the circuit of the earth " along with the abode of his divine face, who setteth out upon his " journey and suffereth no mishap by the way, whose work none " can destroy; the lord of delight, whose name is sweet and " beloved, at dawn mankind make supplications unto him the " Mighty one of victory, the Mighty one of twofold strength, the " Possessor of fear, the young Bull who maketh an end of the " hostile ones, the Mighty one who doeth battle with his foes, " through whose divine plans the earth came into being; the " Soul who giveth light from his two Utchats (Eyes); the god " Baiti who created the divine transformations; the holy one who " is unknown; the king who maketh kings to rule, and who " girdeth up the earth in its courses, and to whose souls the gods " and the goddesses pay homage by reason of the might of his " terror; since he hath gone before that which followeth endureth; " the creator of the world by his secret counsels; the god Kheperȧ " who is unknown and who is more hidden than the [other] gods, " whose vicar is the divine Disk; the unknown one who hideth " himself from that which cometh forth from him; he is the flame " which sendeth forth rays of light with mighty splendour, but " though he can be seen in form and observation can be made of " him at his appearance yet he cannot be understood, and at dawn " mankind make supplication unto him; his risings are of crystal " among the company of the gods, and he is the beloved object of " every god; the god Nu cometh forward with the north wind in " this god who is hidden; who maketh decrees for millions of " double millions of years, whose ordinances are fixed and are not " destroyed, whose utterances are gracious, and whose statutes fail " not in his appointed time; who giveth duration of life and " doubleth the years of those unto whom he hath a favour; who " graciously protecteth him whom he hath set in his heart; who " hath formed eternity and everlastingness, the king of the South " and of the North, Ȧmen-Rā, the king of the gods, the lord of " heaven and of earth, and of the deep, and of the two mountains " in whose form the earth began to exist, he the mighty one, who

3 more distinguished than all the gods of the first and foremost ompany."

The definiteness of the assertions of this composition suggest ιt it formed the creed of the worshippers of Ȧmen-Rā, for every ɜ of them appears to have been made with the express purpose contradicting the pretensions urged by the priests of other gods, ., Ȧten and Osiris; and an examination of the sentences will ›w that Ȧmen is made to be the source of life of all things, ;h animate and inanimate, and that he is identified with the ›at unknown God who made the universe. It is, however, portant to note that he is not in any way identified with Osiris this text, a fact which seems to indicate that the national god of Resurrection in Egypt was ignored by the priests of Ȧmen o composed the contents of Nesi-Khensu's papyrus. From what ; been said above as to the importance of Ȧmen-Rā it will be dent that a large number of shrines of this god must have sted throughout the country, but in nearly all of them he was intruder, and his priests must have lived chiefly upon the lowments which the pious Egyptians had provided for gods ιer than he.

We may now consider the various forms[1] in which Ȧmen-Rā depicted on monuments and papyri. His commonest form is t of a strong-bearded man who wears upon his head lofty ıble plumes, the various sections of which are coloured ɜrnately red and green, or red and blue; round his neck he ırs a deep collar or necklace, and his close-fitting tunic is ›ported by elaborately worked shoulder-straps. His arms and ists are provided with armlets and bracelets, in his right hand he symbol of life, and in his left the sceptre . Hanging from tunic is the tail of some animal, the custom of wearing which gods and kings was common in Egypt in the earliest times. this form his title is "Ȧmen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the two ds," . Instead of the sign of life, ☥, sometimes holds the *khepesh* war knife, , in his right hand.[2]

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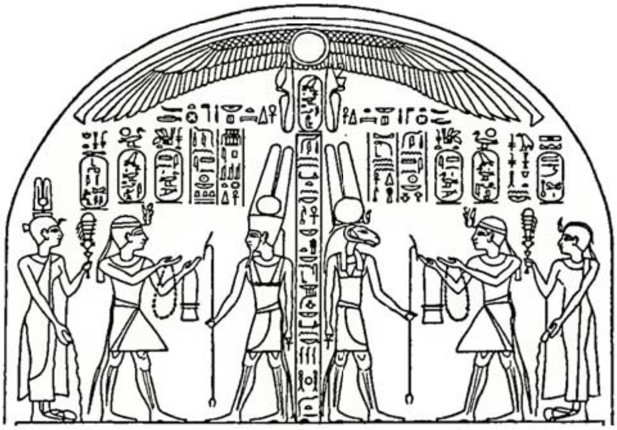
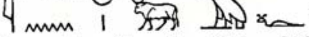
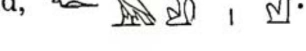
[1] For a number of them see Lanzone, op. cit., pll. 18 ff.

[2] Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 21.

At times he is given the head of a hawk which is surmounted by the solar disk encircled by a serpent, ; as "Ȧmen-Rā-Temu in Thebes" he has the head of a man surmounted by the solar disk encircled by a serpent; before him is the *ānkh*, ☥, which is provided with human legs and arms, offering lotus flowers to the god.[1] Thus he becomes the god both of Heliopolis and Thebes." In many scenes we find Ȧmen-Rā with the head of a ram, when he usually wears the solar disk, plumes, and uraeus; at times, however, he wears the disk and uraeus, or the disk only. In this form he is called "Ȧmen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the two lands, the "dweller in Thebes, the great god who appeareth in the horizon,"



Ḥeru-sa-âtep, king of Ethiopia, adoring Ȧmen-Rā.

or "Ȧmen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the two lands, governor of "Ta-Kenset (Nubia)." Another form of Ȧmen-Rā is that in which he is represented with the body of the ithyphallic god Ȧmsu, or Min, or Khem, i.e., as the personification of the power of generation. In this form he wears either the customary disk and plumes, or the united crowns of the South and North, and has one hand and arm raised to support , which he holds above his shoulder; he is called "Ȧmen-Rā, the bull of his mother," , and possesses all the attributes of Fa-ā, i.e., the "god of the lifted hand," .

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[1] Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 19.

In one of the examples reproduced by Lanzone[1] Ȧmen-Rā in his ithyphallic form stands by the side of a pylon-shaped building, on the top of which are two trees, one on each side of a large lotus flower; the lotus flower represents the rising sun, which was supposed to issue daily from between two persea trees. In another form Ȧmen-Rā has the head of a crocodile, and he wears the crown which is composed of the solar disk, plumes, and horns, and is called the "disposer of the life of Rā and of the years of Temu." Finally, the god was sometimes represented in the form of a goose; the animal sacred to him in many parts of Egypt, and all over Nubia, was the ram. In very late dynastic times, especially in the Ptolemaïc period, it became customary to make figures of Ȧmen-Rā in bronze in which every important attribute of the god was represented. In these he has the bearded head of a man, the body of a beetle with the wings of a hawk, the legs of a man with the toes and claws of a lion, and is provided with four hands and arms, and four wings, the last named being extended. One hand, which is stretched along the wing, grasps the symbols 𓌀, 𓋹, 𓊽, and two knives; another is raised to support 𓌅, after the manner of the "god of the lifted hand;" a third holds the symbol of generation and fertility; and the fourth is lifted to his head. The face of the god is, in reality, that of the solar disk, from which proceed the heads and necks of eight rams. Resting on the disk is a pair of ram's horns, with a disk on each, and stretching upwards are the two characteristic plumes of the god Ȧmen. From the tip of each of these projects a lion-headed uraeus which ejects moisture from its mouth. This form of the god was a production probably of the period immediately following the XXVIth Dynasty, but some modifications of it are not so old. The idea which underlies the figure is that of representing the *paut* or company of the gods, of which Ȧmen was the chief, and of showing pictorially how every one of the oldest gods of Egypt was contained in him.

In the Saïte Recension of the *Book of the Dead* we find several passages relating to Ȧmen, or Ȧmen-Rā, which appear to belong to the same period, and as they illustrate the growth of a set of new ideas about the god Ȧmen, some of them being probably of Nubian origin, they are reproduced here. The first is found in the Rubric to Chapter clxii. which contains the texts to be recited over the amulet of the cow, and was composed with the view of keeping heat in the body of the deceased in the Underworld. The first address is made to the god PAR, , which is clearly a form of Ȧmen-Rā, for he is called "lord of the phallus," , "lofty of plumes," "lord of transformations, whose skins (i.e., complexions) are manifold," , the "god of many names," "the mighty runner of mighty strides," etc. The second address is to the Cow AHAT, , i.e., the goddess Meḥ-urt or Net, who made a picture of herself and placed it under the head of Rā when he was setting one evening, and is the petition which is to be said when a similar amulet is placed under the head of the deceased, and runs, "O Ȧmen, O Ȧmen, who art in "heaven, turn thy face upon the dead body of thy son, and make "him sound and strong in the Underworld."

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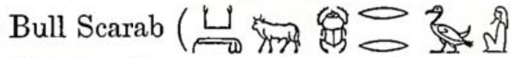
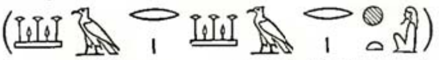
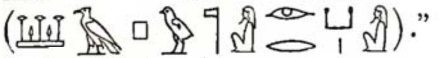
[1] Op. cit., pl. 20, No. 1.

In Chapter clxiii. we have the second passage as follows:— "Hail, Ȧmen, thou divine Bull Scarab (), "thou lord of the two *Utchats*, thy name is ḤES-TCHEFETCH "( ), the Osiris (i.e., the deceased) is the "emanation of thy two *Utchats*, one of which is called SHARE-"SHAREKHET (), and the other "SHAPUNETERȦRIKA ()." The magical name of the deceased is "Shaka-Ȧmen-Shakanasa er hatu Tem seḥetch-nef-taui,"[1] and on his behalf the following prayer is made:—"Grant that he may be of the land of Maāt, let him not "be left in his condition of solitude, for he belongeth to this land

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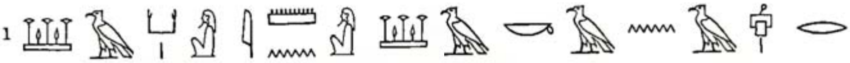
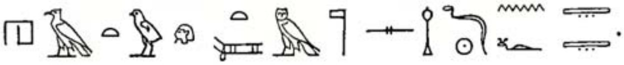
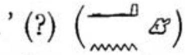
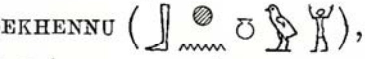
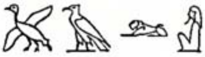
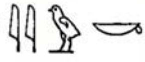
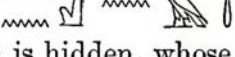
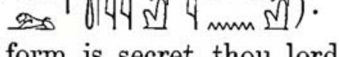
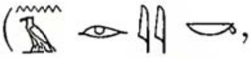
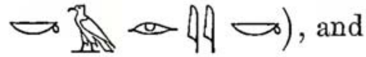
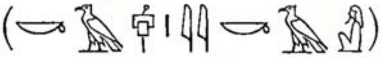
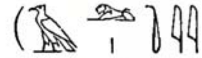
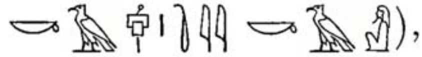
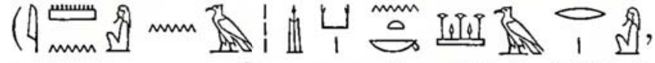
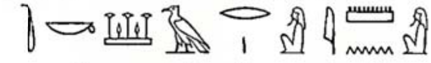
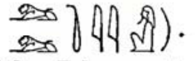
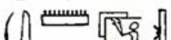
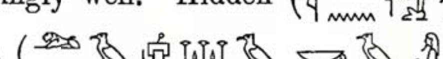
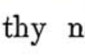
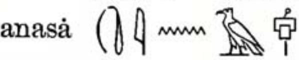
[1]  .

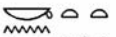
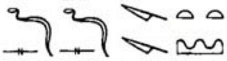
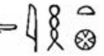
"wherein he will no more appear, and 'Ān' (?) () is his "name. O let him be a perfect spirit, or (as others say) a strong "spirit, and let him be the soul of the mighty body which is in "Sau (Saïs), the city of Net (Neith)."

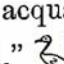
The third passage is Chapter clxv., which is really a petition to Ȧmen-Rā by the deceased wherein the most powerful of the magical names of the god are enumerated. The vignette of the chapter contains the figure of an ithyphallic god with the body of a beetle; on his head are the characteristic plumes of Ȧmen, and his right arm is raised like that of Ȧmsu, or Min, the god of the reproductive powers of nature. The text reads, "Hail, thou "BEKHENNU (), Bekhennu! Hail, Prince, Prince! "Hail Ȧmen, Hail Ȧmen! Hail PAR, Hail IUKASA ( ")! Hail God, Prince of the gods of the eastern "parts of heaven, ȦMEN-NATHEKERETHI-ȦMEN ( "). Hail, thou whose skin is hidden, whose "form is secret, thou lord of the two horns [who wast born of] "Nut, thy name is Na-ȧri-k (, or Ka-ȧri-k, "), and Kasaika (), "is thy name. Thy name is Arethi-kasathi-ka ( "), and thy name is Ȧmen-naiu-ȧn-"ka-entek-share (, "or Thekshare-Ȧmen-Rerethi,  "). Hail, Ȧmen, let me make supplication unto thee, "for I know thy name, and [the mention of] thy transformations "is in my mouth, and thy skin is before mine eyes. Come, I pray "thee, and place thou thine heir and thine image, myself, in the "everlasting underworld. Grant thou that all my members may "repose in Neter-khertet (the underworld), or (as others say) "in Ȧḳertet (the underworld); let my whole body become like "unto that of a god, let me escape from the evil chamber and let "me not be imprisoned therein; for I worship thy name. Thou

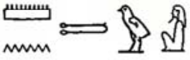
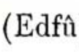
"hast made for me a skin, and thou hast understood [my] speech, "and thou knowest it exceedingly well. Hidden () "is thy name, O Letasashaka (), "and I have made for thee a skin. Thy name is Ba-ire-qai "( ), thy name is Mārqathȧ (
"), thy name is Rerei (), thy name is Nasa-"qebubu ( ), thy name is Thȧnasa-"Thanasȧ (), thy name is Sharshathȧkathȧ "( ).

"O Ȧmen, O Ȧmen, O God, O God, O Ȧmen, I adore thy "name, grant thou to me that I may understand thee; grant "thou that I may have peace in the Ṭuat (underworld), and that "I may possess all my members therein." And the divine Soul which is in Nut saith, "I will make my divine strength to protect "thee, and I will perform everything which thou hast said." This interesting text was ordered to be recited over a figure of the "god of the lifted hand," i.e., of Ȧmen in his character of the god of generation and reproduction, painted blue, and the knowledge of it was to be kept from the god SUḲAṬI ( ), in the Ṭuat; if the directions given in the rubric were properly carried out it would enable the deceased to drink water in the underworld from the deepest and purest part of the celestial stream, and he would become "like the stars in the heavens above."

A perusal of the above composition shows that we are dealing with a class of ideas concerning Ȧmen, or Ȧmen-Rā, which, though clearly based on ancient Egyptian beliefs, are peculiar to the small group of Chapters which are found at the end of the Saïte Recension of the *Book of the Dead*. The forms of the magical names of Ȧmen are not Egyptian, and they appear to indicate, as the late Dr. Birch said, a Nubian origin. The fact that the Chapters with the above prayers in them are found in a papyrus containing so complete a copy of the Saïte Recension proves that they were held to be of considerable importance in the Ptolemaïc period, and they probably represented beliefs which were widespread at that time. Long before that, however, Ȧmen-Rā was identified with Horus in all his forms, and Rā in all his forms, and Osiris in all his forms, and the fathers and mothers of these gods were declared to be his; he was also made to be the male counterpart of all the very ancient goddesses of the South and the North, and the paternity of their offspring was attributed to him.

From what has been said above it is evident that the worship of Ȧmen-Rā spread through all the country both to the north and south of Thebes, and the monuments prove that it made its way into all the dominions of Egypt in Syria, and in Nubia, and in the Oases. In Upper Egypt its centres were Thebes, Hermonthis, Coptos, Panopolis, Cusae, Hermopolis Magna, and Herakleopolis Magna; in Lower Egypt they were Memphis, Saïs, Xoïs, Metelis, Heliopolis, Babylon, Mendes, Thmuis, Diospolis, Butus, and the Island of Khemmis; in the Libyan desert the Oases of Kenemet,  (i.e., the Oasis of the South, or Al-Khârgeh), Tchestcheset,  (i.e., Oasis Minor, or Dâkhel), Ta-âḥet,  (i.e., Farâfra), and the great Oasis of Jupiter Ammon; in Nubia, Wâdî Sabû'a, Abû Simbel, Napata, and Meroë; and in Syria at several places which were called Diospolis.

The worship of Ȧmen-Rā was introduced into Nubia by its Egyptian conquerors early in the XIIth Dynasty, and the inhabitants of that country embraced it with remarkable fervour; the hold which it had gained upon them was much strengthened when an Egyptian viceroy, who bore the title of "royal son of Cush," was appointed to rule over the land, and no efforts were spared to make Napata a second Thebes. The Nubians were from the poverty of their country unable to imitate the massive temples of Karnak and Luxor, and the festivals which they celebrated in honour of the Nubian Ȧmen-Rā, and the processions which they made in his honour, lacked the splendour and magnificence of the Theban capital; still, there is no doubt that, considering the means which they had at their disposal, they erected temples for the worship of Ȧmen-Rā of very considerable size and solidity. The hold which the priesthood of Åmen-Rā of Thebes had upon the Nubians was very great, for in the troublous times which followed after the collapse of their power as priest-kings of Egypt, the remnant of the great brotherhood made its way to Napata, and settling down there made plans and schemes for the restoration of their rule in Egypt; fortunately for Egypt their designs were never realized. In Syria also the cult of Åmen-Rā was introduced by the Egyptians under the XVIIIth Dynasty, a fact which is proved by the testimony of the Tell el-'Amarna tablets. Thus in a letter from the inhabitants of the city of Tunep,[1] , to the king of Egypt (i.e., Åmen-ḥetep III. or his son Åmen-ḥetep IV.) the writers remind him that the gods worshipped in the city of Tunep are the same as those of Egypt, and that the form of the worship is the same. From an inscription[2] of Thothmes III. at Karnak we know that in the 29th year of his reign this king offered up sacrifices to his gods at Tunep, and it is probable that the worship of Åmen-Rā in Northern Syria dates from this time. On the other hand Akizzi, the governor of Ḳaṭna, in writing to inform Åmen-ḥetep III. that the king of the Khatti had seized and carried off the image of the Sun-god, begs that the king of Egypt will send him sufficient gold to ransom the image, and he does so chiefly on the grounds that in ancient days the kings of Egypt adopted the worship of the Sun-god, presumably from the Syrians, and that they called themselves after the name of the god. To emphasize his appeal Akizzi addresses Åmen-ḥetep III. as the "son of the Sun-god," a fact which proves that he was acquainted with the meaning of the title "sa Rā," i.e., "son of Rā," , which every Egyptian king bore from the time of the Vth Dynasty onwards. This evidence supports an old tradition to the effect that the Heliopolitan form of the worship of the Sun-god was derived from Heliopolis in Syria.

In connexion with Åmen-Rā must be mentioned an important form of the Sun-god which was called MENTHU, , or MENTHU-RĀ, ; though he was commonly described as "lord of Thebes," the chief seat of his worship was at Hermonthis, the Ȧnnu-Rest, , i.e., "Heliopolis of the South," of the hieroglyphic texts. Menthu was probably an old local god whose cult was sufficiently important to make it necessary for the priests of Ȧmen to incorporate him with the great god of Thebes, and he appears to have been a personification of the destructive heat of the sun. The chief centres of his worship were Ȧnnu of the South, Thebes, Ȧnnu of the North, Tchertet,  (Edfû), Dendera, and perhaps the temples of

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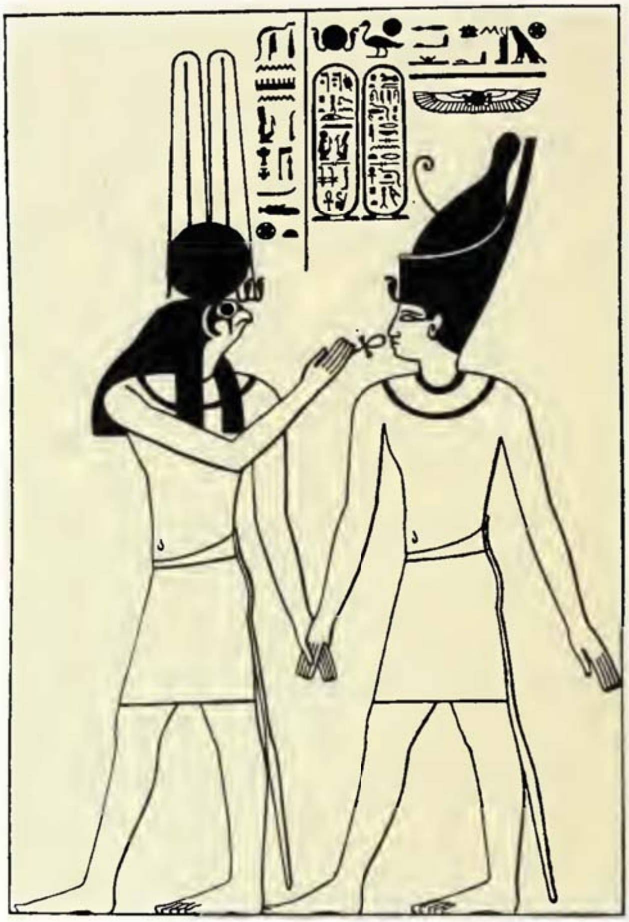
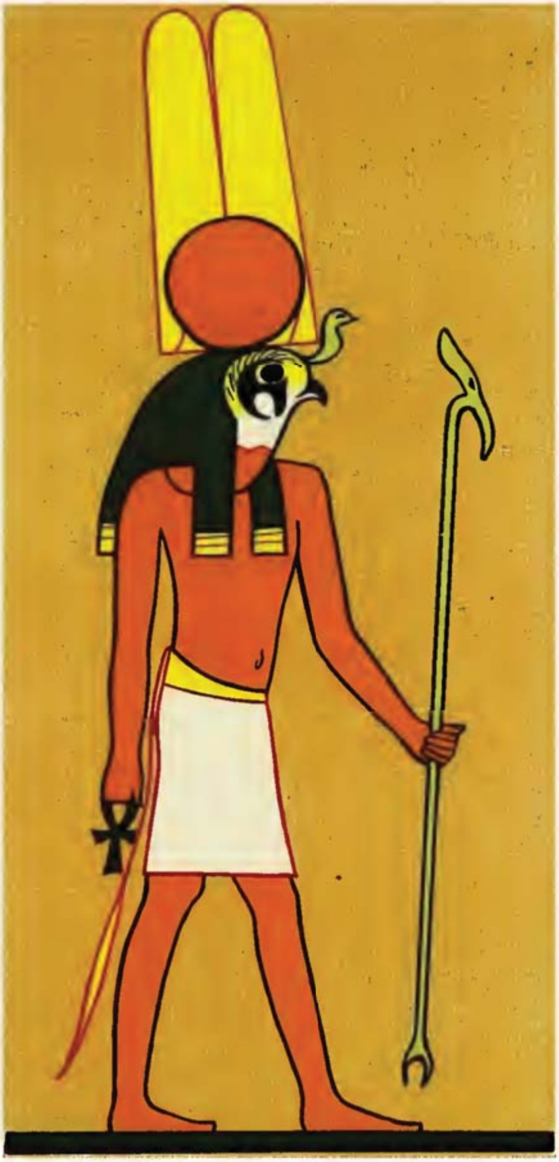
[1] See *The Tell el-'Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, pp. lxv., lxxi.

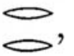
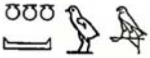
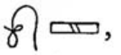
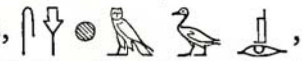
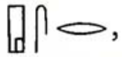
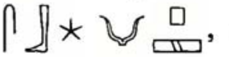
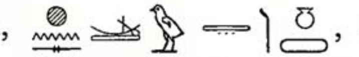
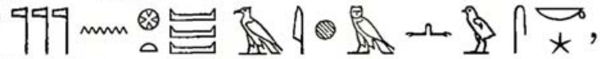
[2] Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 13, l. 2.

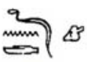
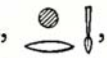
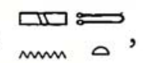
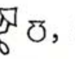
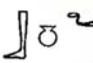


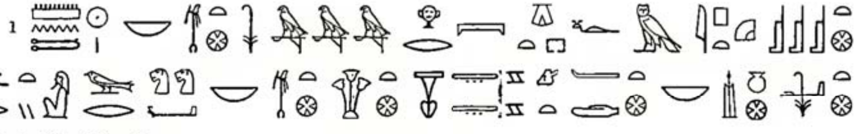
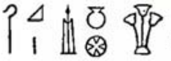
Menthu giving "life" to Ptolemy Alexander.

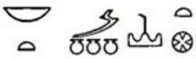


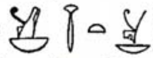
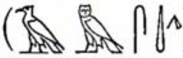
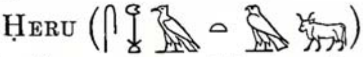
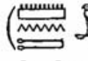
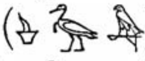
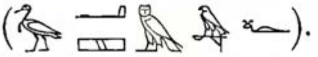
MENTHU, LORD OF THEBES.

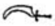
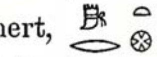
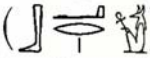
the First Cataract, and his commonest titles are, "MENTHU-RĀ, lord "of Thebes, King of the gods, he who is on his throne in Åptet, "MERTI, mighty one of two-fold strength, lord of Thebes of the "North, Sma-taui, Governor of Beḥuṭet, lord of Ånnu of the South, "prince of Ånnu of the North,"[1] and "lord of Manu," i.e., the Libyan mountain.[2] Menthu is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts (Mer-en-Rā, line 784), together with a number of ancient gods, in such a way that we may be certain that his worship was widespread, even in the VIth Dynasty. Thus Kheperà , and Nu, , and Tem, and UASH, , the son of Seb, and Sekhem, the son of Osiris, , are entreated to hearken to the words which the dead king is about to address to them. Nekhebet of the Temple of Sar, , in Heliopolis is said to protect him, he is identified with the star Åpsh, , and the gods who traverse the land of the Theḥennu, , and who live on the "indestructible heavens," , are besought to allow him to be with them.

Five obscure gods are next mentioned, i.e., TCHENṬ, , KHER, , SHENTHET, , KHENU, , and BENUTCH, , and then it is said that "Seb hearkeneth to him, Tem "provideth him with his form, Thoth heareth for him that which "is in the books of the gods, Horus openeth out a path for him, "Set protecteth him, and Mer-en-Rā riseth in the eastern part of "heaven even as doth Rā. He hath gone forth from Pe with the "spirits of Pe, he is even as is Horus and is fortified by the Great

[1] 
; see Lanzone, op. cit., p. 294.

[2] .

"and the Little Companies of the gods. He riseth in the condition of a king, he entereth into heaven like Åp-uat, he hath "received the White Crown and the Green Crown (), "his club is with him, his weapon (or sceptre) *ams* (), "is in his grasp, his mother is Isis, his nurse is Nephthys, and the "cow SEKHAT-ḤERU () giveth him milk. Net "is behind him, Serqet is on his two hands. . . . Let him pass, "and let his flesh pass, let him pass, and let his apparel pass, "for he hath gone forth as MENTH (), he hath gone down "like BA (), and he hath hunted like BA-ĀSHEM-F" (). Of the origin and early history of Menthu nothing is known, but his worship must have been very ancient if we are to judge by the passage quoted above from the text of king Mer-en-Rā, for, although mentioned with the two obscure gods Ba and Ba-āshem-f, it is quite clear that he was a great god and that the deceased hoped to resemble him in the Underworld. Menthu is twice mentioned in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, but curiously enough, only as one of a number of gods. Thus, in Chapter cxl. 6, together with Rā, Tem, Uatchet, Shu, Seb, Osiris, Suti, Horus, Bāḥ, Rā-er-neḥeḥ, Teḥuti, Nāȧm, Tchetta, Nut, Isis, Nephthys, Hathor, Nekht, Mert (?), Maāt, Ånpu, and Ta-mes-tchetta, he is said to be the "soul and body of Rā," and in Chapter clxxi. his name occurs among the names of Tem, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Set, Nephthys, Ḥeru-khuti, Hathor, Kheperȧ, Åmen, etc., who are entreated to bestow a garment of purity upon the deceased. Menthu is usually depicted in the form of a man with the head of a hawk, whereon he wears a crown formed of the solar disk with the uraeus and two high plumes; as such he is styled "lord of Thebes."

In a figure reproduced by Lanzone[1] he has two hawks' heads, each of which is provided with the solar disk, two uraei, and two plumes; in his right hand Menthu grasps the scimitar, , which indicates that he was a god of war. Another proof of his warlike attributes is a scene[1] in which he is depicted, with a long spear having a bronze or iron head, in the act of spearing a foe, whose hands and feet are tied together. In the city of Tchert, , Menthu was worshipped under the form of a man with the head of a bull, but instead of the solar disk he wears on his head the lunar crescent and disk, sometimes with and sometimes without plumes. The warlike character of this local form of Menthu is indicated by the bow and arrows, and club, and knife which he holds in his hands, and we are justified in assuming that he was a personification of the fierce, destroying heat of the sun which warred against the enemies of the Sun-god, and smote them to the death with his burning rays which were like fiery spears and darts. In the narrative of the battle of Kadesh we are told that Rameses II. "rose up as Rā riseth, and took the weapons ( ) "of father Menthu," and that when he saw the foe before him "he raged at them like Menthu, lord of Thebes, and took his "weapons in his hand," and that having become like "Bār () in his hour," he leaped into his chariot and drove headlong into the battle, wherein he, of course, gained a great victory. Elsewhere Menthu is often styled the "mighty bull," and it is possible that originally this god was nothing but a personification of the strength and might of the raging bull when fighting a foe, and that his worship in one form or another existed in predynastic times. It must, in any case, be very ancient, because when joined to Rā his name comes first in the compound name and we have "Menthu-Rā" instead of Rā-Menthu. The pictures of the god reproduced by Lanzone[2] prove that the god possessed other phases which are not at present well understood. Thus he is represented standing upright, with the head of a hawk, and he holds in the right hand what appears to be an ear of corn and in the left a vase, as if he were in the act of making offerings. In another scene the god, hawk-headed and wearing the solar disk encircled by a uraeus, is seated on a throne and is represented in the act of embracing a young Horus god who wears on his head the solar disk with plumes, and a tight-fitting cap with a uraeus in front of it, and who stands on the edge of the throne by the side of the god.

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[1] Op. cit., pl. 119, No. 3.

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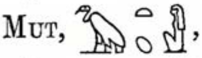
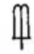
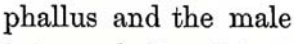
[1] Op. cit., pl. 120, No. 4.

[2] *Ibid.*, pl. 120.

The principal female counterpart of Ȧmen-Rā, the king of the gods, in the New Empire was MUT, , whose name means "Mother," and in all her attributes we see that she was regarded as the great "world-mother," who conceived and brought forth whatsoever exists. The pictures of the goddess usually represent her in the form of a woman wearing on her head the united crowns of the South and the North, and holding in her hands the papyrus sceptre and the emblem of life. Elsewhere we see her in female form standing upright, with her arms, to which large wings are attached, stretched out full length at right angles to her body; at her feet is the feather of Maāt. She wears the united crowns, as before stated, but from each shoulder there projects the head of a vulture; one vulture wears the crown of the North, , and the other two plumes, ,[1] though sometimes each vulture head has upon it two plumes, which are probably those of Shu or Ȧmen-Rā. In other pictures the goddess has the heads of a woman or man, a vulture, and a lioness, and she is provided with a phallus, and a pair of wings, and the claws of a lion or lioness. In the vignette of the clxivth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* she is associated with two dwarfs, each of whom has two faces, one of a hawk and one of a man, and each of whom has an arm lifted to support the symbol of the god Ȧmsu or Min, and wears upon his head a disk and plumes. In the text which accompanies the vignette, though the three-headed goddess is distinctly called "Mut" in the Rubric, she is addressed as "SEKHET-BAST-RĀ," , a fact which accounts for the presence of the phallus and the male head on a woman's body, and proves that Mut was believed to possess both the male and female attributes of reproduction.

We have already seen that the originally obscure god Ȧmen was, chiefly through the force of political circumstances, made to

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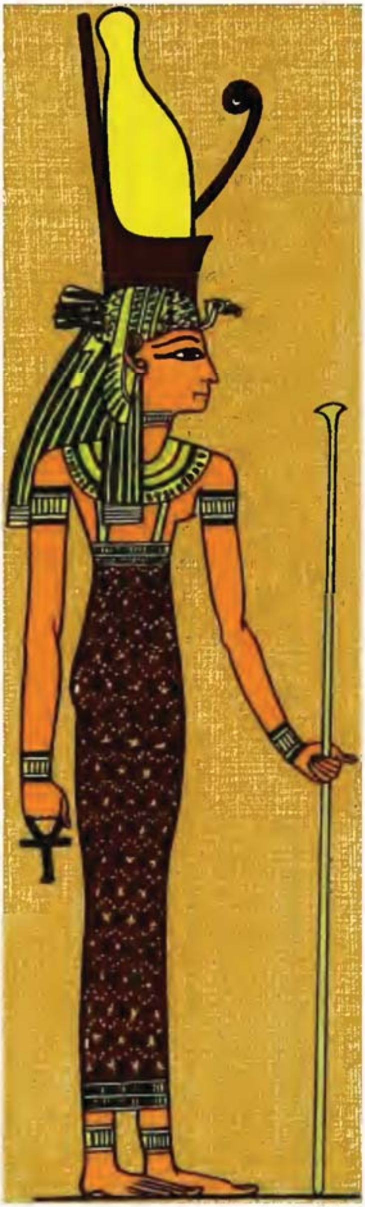
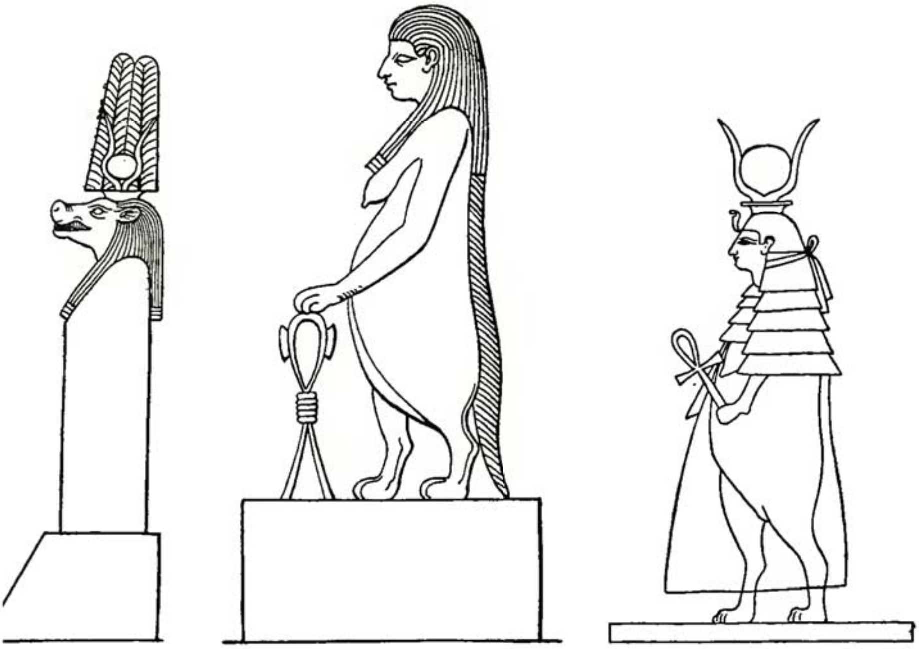
[1] Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 136.



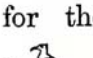
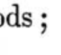
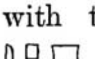
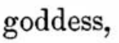
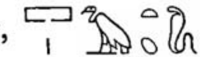
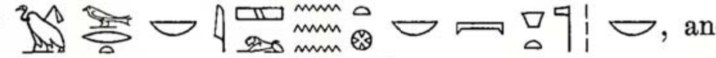
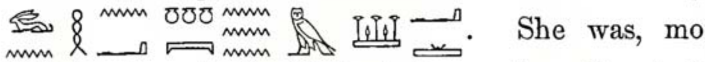
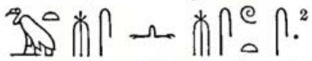
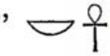
THE GODDESS MUT, THE LADY OF THEBES.

usurp the attributes and powers of the older gods of Egypt, and we can see by such figures of the goddess as those described above that Mut was, in like fashion, identified with the older goddesses of the land with whom, originally, she had nothing in common. Thus the head of the lioness which projects from one shoulder indicates that she was identified with Sekhet or Bast, and the vulture heads prove that her cult was grafted on to that of Nekhebet, and the double crowns show that she united in herself all the attributes of all the goddesses of the South and North.



Ȧpet.

Thus we find her name united with the names of other goddesses, e.g., Mut-Temt, Mut-Uatchet-Bast, Mut-Sekhet-Bast-Menḥit, and among her aspects she included those of Isis, and Iusāaset. Locally she usurped the position of Ȧment, 𓇋𓏠𓈖𓏏𓆇𓁐, the old female counterpart of Ȧmen and of Ȧpet, 𓇋𓊪𓏏𓉐𓁐, the personification of the ancient settlement Ȧpt, from which is derived the name "Thebes" (Ta-ȧpt); she was also identified with the goddess of Ȧmentet, i.e., Hathor in one of her forms as lady of the

Underworld; and with the primeval goddess ȦMENT, who formed one of the four goddesses of the company of the gods of Hermopolis, which was adopted in its entirety by the priests of Ȧmen for their gods; and with the predynastic goddess TA-URT, , or ȦPI, , (or, ȦPT, ); and, in short, with every goddess who could in any way be regarded as a "mother-goddess." The centre of the worship of Mut was the quarter of Thebes which was called Ȧsher, or Ȧshrel, or Ashrelt,[1] and which probably derived its name from the large sacred lake which existed there; the temple of the goddess, , Ḥet-Mut, with its sanctuary, , was situated a little to the south of the great temple of Ȧmen-Rā. From the inscriptions which have been found on the ruins of her temple we find that she was styled "Mut, the great lady of Ȧshert, the lady of heaven, the queen of the gods," , and that she was thought to have existed with Nu in primeval time, . She was, moreover, called "Mut, who giveth birth, but was herself not born of any," .[2] Here also we find her associated with several goddesses,[3] and referred to as the "lady of the life of the two lands," , and "lady of the house of Ptaḥ, lady of heaven, queen of the two lands," etc.

The great temple of Mut at Thebes was built by Ȧmen-ḥetep III., about B.C. 1450, and was approached from the temple of Ȧmen-Rā by an avenue of sphinxes; the southern half of the

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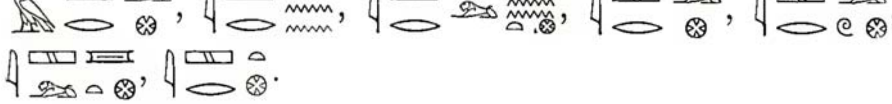
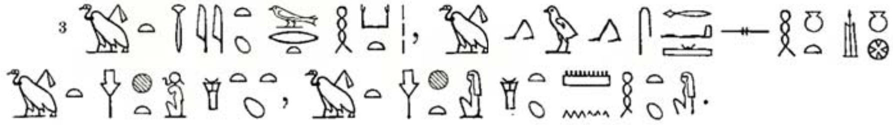
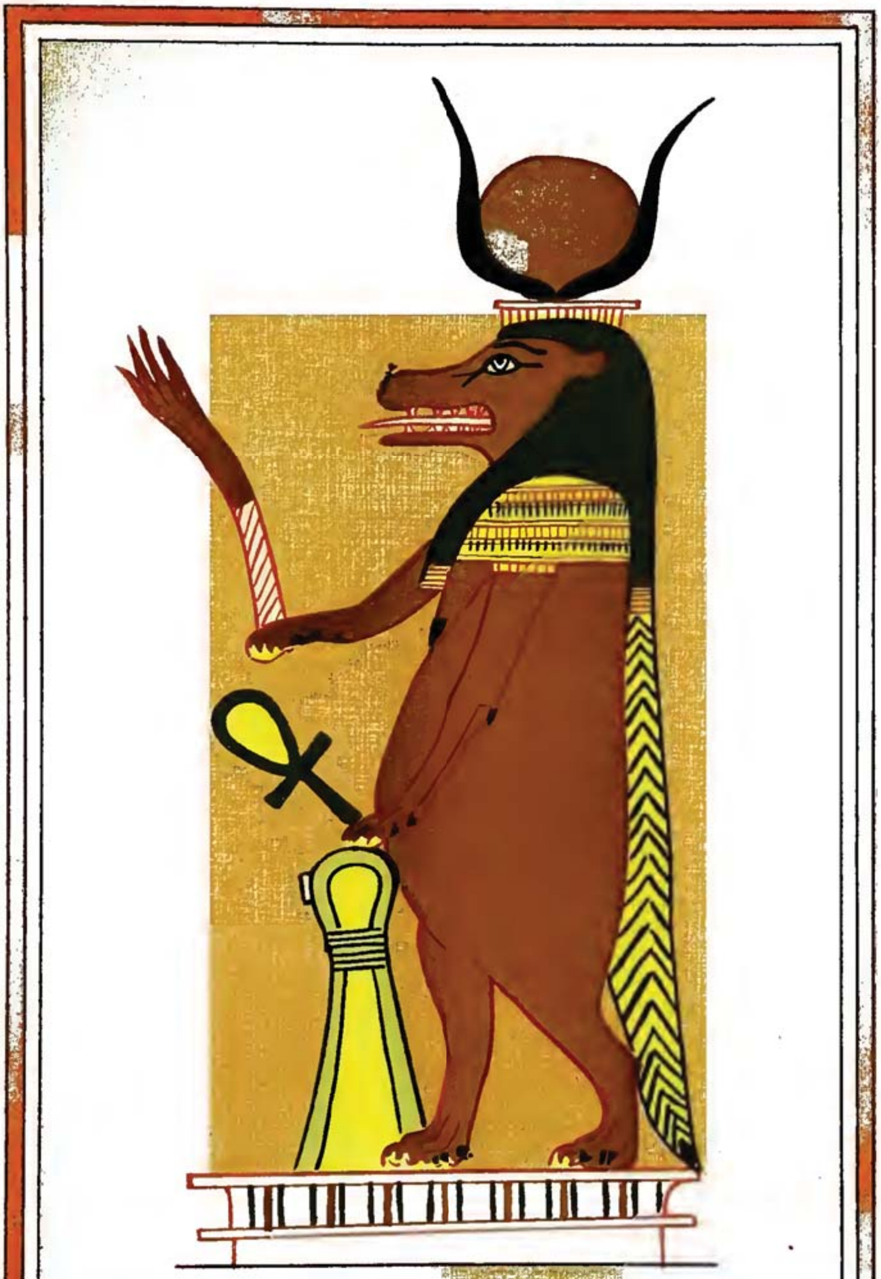
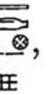
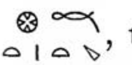
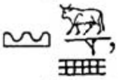
[1] The forms of the name given by Brugsch (*Dict. Géog.*, p. 73) are .

[2] Champollion, *Notices*, ii., p. 207.

[3] .



TA-URT (THOUERIS), THE ASSOCIATE OF HATHOR.

building overlooked a semi-circular lake on which the sacred procession of boats took place, and at intervals, both inside and outside the outer wall of the temple enclosure were placed statues of the goddess Mut, in the form of Sekhet, in black basalt. Another famous sanctuary of Mut was situated in the city of Pa-khen-Ȧment, , the *Παχναμουνίς* of Ptolemy (iv. 5, § 50), and the capital of the nome, , Sma-Beḥuṭet, the Diospolites of Lower Egypt. This city was also called "Thebes of the North," , or the "City of the North," , to distinguish it from Thebes, the great city of Ȧmen which is always referred to as the "City," *par excellence*. From the Egyptian word *nut*, "city," is derived the Biblical form "No," and the "No Amon" of Nahum iii. 8, which "was situate among "the rivers, *that had* the waters round about it, whose rampart "*was* the sea, *and* her wall *was* from the sea," can hardly be any other than the city of Ȧmen and Mut in the Delta. Among other shrines of Mut must be mentioned Bekhen, , a town in the Delta, which was probably situated in the sixth nome of Lower Egypt, the Khas, , of the Egyptians, and the Gynaecopolites of the Greeks. Dr. Brugsch pointed out that the deities worshipped at Bekhen were "the Bull Osiris," Ȧmen-Rā, Mut, and Khensu, and he considered[1] it probable that the city lay near the capital of the nome which was called Khasut, , by the Egyptians and *Χοΐς* by the Greeks. Another shrine of Nut was situated at Ān, , by which we are probably to understand the region in which *Ἡρώωνπόλις*, or Heroopolis, lay. The district of Ān, according to Dr. Brugsch, formed the neutral border between the South and the North, and a text quoted by him concerning it, says, "When Horus and Set were dividing "the country they took up their places one on one side of the "boundary and the other on the other, and they agreed that the

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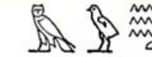
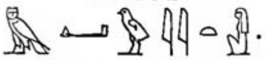
[1] *Dict. Géog.*, p. 202.

"country of Ān should form the frontier of the country on one "side of it, and that it should be the frontier of the other also."[1]

From what has been said above it appears that Mut was originally the female counterpart of Nu, and that she was one of the very few goddesses of whom it is declared that she was "never born," i.e., that she was self-produced. Her association with Nu suggests that she must be identified with or partake of some of the characteristics of a remarkable goddess who is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts (Unȧs, line 181) under the name of MUT, , a variant spelling of which is MĀUIT,[2] . Her name occurs in a passage in which a prayer is made on behalf of Unȧs that "he may see," and following is the petition, "O Rā, be good to him on this day since yester-"day" (*sic*);[3] after this come the words, "Unȧs hath had union "with the goddess Mut,[4] Unȧs hath drawn unto himself the flame "of Isis, Unȧs hath united himself to the lotus," etc.[5] The only mention of Mut in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* is found in a hymn to Osiris,[6] which forms the clxxxiiird Chapter; the deceased is made to say to the god, "Thou risest up like an "exalted being upon thy standard, and thy beauties exalt the "face of man and make long his footstep[s]. I have given unto "thee the sovereignty of thy father Seb, and the goddess Mut, thy

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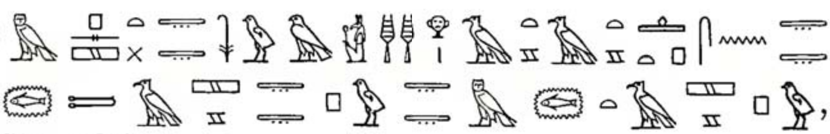
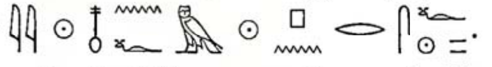
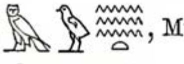
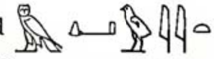
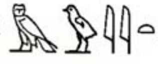
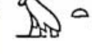
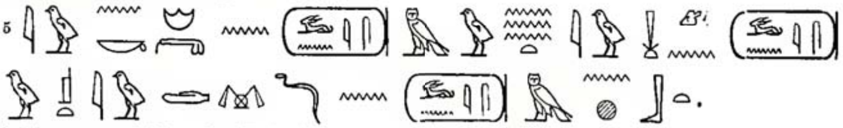
[1] 
Dict. Géog., p. 118.

[2] *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. iii., p. 197, note 1.

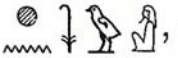
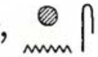
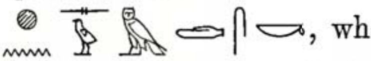
[3] 

[4] If , MUT, and , MĀUIT, and , MUIT, are the same goddess as , it would seem that her name was read as Mut, under the Early Empire.

[5] 

[6] *Papyrus of Hunefer*, Brit. Mus., No. 9,901, sheet 3.

"mother, who gave birth to the gods, brought thee forth as the "first-born of five gods, and created thy beauties and fashioned "thy members." The papyrus which contains this passage was written during the reign of Seti I., about B.C. 1370, and it is evident that at that period Mut was identified with Nut, and that she was made to be the female counterpart of Seb.

The third member of the great triad of Thebes was KHENSU, , who was declared to be the son of Åmen-Rā and Mut, and who was worshipped with great honour at Thebes. According to Dr. Brugsch,[1] the name "Khensu" is derived from the root *khens*, , "to travel, to move about, to run," and the like, and Signor Lanzone[2] renders the name by "il fugatore, il persecutore"; for both groups of meanings there is authority in the texts, but the translations proposed by the former scholar represent the commonest meaning of the word. Khensu was, in fact, the "traveller," and as he was a form of Thoth and was identified by the Thebans with the Moon-god the epithet was appropriate. As far back as the time of Unȧs the motion of Thoth as the Moon-god in the sky was indicated by the word *khens*, for in line 194 we read, "Unȧs goeth round about heaven like Rā, and travelleth "through heaven like Thoth."[3] In the passage of the text of the same king (line 510) which describes how he hunted, and killed, and ate the gods, mention is made of the god "KHENSU the slaughterer," , who "cut their throats for "the king, and drew out their intestines for him," and he is described as the "messenger whom he sent out to meet them."[4] Khensu the slaughterer and the messenger can, then, be no other than Khensu the Moon-god of later times, and thus we see that, under the Early Empire, Khensu occupied a very important position in the mythology of the period as the "messenger" of the great gods, and the "traveller" who journeyed through the sky

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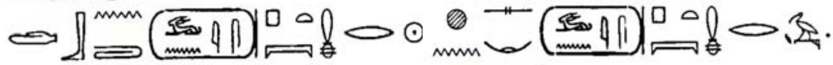
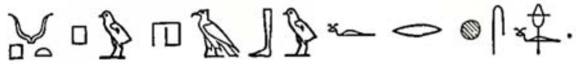
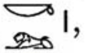
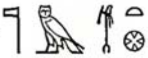
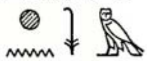
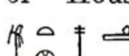
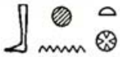
[1] *Religion*, p. 359.

[2] Op. cit., p. 973.

[3] 

[4] 

under the form of the moon. We have already referred to the great antiquity of the section of the text of Unȧs in which the hunting of the gods by the king is described, and there is every reason to believe that the existence of Khensu was formulated in the minds of the Egyptians in very primitive times, and that his name is older than the dynastic period. We may note in passing that the other gods mentioned in the section are Aker, , Tem, and Seb, all of whom are well known from texts of the dynastic period, and Tcheser-ṭep-f, Ḥer-Thertu, and Sheshemu,[1] who assist in marking, and snaring, and cutting up the gods. Among certain ancient Oriental nations the worship of the Moon always preceded that of the Sun, and there is reason for thinking that several of the oldest gods of Egypt were forms of the Moon in her various phases. In the theological system which the priests of Heliopolis succeeded in imposing upon the country some of these were preserved either by identification with the gods of the new scheme or by adoption, and comparatively fixed attributes were assigned to them. At a still later period, when the cult of Ȧmen and Ȧmen-Rā was common throughout the country, a further selection from the old gods was made, and some gods had positions apportioned to them in the company of the gods of Ȧmen-Rā at Thebes. The priesthood of that city showed great astuteness in making Khensu, one of the most ancient forms of the Moon-god, to be the son of Ȧmen-Rā, and in identifying him with the sons of the great cosmic gods Horus and Rā.

The chief centre of the worship of Khensu in the latter part of the dynastic period was Thebes, where Rameses III. built the famous "House of Khensu in Thebes," , or "House of Khensu in Thebes, Nefer-ḥetep,"  . As the great deity of his temple he was styled "great god, lord of heaven," "Khensu in Thebes, (surnamed) "Nefer-ḥetep, Horus, lord of joy of heart in the Ȧpts," and the texts show that shrines were built in his honour at Bekhent, ,

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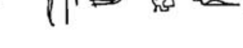
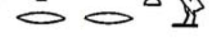
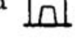
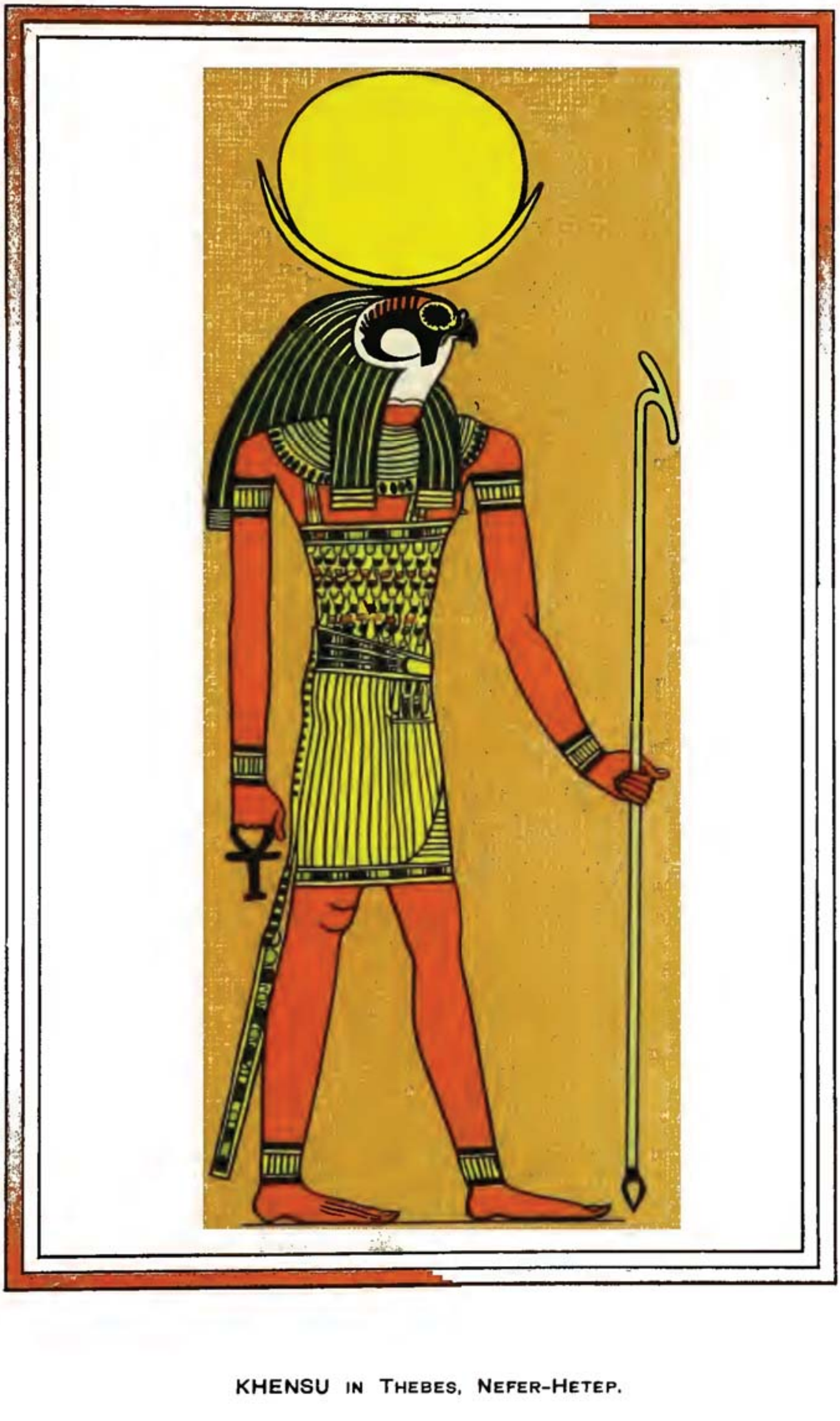
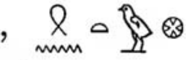
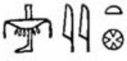
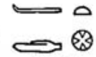
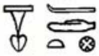
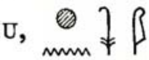
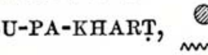
[1] , , and .



KHENSU IN THEBES, NEFER-HETEP.

in the Delta (?), at Shentu, , at Nubit,  (Ombos), at Beḥuṭet,  (Edfû), at Sma-Beḥuṭet, , and at Khemennu (Hermopolis). In the last-named place he was called "Khensu-Teḥuti, the twice great, the lord of Khemennu,"[1] a fact which proves that in the late dynastic times he was wholly identified with Thoth; as Khensu-Teḥuti he was also worshipped at Beḥuṭet, or Edfû. In Thebes his name was united with that of Rā and of Shu, and we find such forms as Khensu-Rā, , and Khensu-Shu, . The great temple of Khensu at Thebes appears to have contained three shrines, which probably corresponded to three aspects of the god, and we thus have:—
1. The Temple of Khensu. 2. The Temple of Khensu in Thebes, Nefer-ḥetep. 3. The Temple of Khensu, who worketh [his] plans in Thebes, .[2] The forms of the god Khensu-pa-khaṛṭ, , i.e., "Khensu the Babe," and Khensu-Ḥunnu, , i.e., "Khensu the Child," were probably worshipped in the main portion of the temple, for they were purely forms of the Moon-god, and they bore the same relation to him that Ḥeru-pa-khart (Harpocrates) and Ḥeru-Ḥunnu bore to Horus the Great or to Rā.

From a series of extracts quoted by Dr. Brugsch[3] from the inscriptions on the temple of Khensu at Thebes we find that he was the "lord of Maāt," like Ptaḥ, and the "moon by night"; as the new moon he is likened to a mighty, or fiery bull, and as the full moon he is said to resemble an emasculated bull. As Khensu-pa-khart he caused to shine upon the earth the beautiful light of the crescent moon, and through his agency women conceived, cattle became fertile, the germ grew in the egg, and all nostrils and throats were filled with fresh air. He was the second great light in the heavens, and was the "first great [son] of Ȧmen, the "beautiful youth, who maketh himself young in Thebes in the

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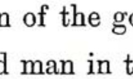
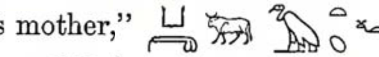
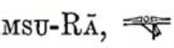
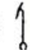
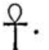
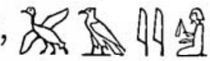
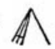
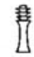
[2] Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 600.

[3] *Religion*, p. 360 f.

"form of Rā, the son of the goddess Nubit, , a child in "the morning, an old man in the evening, a youth at the beginning "of the year, who cometh as a child after he had become infirm, "and who reneweth his births like the Disk."[1] From this passage it appears that Khensu-pa-kharṭ was both the spring sun, and the spring moon, and also the moon at the beginning of each month, in fact, the symbol of the renewed light of the sun and moon, and the source of generation and reproduction. In these aspects he was readily identified with many forms of the young Sun-god, whether Horus or Rā, and with some of the gods of reproduction, e.g., Ȧmsu, or Min. As a Horus god he became the son of Osiris, the "Bull of Ȧmentet," and of one of the forms of Isis, and as the "Bull of his mother," , he was identified with Ȧmsu-Rā, , and was regarded as the brother of the Bull Osiris. As Dr. Brugsch pointed out,[2] the "two Bulls" mentioned in texts of the late period are Osiris and Khensu, and they represent the Sun and the Moon.

The forms in which Khensu is depicted on the monuments are of considerable interest, and may be thus described. Whether standing or seated on a throne he has usually the body of a man with the head of a hawk; sometimes, however, his head also is that of a man. He wears on his head the lunar disk in a crescent, , or the solar disk with a uraeus, or the solar disk with the plumes and a uraeus. As "Khensu of Beḥuṭet, the great god, lord of heaven," he is seen seated on a throne and holding in his hands  and . As Khensu Nefer-ḥetep he appears on the stele of Pai, , in the form of a mummied man seated on a throne;[3] over his forehead is the uraeus of royalty and by the side of his head is the lock of youth. Behind his neck hangs the *menàt* , and below his chin is the collar which is usually worn by Hathor; in his hands are , , , and . On the stele behind his back are two pairs of ears and two pairs of eyes,

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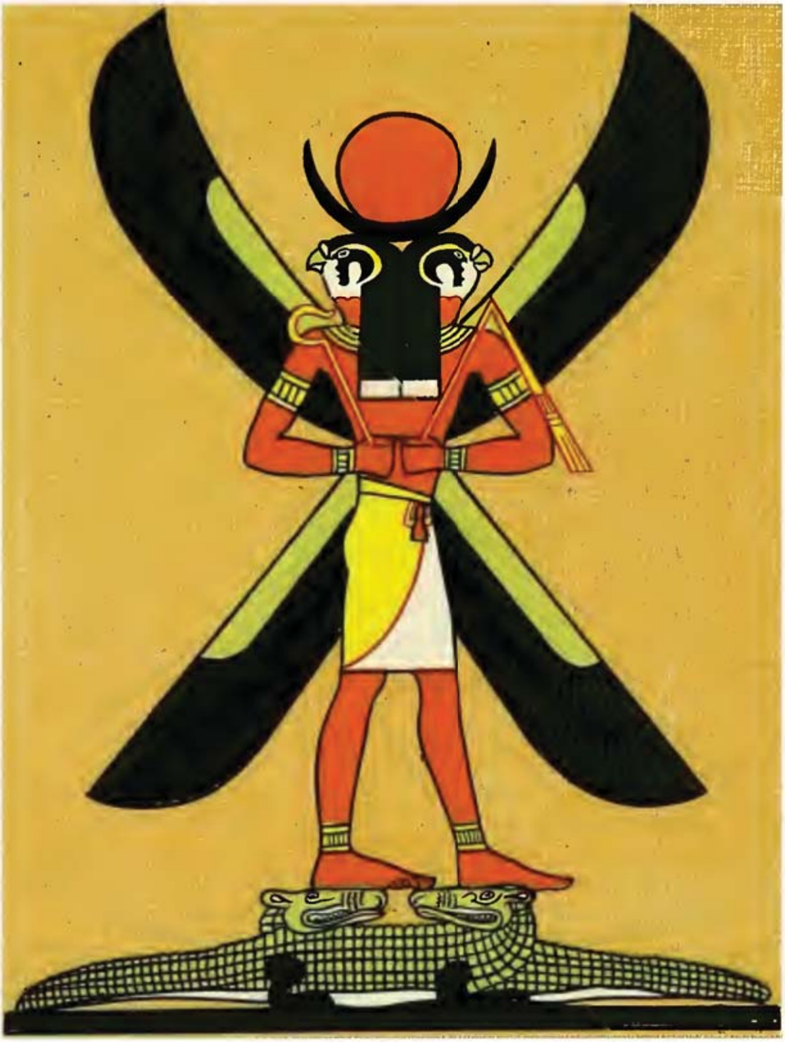
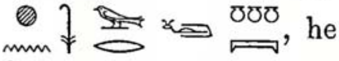
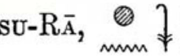
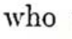
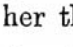
[1] Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 511. [2] *Religion*, p. 362.

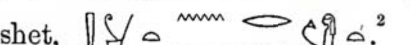
[3] See Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 340.



The dual God KHENSU standing upon Crocodiles.

, and the deceased is made to address the god as "lord of the gods, Khensu-Nefer-ḥetep-Teḥuti, lord of Ȧnnu "rest (i.e., Ȧnnu of the South), chief Mābi ( ), peace, "peace, O gracious one, who art at peace, and who lovest "peace." As "Khensu, the mighty, who cometh forth from Nu," , he is provided with two hawks' heads, one facing to the right and the other to the left, and four wings, and he stands with each foot upon the head of a crocodile; on his heads rest the lunar crescent and disk. In this form he represents both the sun at sunrise and the new moon, and the two crocodiles symbolize the two great powers of darkness over which he has triumphed. As "Khensu, the chronographer," , he wears the solar disk on his head and holds a stylus in his right hand, and as Khensu-Rā, , he wears the crown, .

The phase of Khensu which appears to have been of the greatest interest to the Egyptians was that which was deified under the name of Khensu Nefer-ḥetep. This god not only ruled the month, but he was also supposed to possess absolute power over the evil spirits which infested earth, air, sea, and sky, and which made themselves hostile to man and attacked his body under the forms of pains, sicknesses, and diseases, and produced decay, and madness, and death. He it was, moreover, who made plants to grow, and fruit to ripen, and animals to conceive, and to men and women he was the god of love. We have no means of knowing what views the Egyptians held concerning the influence of the moon on the minds of human beings on the seventh, fourteenth, and twenty-first day of its age, but it is probable that, like the Arabs, they assigned to it different and special powers on each of these days. In the reign of Rameses III. a large temple was built at Thebes in honour of the Moon-god, and according to a tradition which his priests in very much later times caused to be inscribed upon a stone stele, the fame of his Theban representative was so wide-spread that it reached to a remote country called Bekhten, which was situated at a distance of a journey of seventeen months from Egypt.[1] According to this tradition a king of Egypt, who was probably Rameses II., was in the country of Nehern, , i.e., a portion of Western Syria near the Euphrates, collecting tribute according to an annual custom, when the "prince of Bekhten" came with the other chiefs to salute his majesty and to bring a gift. The other chiefs brought gold, and lapis-lazuli, and turquoise, and precious woods, but the prince of Bekhten brought with his offerings his eldest daughter, who was exceedingly beautiful; the king accepted the maiden, and took her to Egypt, where he made her the chief royal wife and gave her the Egyptian name of Rā-neferu , i.e., the "beauties of Rā," the Sun-god.

Some time after, that is to say, in the fifteenth year of the reign of the king of Egypt, the prince of Bekhten appeared in Thebes on the xxiind day of the second month of summer, and when he had been led into the presence he laid his offerings at the feet of the king, and did homage to him. As soon as he had the opportunity he explained the object of his visit to Egypt, and said that he had come on behalf of the young sister of Queen Rā-neferu, who was grievously sick, and he begged the king to send a physician to see his daughter Bent-Reshet, , or Bent-enth-reshet, .[2] Thereupon the king summoned into his presence all the learned men of his court, and called upon them to choose from among their number a skilled physician that he might go to Bekhten and heal the Queen's young sister; the royal scribe Teḥuti-em-ḥeb was recommended for this purpose, and the king at once sent him off with the envoy from Bekhten to that country. In due course he arrived there and found that the princess of Bekhten was under the influence of

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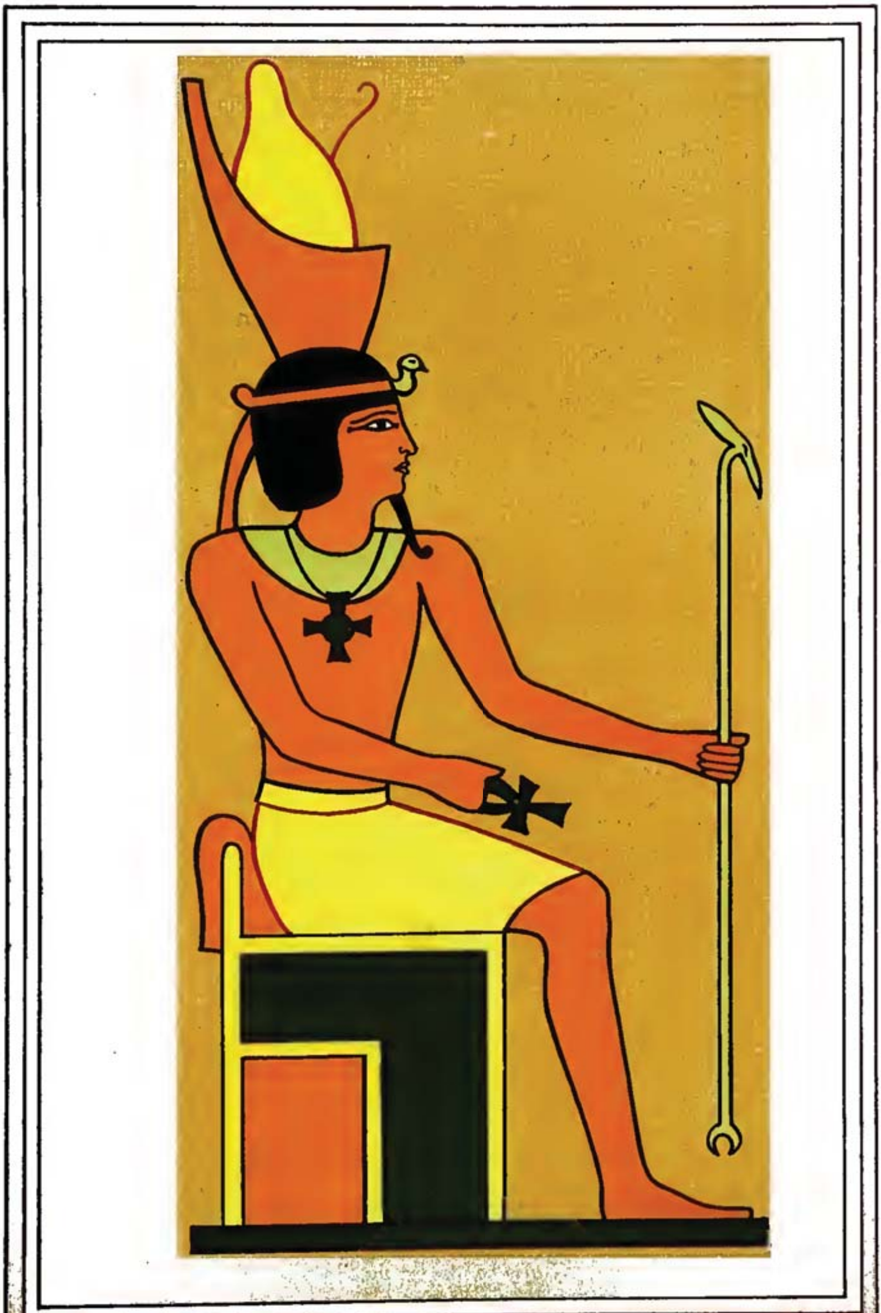
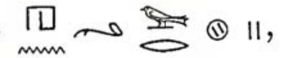
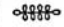
[1] See Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, tom. ii., tav. 48; de Rougé, *Journal Asiatique*, 5e série, tom. viii., pp. 201-248; x., pp. 112-168; xi., pp. 509-572; xii., pp. 221-270; and my *Egyptian Reading Book*, pp. xxvii. ff. and 40 ff.

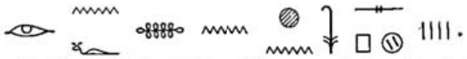
[2] The meaning of this name appears to be "daughter of joy," or "daughter of pleasure," *reshet* being a well-known word for pleasure, joy, and the like; the first part of the name *bent* must represent the Semitic word *bath*, בַּת, "daughter," from בֶּנֶת = בַּנְתּ.



NEFER-ḤETEP.

some evil spirit, which he was powerless either to exorcise or to contend with in any way successfully. When the king of Bekhten saw that his daughter was in no way benefited by the Egyptian scribe, he despatched his envoy a second time to Egypt with the petition that the king would send a god to heal his daughter, and the envoy arrived in Thebes at the time when the king was celebrating the festival of Ȧmen.

As soon as the king had heard what was wanted he went into the temple of Khensu Nefer-ḥetep, and said to the god, "O my "fair Lord, I have come once again into thy presence [to entreat] "thee on behalf of the daughter of the Prince of Bekhten"; and he entreated him to allow the god Khensu to go to Bekhten, and said, "Grant that thy magical (or, saving) power may go with "him, and let me send his divine Majesty into Bekhten to deliver "the daughter of the Prince of that land from the power of the "demon." The king of Egypt, of course, made his request to a statue of the god Khensu Nefer-ḥetep, and the text of the stele affords reason for believing that the statue was provided with a moveable head, for after each of the petitions of the king we have the words *hen ur sep sen* , which mean that the god "nodded firmly twice" as a sign of his assent to the king's wishes. The head of the statue was worked by some mechanical contrivance which was in the hands of the priests, and there is little doubt that not only the head, but also the arms and hands of statues of the gods were made to move by means of cords or levers that were under the control of the high priest or priest in charge. When the god was unwilling to grant the request of the suppliant the head or limbs of his statue remained motionless. In the present case the king first asked Khensu-Nefer-ḥetep to send Khensu to Bekhten, and when the god had nodded his assent, he further asked him to bestow upon Khensu his *sa* , i.e., his magical, or divine, or saving power.

From this passage we learn that a god was able to transfer his power to work wonders from himself to a statue, and the text tells us that Khensu Nefer-ḥetep bestowed upon the statue of Khensu which was to go to Bekhten a fourfold portion of his power and spirit, . How this was done is not stated, but it is tolerably certain that the statue of Khensu was brought near that of Khensu Nefer-ḥetep, and that the hands of the latter were made to move and to rest upon the head or shoulders of the former four times. That statues of gods were made to move their arms and hands on special occasions is well known, and in proof may be quoted the instance given in the Stele of the Nubian prince Nȧstasenen. Before this prince was crowned king, we are told, he was one of those who were chosen by the priests of Ȧmen, the great god of Napata, to appear in the Temple of the Holy Mountain in order that their god might tell them which was to be king of those of the royal family who were claimants of the throne of Nubia. On a certain day all the young princes assembled in the chamber wherein was the statue of the god, and as they passed before it the arms and hands of Ȧmen-Rā extended themselves and took hold of the prince whom the god had chosen to be his representative upon the throne of Nubia, and he was forthwith acclaimed by the priests and generals of the soldiers, and in due course his coronation took place. It would be idle to assume that statues of gods with moveable heads and limbs were employed in this way in Nubia only, and we may be quite certain that the Nubian priests of Ȧmen-Rā merely followed the customs connected with the election of kings which were current in Egypt. The better informed among the people must have known that the limbs of the statue were moved by mechanism worked by the priests, but the ignorant, who believed that the doubles of the gods animated their statues, would assume that it was they who moved the head and limbs of the statues and gave them a voice to speak.[1]

Returning to the narrative of the Stele we find that the king of Egypt despatched Khensu to Bekhten, where the god arrived after a journey of seventeen months. As soon as he had been welcomed to the country by the Prince of Bekhten and his generals and nobles the god went to the place where the princess was, and he found that Bent-reshet was possessed of an evil spirit; but as soon as he had made use of his magical power the demon eft her and she was healed straightway. Then that demon spoke o Khensu, and acknowledged his power, and having tendered to him his unqualified submission he offered to return to his own place; but he begged Khensu to ask the Prince of Bekhten to make a feast at which they both might be present, and he did so, and the god, and the demon, and the Prince spent a very happy day together. When the feast was concluded the demon returned o his own land, which he loved, according to his promise. As oon as the Prince recognized the power of Khensu he planned to keep him in Bekhten, and the god actually tarried there for three years, four months, and five days, but at length he departed rom his shrine and returned to Egypt in the form of a hawk of gold. When the king saw what had happened, he spoke to the priest, and declared to him his determination to send back to Egypt the chariot of Khensu, and when he had loaded him with gifts and offerings of every kind the Egyptians set out from Bekhten and made the journey back to Thebes in safety. On his eturn Khensu took all the gifts which had been given to him by he Prince of Bekhten, and carried them to the temple of Khensu Nefer-ḥetep, where he laid them at the feet of the god. Such is he story which the priests of Khensu under the New Empire were wont to relate concerning their god "who could perform mighty deeds and miracles, and vanquish the demons of darkness."[1]

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[1] Compare also Maspero, *Annuaire*, 1897, Paris, 1896, pp. 15 ff.; and *Le Double et les Statues Prophétiques*, p. 88.

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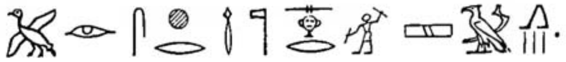
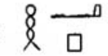
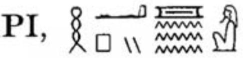
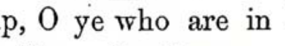
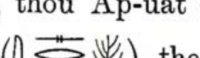
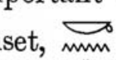
[1] 

CHAPTER II

ḤĀP, , OR ḤĀPI, , THE GOD OF THE NILE

IT has already been said above that the god Osiris was probably in predynastic times a river-god, or a water-god, and that in course of time he became identified with Ḥāp, or Ḥāpi, the god of the Nile; when such an identification took place we have no means of knowing, but that such was undoubtedly the case is apparent from large numbers of passages in texts of all periods. The meaning of the name of the Nile-god has not yet been satisfactorily explained, and the derivation proposed[1] for it by the priests in the late dynastic period in no way helps us; it is certain that Ḥep, later Ḥāp, is a very ancient name for the Nile and Nile-god, and it is probably the name which was given to the river by the predynastic inhabitants of Egypt. One of the oldest mentions of Ḥep is found in the text of Unȧs[2] (line 187), where it is said, "Keep watch, O messengers of Qa ( ), keep watch, "O ye who have lain down, wake up, O ye who are in Kenset, "O ye aged ones, thou Great Terror (, Seṭaa-"ur), who comest forth from Ḥep, thou Ȧp-uat ( ), who "comest forth from the Ȧsert Tree (), the mouth of Unȧs "is pure." It is important to note that Ḥep is mentioned in connexion with Kenset, ; now Kenset here means the first nome of Egypt, in which were included the First Cataract

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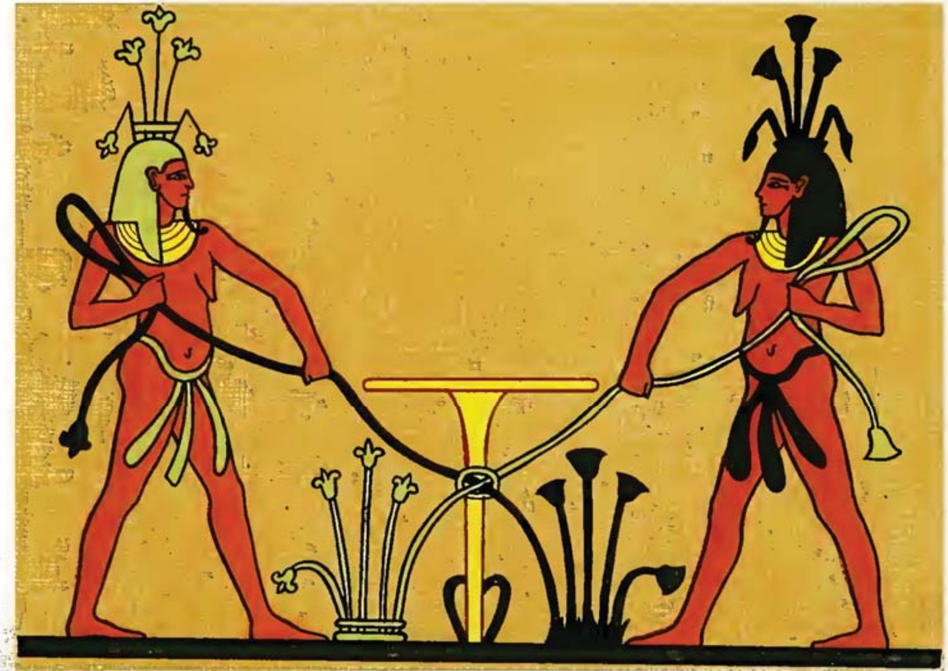
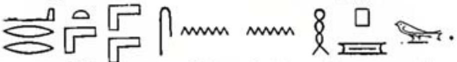
[1] *Ḥā-pu*, i.e., "this is the body"; see Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 638.

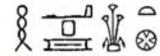
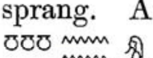
[2] See Tetȧ, l. 65.



Ḥāpi, God of the Nile of the South.

Ḥāpi, God of the Nile of the North.

and its Islands Elephantine, Sâhel, Philae, Senmut, etc., and thus it would seem as if the Nile-god Ḥep, and Åp-uat, "the opener of the ways," were even in the Vth Dynasty connected with the places in which in later times the Nile was thought to rise. In the lines which follow the extract given above there is an allusion to the food which Unȧs is to eat in the Underworld, and to the Sekhet-Åaru, or Elysian Fields, where he is to live, and it is clear that the Nile-god and Åp-uat were exhorted to send forth the waters of the river from Kenset in order that they might produce grain for the needs of the king. In another passage (Unȧs, line 431) the destroying power of Ḥep is referred to, and it is said that the houses of those who would steal away the king's food shall be given to the thieves (?), and their habitations to GREAT ḤEP, .

Ḥep, or Ḥāpi, is always depicted in the form of a man, but his breasts are those of a woman, and they are intended to indicate the powers of fertility and of nourishment possessed by the god. As the Egyptians divided their country into two parts, the South and the North, so they divided the river, and thus there came into being the god of the Nile of the South and the god of the Nile of the North. An attempt has been made to show that the Nile of the South was that portion of the river which flowed from the Sûdân to Philae, but this is not the case, for the Egyptians believed that the Nile rose in the First Cataract, in the QERTI, , or "Double Cavern," and the Nile of the South was to them that portion of the river which extended from Elephantine to a place some little distance north of the modern Asyût. The god of the South Nile has upon his head a cluster of lotus plants, , whilst he of the North Nile has a cluster of papyrus plants, ; the former is called ḤĀP-RESET, , and the latter ḤĀP-MEḤT, . When the two forms of Ḥep or Ḥāpi are indicated in a single figure, the god holds in his hands the two plants, papyrus and lotus, or two vases, from which he was believed to pour out the two Niles. By a pretty device, in which the two Nile-gods are seen tying in a knot the stems of the lotus and papyrus round , the emblem of union, the Egyptians symbolized the union of the South and North, and a slight modification of the design, , was cut upon the sides of the thrones of kings, from very early times, to indicate that the thrones of the South and North had been united, and that the rule of the sovereigns who sat upon such thrones extended over Upper and Lower Egypt. When once Ḥāpi had been recognized as one of the greatest of the Egyptian gods he became rapidly identified with all the great primeval, creative gods, and finally he was declared to be, not only the maker of the universe, but the creator of everything from which both it and all things therein sprang. At a very early period he absorbed the attributes of Nu, , the primeval watery mass from which Rā, the Sun-god, emerged on the first day of the creation; and as a natural result he was held to be the father of all beings and things, which were believed to be the results of his handiwork and his offspring. When we consider the great importance which the Nile possessed for Egypt and her inhabitants it is easy to understand how the Nile-god Ḥāpi held a unique position among the gods of the country, and how he came to be regarded as a being as great as, if not greater than Rā himself. The light and heat of Rā brought life to all men, and animals, and to every created thing, but without the waters of Ḥāpi every living being would perish.

There was, moreover, something very mysterious about Ḥāpi, which made him to be regarded as of a different nature from Rā, for whilst the movement of the Sun-god was apparent to all men, and his places of rising and setting were known to all men, the source of the waters of the Nile-god was unknown. The Egyptians, it is true, at one period of their history, believed that the Nile rose out of the ground between two mountains[1] which lay between the Island of Elephantine and the Island of Philae, but they had no exact idea where and how the Inundation took place,

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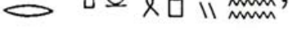
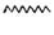
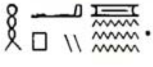
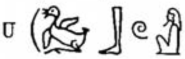
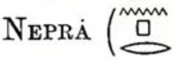
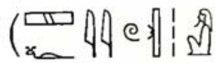
[1] Herodotus calls these mountains Κρῶφι and Μῶφι, which have, by some, been derived from Qer-Ḥāpi, , and Mu-Ḥāpi,  .

and the rise and fall of the river were undoubtedly a genuine mystery to them. The profound reverence and adoration which they paid to the Nile are well expressed in the following extract from a hymn to the Nile, as found in a papyrus of the XVIIIth or XIXth Dynasty, it reads:—"Homage to thee, O Ḥāpi, thou "appearest in this land, and thou comest in peace to make Egypt "to live. Thou art the Hidden One, and the guide of the dark"ness on the day when it is thy pleasure to lead the same. Thou "art the Waterer (or Fructifier) of the fields which Rā hath "created, thou givest life unto all animals, thou makest all the "land to drink unceasingly as thou descendest on thy way from "heaven. Thou art the friend of bread and of TCHABU (, "i.e., the god of drink), thou makest to increase and be strong "NEPRÀ (, i.e., the god of corn), thou makest pros"perous every workshop, O Ptaḥ, thou lord of fish; when the "Inundation riseth, the water-fowl do not alight upon the fields "that are sown with wheat. Thou art the creator of barley, and "thou makest the temples to endure, for millions of years repose "of thy fingers hath been an abomination to thee. Thou art the "lord of the poor and needy. If thou wert overthrown in the "heavens the gods would fall upon their faces, and men would "perish. He causeth the whole earth to be opened by the cattle, "and princes and peasants lie down and rest. . . . . Thy form is "that of Khnemu. When thou shinest upon the earth[1] shouts of "joy ascend, for all people are joyful, and every mighty man "receiveth food, and every tooth is provided with food. Thou art "the bringer of food, thou art the mighty one of meat and drink, "thou art the creator of all good things, the lord of divine meat "(), pleasant and choice. . . . Thou makest the "herb to grow for the cattle, and thou takest heed unto what is "sacrificed unto every god. The choicest incense is that which "followeth thee, thou art the lord of the two lands. Thou fillest "the storehouses, thou heapest high with corn the granaries, and "thou takest heed to the affairs of the poor and needy. Thou

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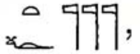
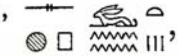
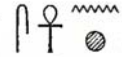
[1] The form of Khnemu here referred to is Khnemu-Rā.

"makest the herb and green things to grow that the desires "of all may be satisfied, and thou art not reduced thereby. Thou "makest thy strength to be a shield for man."

The following passage is of particular interest, for it proves that the writer of the hymn felt how hopeless it was to attempt to describe such a mighty and mysterious god as the Nile. "He "cannot be sculptured in stone, he is not seen in the images on "which are set the crowns of the South and the North and the "uraei, neither works nor offerings can be made to him. He "cannot be brought forth from his secret abodes, for the place "wherein he is cannot be known. He is not to be found in "inscribed shrines, there is no habitation which is large enough "to contain him, and thou canst not make images of him in thy "heart. . . . . His name in the Ṭuat is unknown, the God doth "not make manifest his forms, and idle are imaginings concerning "them."[1] From this passage it is clear that the Egyptians paid peculiar honour to Ḥāpi, and that he was indeed regarded as the "Father of the gods," , and "the creator of things which exist," , and that the epithet of "Vivifier," , was especially suitable to him. It must be noted too that in one aspect Ḥāpi was identified with Osiris, and this being so Isis became his female counterpart, and it is probable that, when offerings were made to Osiris, i.e., Osiris-Apis, or Serapis, in late dynastic times, when every sanctuary of this double god was called

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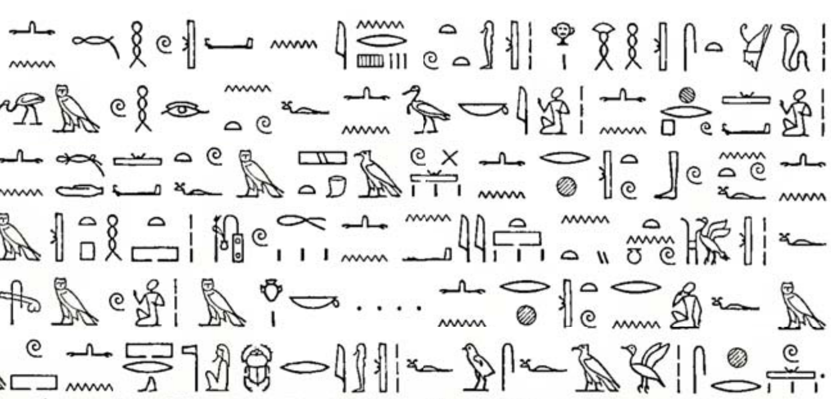
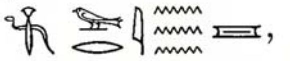
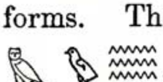
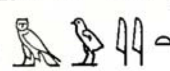
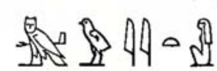
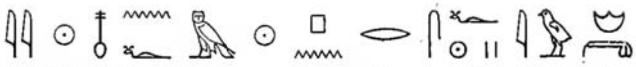
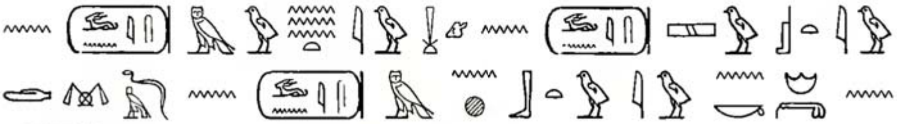
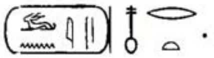
[1] 
The hieratic text is published by Birch, *Select Papyri*, pll. xx. ff.; see also Maspero, *Hymne au Nil*, Paris, 1868; and my *First Steps in Egyptian*, p. 204.

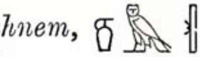
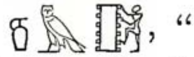
a "Serapeum," Ḥāpi was held to be included among the forms of the god. From a number of passages found chiefly in comparatively late texts we learn that the festival of the annual rise of the Nile was celebrated throughout Egypt with very great solemnity, and statues of the Nile-god were carried about through the towns and villages that men might honour him and pray to him. When the inundation was abundant the rejoicings which took place after the performance of the religious ceremonies connected with it were carried out on a scale of great magnificence, and all classes kept holiday. The ancient Egyptian festival has its equivalent among the Muḥammadans in that which is celebrated by them about June 17, and is called *Lêlet al-Nuḳta*, i.e., Night of the Drop, because it is believed that on that night a miraculous drop falls from heaven into the Nile and makes it to rise.

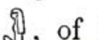
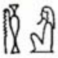
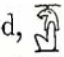
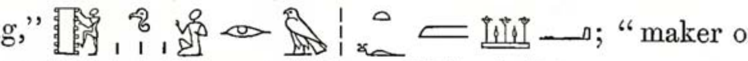
It has been said above that Osiris was identified with Ḥāpi, and this being so, Isis was regarded as the female counterpart of Ḥāpi, but there is little doubt that in very early dynastic times other goddesses were assigned to him as wives or sisters. Thus of Ḥāpi of the South the female counterpart was undoubtedly Nekhebet, but then this goddess was only a form of Isis in dynastic times, whatever she may have been in the predynastic period. In the north of Egypt the ancient goddess UATCH-URȦ, , appears to have been the equivalent of Nekhebet in the South. But Ḥāpi was also identified with Nu, the great primeval water abyss from which all things sprang, and as such his female counterpart was Nut, or one of her many forms. The oldest form of this goddess appears to be MUT, , or MUIT, , or MĀUIT, , who is mentioned in the text of Unȧs (line 181). The text generally shows that the deceased king is identified with Ḥāpi the Nile-god, and he thus became master of the Nile-goddesses of the South and North, for it is said, "O Rā, be thou good to Unȧs this "day as yesterday. Unȧs has been united to the goddess MUT, "and he hath breathed the breath of Isis, and he hath been joined "to the goddess NEKHEBET, and he hath been the husband of the

"Beautiful One,"   . The mention of Mut, Isis, and Nekhebet in this connexion proves that all these three goddesses were intimately related, and it is clear that even when the text of Unȧs was written the ancient goddesses Mut and Nekhebet were identified with Isis. We should expect Uatchet to appear in connexion with Nekhebet, but this goddess must have been absorbed in Isis long before the copies of the Pyramid Texts which we have were written.

CHAPTER III

THE TRIAD OF ĀBU (ELEPHANTINE), KHNEMU, 𓎸𓅓𓅱𓁐, SATET, 𓏏𓄚𓏏𓁐, AND ĀNQET, 𓂝𓈖𓈎𓏏𓆗

KHNEMU, the first member of the great triad of Ābu, or Elephantine, is one of the oldest gods of Egypt, and we find him mentioned in the text of Unȧs in such a way as to show that even at the remote period of the reign of that king his cult was very old. The views which the Egyptians held concerning this god changed somewhat in the course of their long history, but the texts show that Khnemu always held an exalted position among the ancient gods of their country, and we know from Gnostic gems and papyri that he was a god of great importance in the eyes of certain semi-Christian sects for some two or three centuries after the birth of Christ. It is probable that Khnemu was one of the gods of the predynastic Egyptians who lived immediately before the archaic period, for his symbol was the flat-horned ram, and that animal appears to have been introduced into Egypt from the East; he disappears from the monuments before the period of the XIIth Dynasty. In the text of Unȧs the name of Khnemu is found in a section which contains twenty-five short paragraphs, the greater number of which must certainly date from a period far older than the reign of this king, for the forms of the words and the language are very archaic, and few of the names of the serpents which are addressed in them occur in later texts. Khnemu is represented on the monuments in the form of a ram-headed man who usually holds in his hands the sceptre 𓌀, and the emblem of life, ☥. He wears the White Crown, to which are sometimes attached plumes, uraei, a disk, etc.; in one example quoted by Lanzone[1] he has the head of a hawk, which indicates that he possessed a solar aspect. As a water-god he is seen with outstretched hands over which flows water, and he is sometimes seen with a jug, , above his horns, which indicates his name. The name of Khnemu is connected with the root *khnem*, , "to join, to unite," and with *khnem*, , "to build"; astronomically the name refers to the "conjunction" of the sun and moon at stated seasons of the year,[2] and we know from the texts of all periods that Khnemu was the "builder" of gods and men. He it was who, according to the statements which were made by his priests at Elephantine, the chief seat of his worship, made the first egg from which sprang the sun, and he made the gods, and fashioned the first man upon a potter's wheel, and he continued to "build up" their bodies and maintain their life.

The portion of Egypt in which the worship of Khnemu was supreme extended from Thebes to Philae, but the principal sanctuaries of the god were at the two ends of the First Cataract, i.e., on Elephantine on the north and on Philae and the adjoining islands on the south. He was the god *par excellence* of the First Cataract, throughout which, with his female counterpart Satet and the local Nubian goddess Ānqet, he was worshipped from the earliest dynasties; the goddess Satet was identified as a form of the star Sepṭ, , of Elephantine and of Menḥet, lady of Latopolis. An examination of the texts makes it clear that Khnemu was originally a water or river-god, and that in very early times he was regarded as the god of the Nile and of the annual Nile-flood, and as such he bore the name of QEBḤ, , and appeared as the ram-headed god, . In the passages quoted by Signor Lanzone[3] and Dr. Brugsch[4] he is called the "builder of "men and the maker of the gods and the Father who was in the "beginning," ; "maker of "things which are, creator of things which shall be, the source

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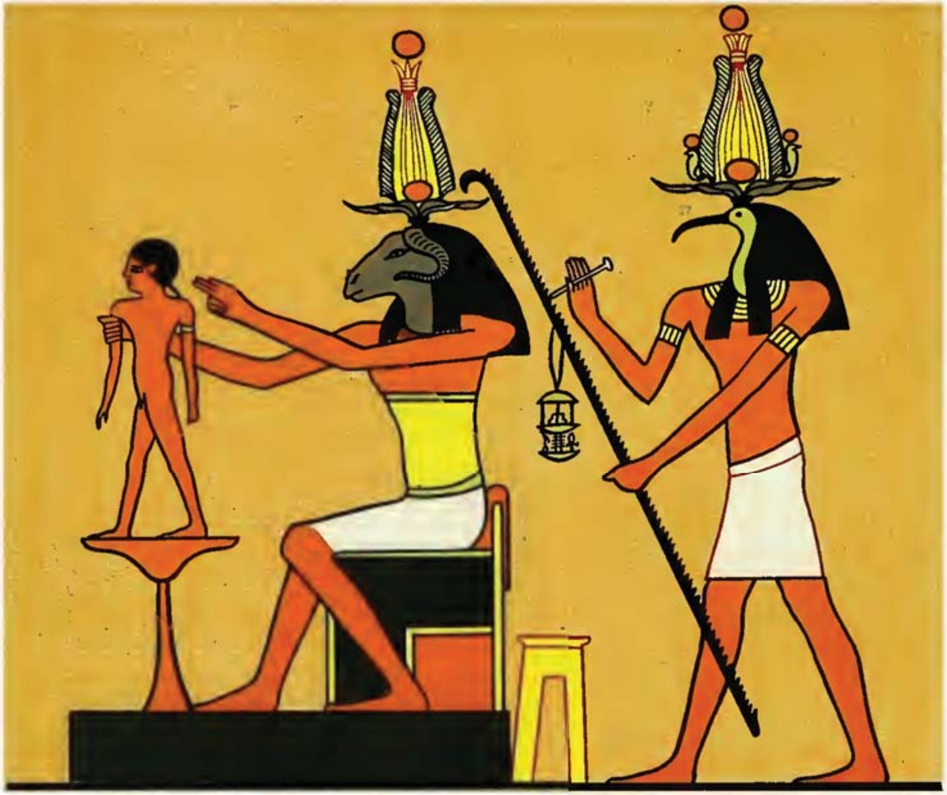
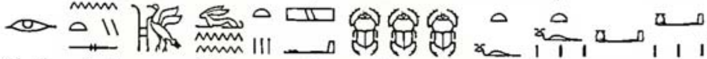
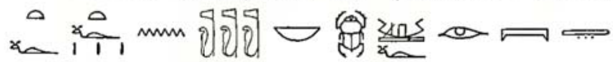
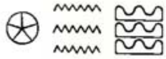
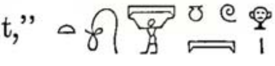
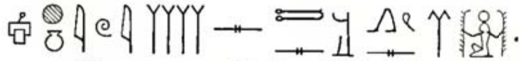
[1] Op. cit., pl. 336, No. 4.

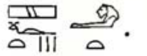
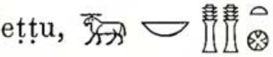
[2] Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 290.

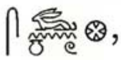
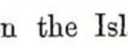
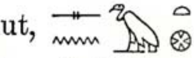
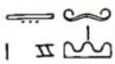
[3] *Dizionario*, p. 957.

[4] *Religion*, p. 291.



The God KHNEMU fashioning a Man upon a Potter's Table, behind him stands THOTH "of things which exist, Father of fathers, and Mother of mothers," ; "Father of "the fathers of the gods and goddesses, lord of created things from "himself, maker of heaven, and earth, and the Ṭuat, and water, "and mountains;"  , and "raiser up of heaven upon its four pillars and "supporter of the same in the firmament,"  .

Khnemu united within himself the attributes of the four great gods Rā, Shu, Qeb or Seb, and Osiris, and in this aspect he is represented in pictures with four rams' heads upon a human body; according to Dr. Brugsch these symbolize fire, air, earth, and water. When depicted with four heads Khnemu was the type of the great primeval creative force, and was called SHEFT-ḤĀT, . The first ram's head was the head of Rā, and symbolized Khnemu of Elephantine; the second was the head of Shu, and symbolized Khnemu of Latopolis; the third was the head of Seb, and symbolized Khnemu of Ḥet-urt; and the fourth was the head of Osiris, and symbolized Khnemu as lord of Hypselis. As SHEFT-ḤĀT Khnemu was the lord of Hermopolis Magna and of Thmuis, and possessed all the attributes which have been enumerated above. From another text we learn that the four rams also symbolized the life of Rā, the life of Shu, the life of Seb, and the life of Osiris, and that the ram of Rā gave him sovereignty over the South and North, and identified him with the Ram of Mendes, Ba-neb-Ṭeṭṭu, .

The principal shrines of KHNEMU-RĀ were situated at Sunnu, , the modern Syene, on the Island of Ābu, ,[1] the modern Elephantine, and on the Island of Senmut, , the modern Biggeh, which marked the frontier of Ta-kens, , or Nubia. He appears in these as the lord of all the

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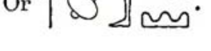
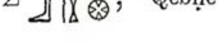
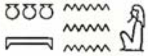
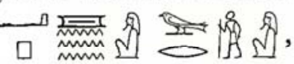
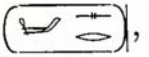
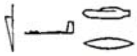
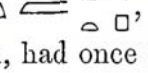
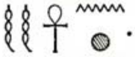
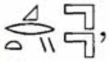
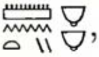
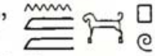
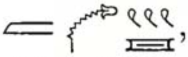
[1] Or . The Island was also called , "Qebḥet."

South of Egypt, and is associated with Isis, the great goddess of the South, and in fact is to the South of Egypt exactly what Ptaḥ-Tanen, who was associated with Nephthys, was to the Delta and the North of Egypt. To him was ascribed every attribute of Rā, and thus he is described as the god who existed before anything else was, who made himself, and who was the creative power which made and which sustains all things. When the cult of Khnemu-Rā became general in the south his priests increased the importance of their god by identifying him with Nu, , the great primeval god of the watery abyss, and from being the local river-god of the Nile in the First Cataract he became the god ḤĀP-UR, , or the Nile of heaven; in the latter aspect he was said to dwell in the Island of Senmut.

The views which were held about Khnemu-Rā as god of the earthly Nile are best illustrated by the famous inscription which was discovered on a rock on the Island of Sâhal in 1890 by the late Mr. Charles Wilbour. According to it, in the xviiith year of king TCHESER , who has been identified with the third king of the IIIrd Dynasty, the whole of the region of the South, and the Island of Elephantine, and the district of Nubia were ruled by the high official Māṭer, . The king sent a despatch to Māṭer informing him that he was in great grief by reason of the reports which were brought to him into the palace as he sat upon his throne, and because for seven years there had been no satisfactory inundation of the Nile. As the result of this grain of every kind was very scarce, vegetables and garden produce of every kind could not be found, and in fact the people had very little food to eat, and they were in such need that men were robbing their neighbours. Men wished to walk out, but could not do so for want of strength; children were crying for food, young men collapsed through lack of food, and the spirits of the aged were crushed to the earth, and they laid themselves down on the ground to die. In this terrible trouble king Tcheser remembered the god I-em-ḥetep, , the son of Ptaḥ of the South Wall, who, it would seem, had once delivered Egypt from a similar calamity, but as his help was no longer forthcoming Tcheser asked his governor Māṭer to tell him where the Nile rose, and what god or goddess was its tutelary deity. In answer to this despatch Māṭer made his way immediately to the king, and gave him information on the matters about which he had asked questions. He told him that the Nile flood came forth from the Island of Elephantine whereon stood the first city that ever existed; out of it rose the Sun when he went forth to bestow life upon man, and therefore it is also called "Doubly Sweet Life," . The spot on the island out of which the river rose was the double cavern (?) Qerti, , which was likened to two breasts, , from which all good things poured forth; this double cavern was, in fact, the "couch of the Nile,"  , and from it the Nile-god watched until the season of inundation drew nigh, and then he rushed forth like a vigorous young man, and filled the whole country.[1] At Elephantine he rose to a height of twenty-eight cubits, but at Diospolis Parva in the Delta he only rose seven cubits. The guardian of this flood was Khnemu, and it was he who kept the doors that held it in, and who drew back the bolts at the proper time. Māṭer next went on to describe the temple of Khnemu at Elephantine, and told his royal master that the other gods in it were Sepṭ (Sothis), Ānuqet, Ḥāpi, Shu, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Horus, Isis, and Nephthys, and after this he enumerated the various products that were found in the neighbourhood, and from which offerings ought to be made to Khnemu. When the king heard these words he offered up sacrifices to the god, and in due course went into his temple to make supplication before him; finally Khnemu appeared before him, and said, "I am Khnemu the Creator. My hands rest upon "thee to protect thy person, and to make sound thy body. I "gave thee thine heart. . . . I am he who created himself. I am "the primeval watery abyss, and I am Nile who riseth at his will

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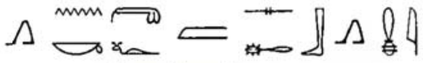
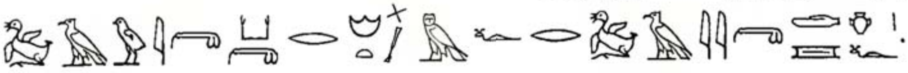
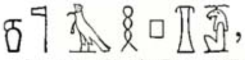
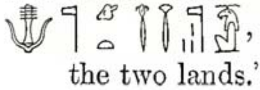
[1] His inundation is thus described  .

"to give health for me to those who toil. I am the guide and "director of all men, the Almighty, the father of the gods, "Shu, the mighty possessor of the earth." Finally the god promised that the Nile should rise every year, as in olden time, and described the good which should come upon the land when he had made an end of the famine. When Khnemu ceased to speak king Tcheser remembered that the god had complained that no one took the trouble to repair his shrine, even though stone lay near in abundance, and he immediately issued a decree in which it was ordered that certain lands on each side of the Nile near Elephantine should be set apart for the endowment of the temple of Khnemu, and that a certain tax should be levied upon every product of the neighbourhood, and devoted to the maintenance of the priesthood of the god; the original text of the decree was written upon wood, and as this was not lasting, the king ordered that a copy of it should be cut upon a stone stele which should be set in a prominent place.[1] It is nowhere said that the god kept his promise to Tcheser, but we may assume that he did. The form of the narrative of the Seven Years' Famine summarized above is not older than the Ptolemaïc period, but the subject matter belongs to a much older time, and very probably represents a tradition which dates from the Early Empire.

We have seen that the spirit, or soul, of Khnemu pervaded all things, and that the god whose symbol was a ram was the creator of men and gods, and in connexion with this must be noted the fact that, together with Ptaḥ, he built up the edifice of the material universe according to the plans which he had made under the guidance and direction of Thoth. As the architect of the universe he possessed seven forms which are often alluded to in texts; they are sometimes represented in pictures, and their names are as follows:—

, Khnemu Neḥep, "Khnemu the Creator."

, Khnemu Khenti-taui, "Khnemu, governor of the two lands."

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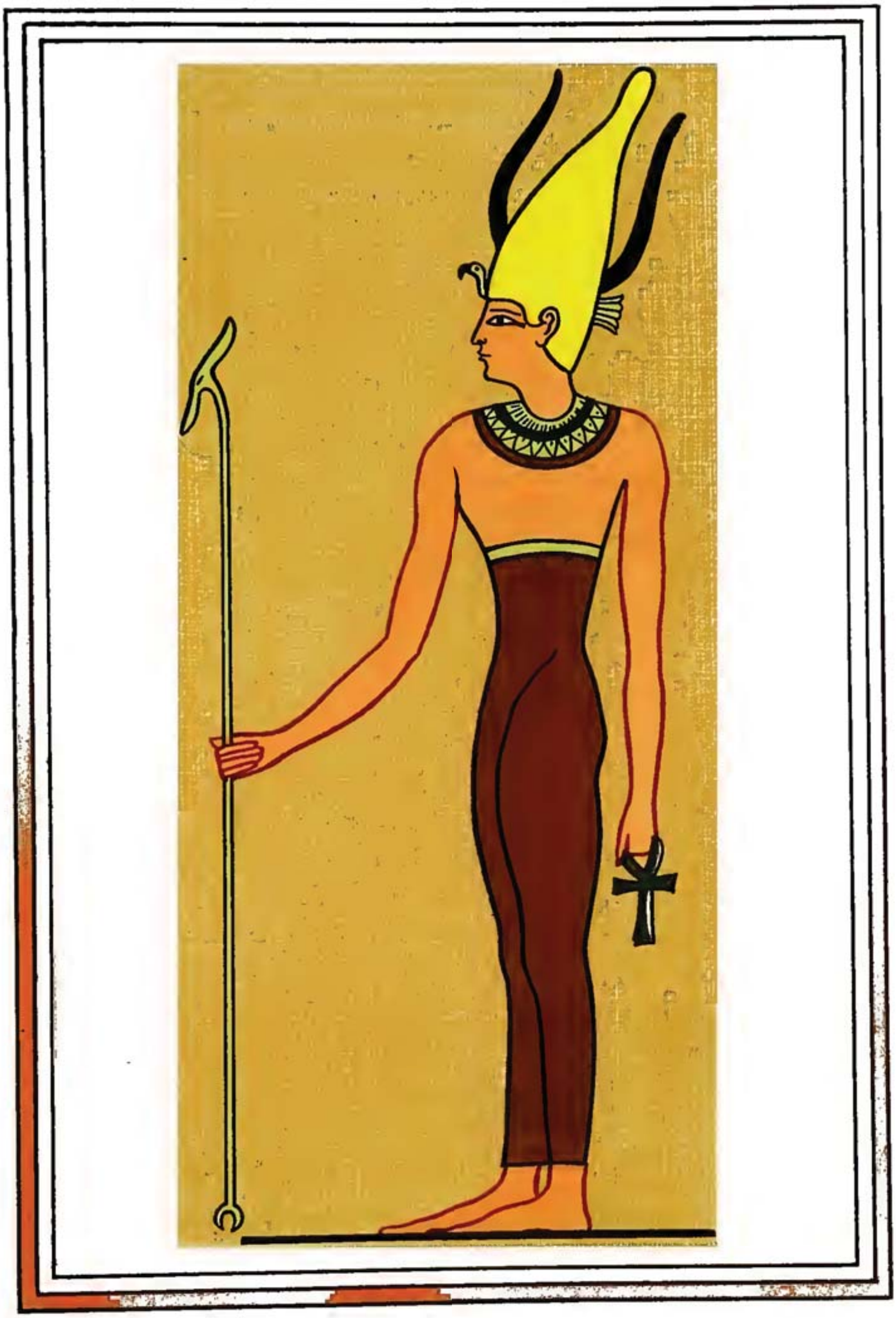
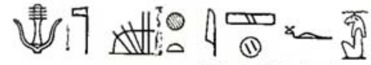
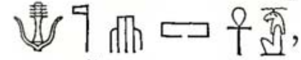
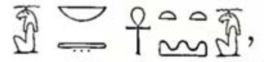
[1] For the hieroglyphic text see Brugsch, *Die biblischen sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth*, Leipzig, 1891.

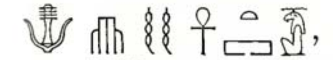


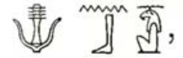
THE GODDESS SATI.

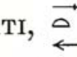
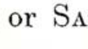
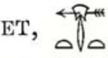
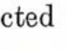
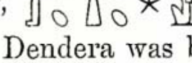
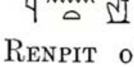
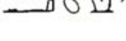
, KHNEMU SEKHET ÀSHSEP-F, "Khnemu, weaver of his light."

, KHNEMU KHENTI PER-ĀNKH, "Khnemu, Governor of the House of Life."

, KHNEMU NEB-TA-ĀNKHTET, "Khnemu, lord of the Land of Life."

, KHNEMU KHENTI NETCHEMTCHEM ĀNKHET, "Khnemu, Governor of the House of Sweet Life."

, KHNEMU NEB, "Khnemu, Lord."

SATI, , or SATET, ,[1] or, , was the principal female counterpart of Khnemu, and was worshipped with him at Elephantine, where she was a sister goddess of Ānqet. Her name appears to be connected with the root *sat*, , "to shoot, to eject, to pour out, to throw," and the like, and *sat* is also used in connexion with the scattering abroad and sowing of seed, and with the sprinkling of water; thus at any rate at one period she must have been regarded as the goddess of the inundation, who poured out and spread over the land the life-giving waters of the Nile, and as the goddess of fertility. She sometimes carries in her hands a bow and arrows, a fact which suggests that in her earliest form she was a goddess of the chase; according to Dr. Brugsch, she was identified by the Greeks with their goddess Hera.[2] In many pictures of the goddess we see her wearing the crown of the South and a pair of horns, which prove that she was a form of ÀST-SEPṬ, , or ISIS-SOTHIS. At the time when the temple of Dendera was built she was identified with the local goddess Isis-Hathor of Dendera, with ÀMENT, , of Thebes, and MENĀT, , of Heliopolis, and RENPIT of

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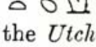
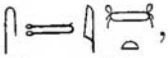
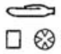
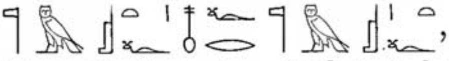
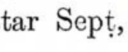
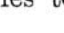
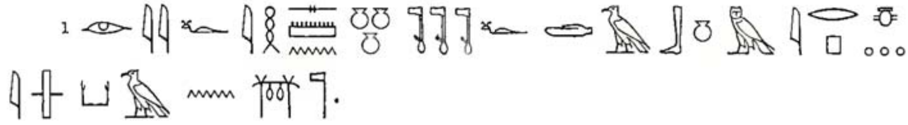
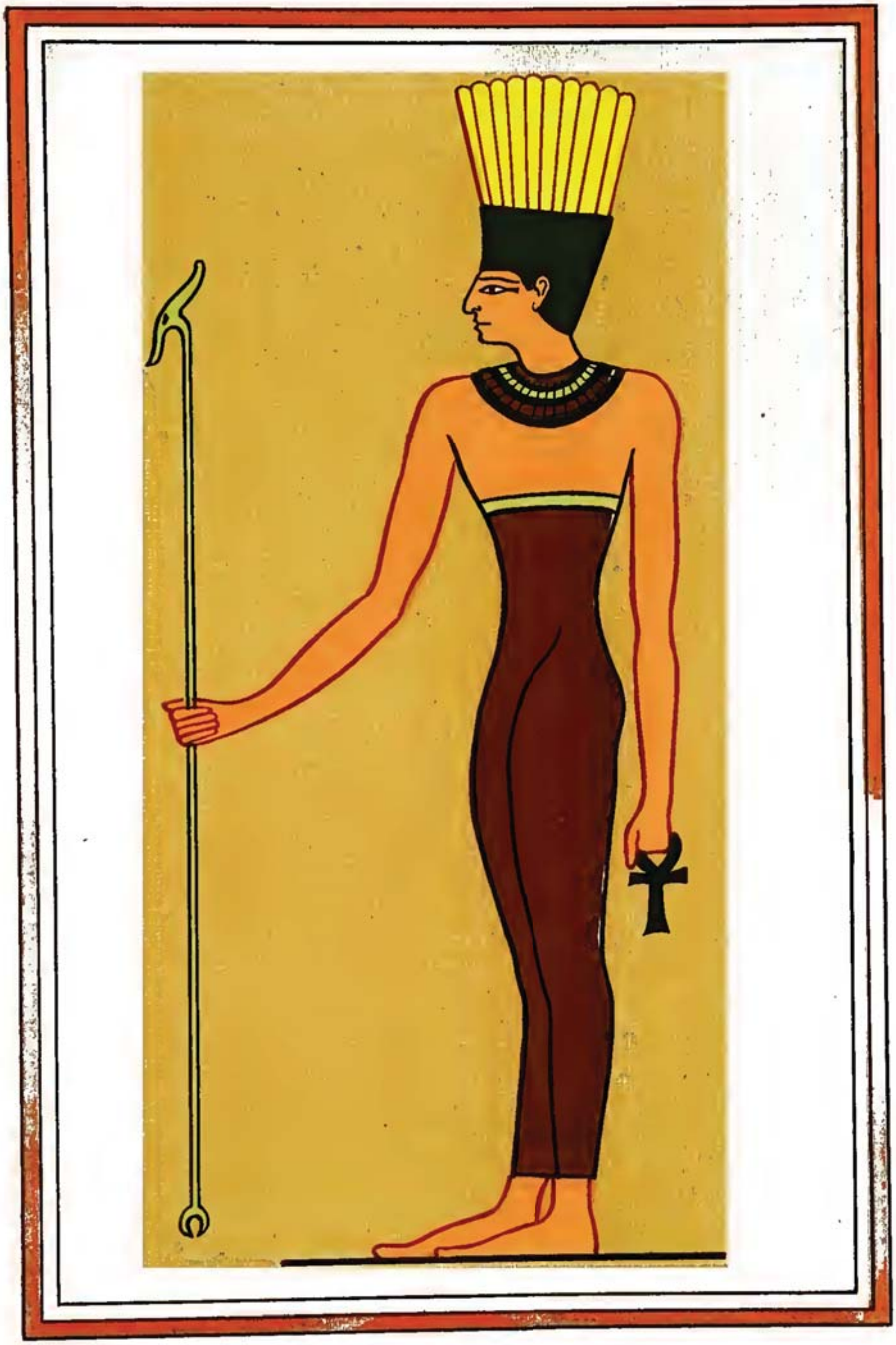
[1] This goddess must not be confounded with the SATET, , who is represented in the form of a woman, and bears upon her head the *Utchat* , and was a local Alexandrian form of Isis; see Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 1124.

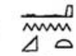
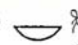
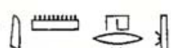
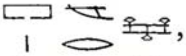
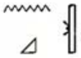
[2] *Religion*, p. 299.

Memphis, the goddess of the year, etc. In the text of Pepi I. Sati is mentioned (line 297) under the form SETHÅT, , and we see from the context that in that early period the goddess possessed a temple at Elephantine. The dweller in Ṭep, , is said to have aided the king, who "has censed himself and "performed his ceremonies of purification with a vessel of wine, "which hath come from the vine of the god.[1] . . . Seb stretcheth "out his hand to Pepi and guideth him through the gates "of heaven, a god in his beautiful place, a god in his place, ", and behold SETHÅT washeth "him with the water which is in her four vases in Ābu" (Elephantine). The mention of Ṭep shows that there was some connexion between the goddess of the city of Per-Uatchet and the goddess of Elephantine long before the period of the VIth Dynasty. In the preface to the cxxvth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* the deceased enumerates the various sacred places which he has visited, and says, "I have been in the waters of the stream, and I "have made offerings of incense. I have guided myself to the "SHENṬET TREE of the [divine] children, and I have been in Ābu "(Elephantine) in the Temple of Satet," . This is the only mention of Sati, or Satet, in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, but it is of great importance as showing that the temple of the goddess at Ābu was regarded as one of the principal holy places in Egypt. It has already been said that Sati was connected by the Egyptians with the star Sepṭ, , wherein dwelt the soul of Isis, and from this point of view Sati was a form of Isis, and became in consequence a female counterpart of Osiris; this fact will account for the mention of Sati in the *Book of the Dead*. The centre of the worship of Sati appears to have been the Island of Sâhal, ساحل, which lies about two miles to the south of Elephantine, in the First Cataract.

[1] .



The Goddess ANQET.

ĀNQET, , was the third member of the triad of Elephantine, which consisted of Khnemu, Sati, and Ānqet, and she seems to have possessed many of the attributes of her sister-goddess Sati. In pictures Ānqet is represented in the form of a woman who holds in her hands the sceptre , and the emblem of "life," ; she wears on her head a crown of feathers which are arranged in such a way as to suggest a savage origin. She appears to have been originally a goddess of some island in the First Cataract, but in early dynastic times she was associated with Khnemu and Sati, and her worship was common throughout Northern Nubia; later the centre of her worship was at Sâhal, and she was regarded as a goddess of that island, and was called "lady of Satet," , NEBT SATET. Her temple there seems to have been named "Åmen-ḥeri-âb," , but it is clear from the appearance of Åmen's name in its title that it cannot be older than the XVIIIth Dynasty. At Philae another temple was built in her honour, and it bore the name of "Pa-mer," , and it seems that from this island southwards she was identified with Nephthys. In very early times Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys were associated in a triad, and as Osiris was a form of Khnemu, and Khnemu a form of Osiris, and Isis and Sati were sister goddesses, it followed as a matter of course that Ānqet should be identified with Nephthys. According to Dr. Brugsch,[1] the name "Ānqet" is derived from the root *ānq*, , "to surround, to embrace," and the like, and has reference to the goddess as the personification of the waters of the Nile which embrace, and nourish, and fructify the fields. Among the pictures of Ānqet reproduced by Signor Lanzone[2] is one in which the goddess is seen seated in a shrine with a table of offerings before her; the shrine is placed in a boat, at each end of which is an aegis of a goddess, who wears on her head a disk and horns, , and is probably Isis; the boat floats on a stream from which runs a small arm. The goddess is styled "Ānqet, lady of Satet (i.e.,

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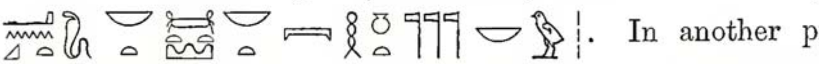
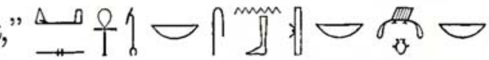
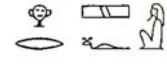
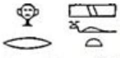
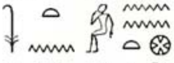
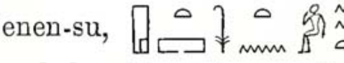
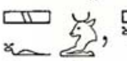
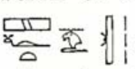
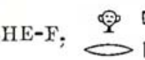
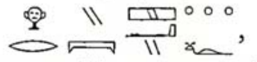
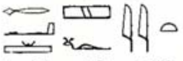
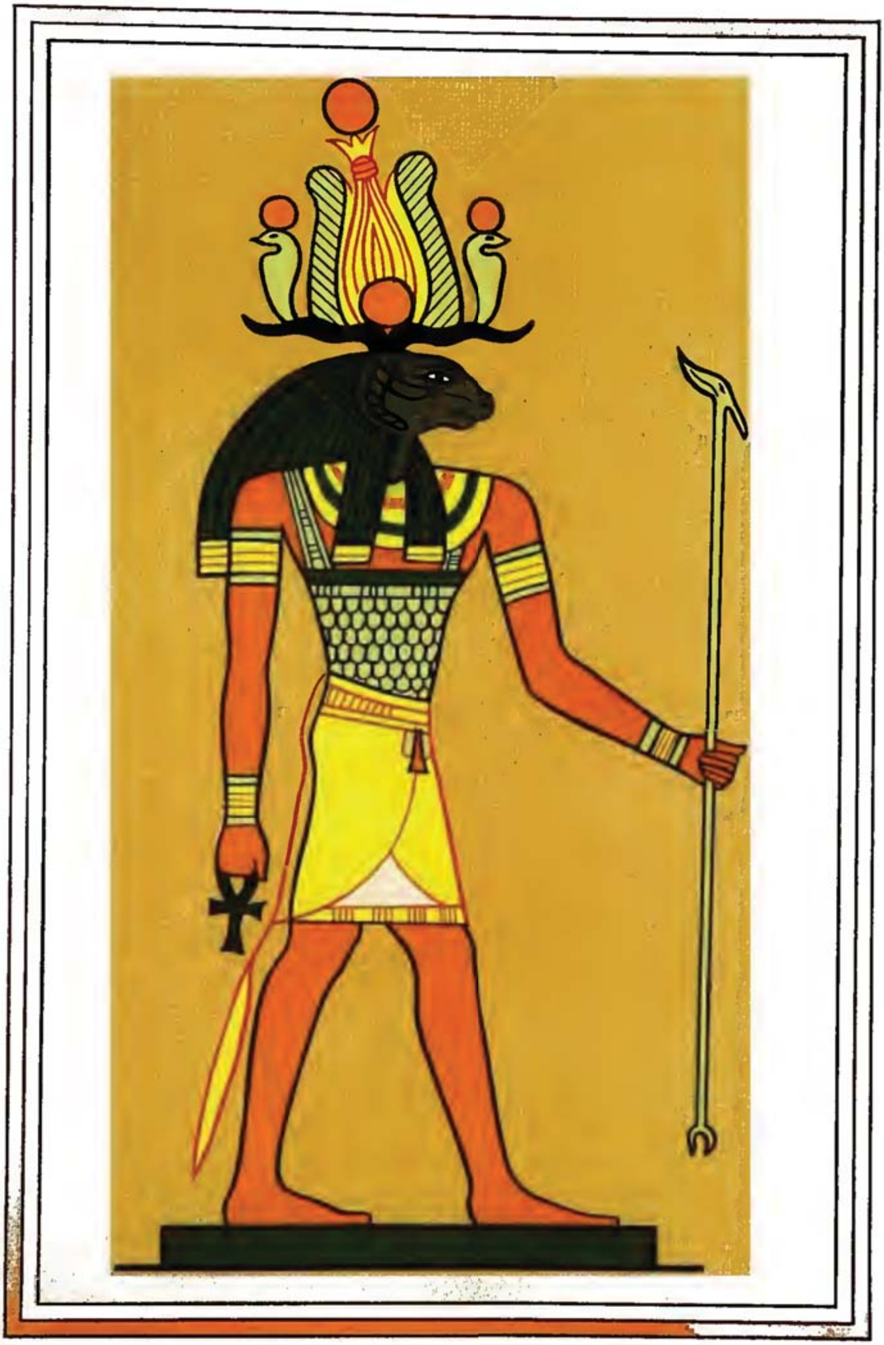
[1] *Religion*, p. 302.

[2] *Dizionario*, pl. xliv. ff.

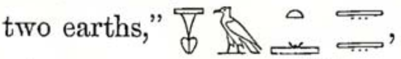
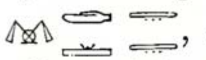
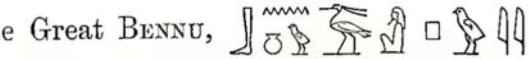
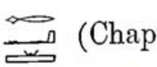
"the Island of Sâhal), lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods," . In another picture she is seen suckling a young king whose neck she embraces with her left arm, and in a text which accompanies another representation she is described as the "giver of life, and of all power, and of all "health, and of all joy of heart," .

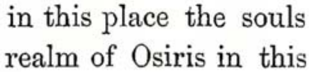
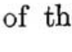
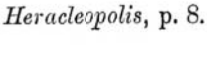
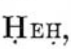
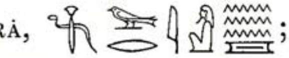
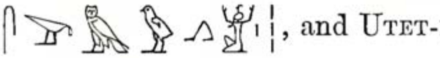
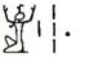
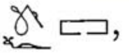
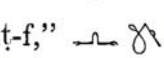
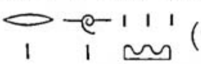
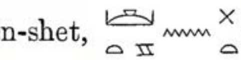
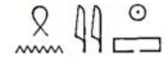
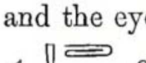
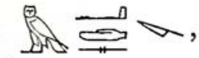
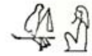
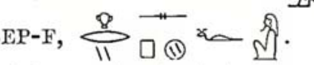
We have now to consider two very important forms of Khnemu, that is to say, 1. Khnemu who, under the form of Ḥer-shef, was worshipped at Herakleopolis Magna, and 2. Khnemu who, under the form of Osiris, was worshipped at Mendes.

1. Khnemu as Ḥer-shef, , or Ḥer-sheft, , was worshipped at Suten-ḥenen, or Ḥenen-su, , or Ḥet-Ḥenen-su, , under the form of a horned, ram-headed man, and wore the White Crown with plumes, a disk, and uraei attached. The Greeks transcribed the name Ḥer-shef by Ἀρσαφης, and as Plutarch says that it means "strength, bravery," it is clear that in his time the latter portion of it, *shef* or *sheft*, was derived from *shef*, or *sheft*, , , "strength, power, bravery," and the like. On the other hand two variant forms of the name of the god are:—Ḥer-she-f, , i.e., "He who is on his lake," and Ḥeri-shā-f, , i.e., "He who is on his sand." The first form would connect the god with Lake Moeris, and the second refers to him as an aspect or phase of Osiris, who bears this title in Chapter cxli., line 109, and Chapter cxlii., line 24, of the *Book of the Dead*. In Chapter xlii., line 14, the god Āa-shefit, , is mentioned, and it is probable that he also is to be identified with Osiris. Ḥenen-su, the centre of the worship of Khnemu under the form of Ḥer-shefi, is often referred to in the *Book of the Dead*, and a number of important mythological events are said to have taken place there. Thus it was here that Rā rose for the first time when the heavens and the earth were created (xvii. 7-9), and it was this rising which formed the first great act



ḤERU-SHEFIT, THE LORD OF SUTEN-ḤENEN

of creation, because as soon as Rā rose he separated the earth from the sky. Osiris was here crowned lord of the universe, and here his son Horus assumed the throne of his father left vacant by the death of Osiris. When Rā ordered the goddess Sekhet to go forth and destroy mankind because they had mocked him and had spoken lightly of his age, she started on her journey from Ḥenen-su. To this place also returned Set after his defeat by Horus, who had wounded him severely, and Osiris was believed to have taken a spade and covered over with earth the blood[1] which dropped from him and his fiends, and to have buried the bodies of those whom Horus had slain. It is this act which is alluded to by the deceased when he says (Chapter i., line 30), "I have grasped the spade on "the day of digging the earth in Suten-ḥenen (or Ḥenen-su)." Elsewhere (xvii. 49) we have an allusion to the "day of the union of the two earths," , *smat taui*, which is explained by the stronger expression, "the completing of the two earths," , *ṭemṭ taui*. The text which follows says that it refers to "the mingling of earth with earth in the coffin of Osiris, "who is the Soul that dwelleth in Ḥenen-su, and the giver of "meat and drink, and the destroyer of wrong, and the guide of "the everlasting paths, i.e., Rā himself." An entirely different matter in connexion with the two earths is mentioned in line 129, where there is an allusion to "Shu, the strengthener of the two "lands in Ḥenen-su,"  , and there is little doubt that the words refer to the part which Shu played at the Creation, when he held up with his arms and hands the sky which Rā had made to separate it from the earth.

At Ḥenen-su lived the Great BENNU,   (Chapter cxxv. 18), and in the neighbourhood dwelt the awful "CRUSHER OF BONES," , SEṬ-QESU, who is mentioned in the Negative Confession, and in this place the souls of the beatified found a place of rest in the realm of Osiris in this place (cxxxvii.A, 25). Near Ḥenen-su were the two great mythological lakes called Ḥeḥ, , and Uatch-urà, ; the variant forms of the first of these are:—Semu-ḥeḥ, , and Utet-ḥeḥ, . The sanctuary of Osiris at Ḥenen-su was called Nareref, , or "Ȧn-ruṭ-f," , i.e., "the place where nothing groweth," and it was entered by a door on the south side called Re-stau,  (Chapter xvii. 52); in some portion of the sanctuary was the Ȧat-en-shet, , or "region of fire," and near it was the torture chamber named "Sheni," . This chamber was guarded by a god with the face of a greyhound and the eyebrows of a man, and he sat watching at the "Elbow," , of the "Lake of Fire" for the dead who passed that way, and as he remained himself unseen he was able to seize upon them and tear out their hearts and devour them. The texts show that there was great difference of opinion about the name of this monster, which is given as Māṭes, , and Beba, , and Ḥeri-sep-f, .

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[1] Naville, *Heracleopolis*, p. 8.

These facts, which are derived chiefly from the xviith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, prove that Ḥenen-su, or Herakleopolis, possessed a system of theology of its own, and that this system must be very ancient, but whether it is older than that of Heliopolis it is impossible, at present, to say definitely. What is certain, however, is that the great local god Ḥer-shef was sufficiently important to be regarded as a form of the great ram-god Khnemu. It must be noted also that Ḥer-shef was a solar god, and that as such many of the titles of Rā were bestowed upon him; it is said that he lit up the world with his beams, that his right eye was the sun and his left eye the moon, that his soul was the light, and that the north wind which gave life to all came forth from his nostrils. He is said, moreover, like Rā, to be "One."[1] In a figure of the god reproduced by Lanzone[2] he has

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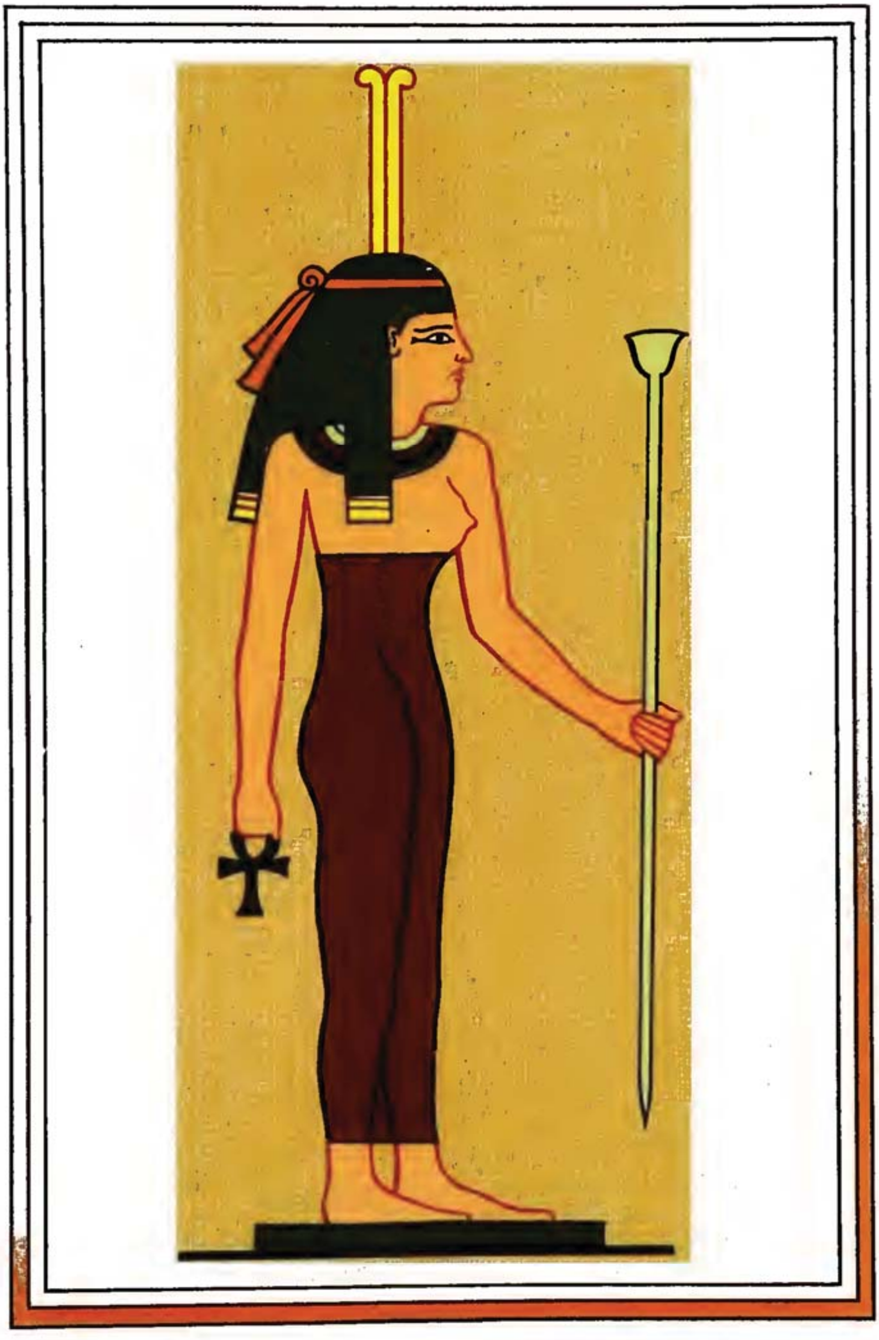
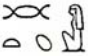
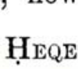
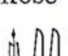
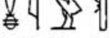
[1] *Religion*, p. 304.

[2] *Dizionario*, p. 552.



THE GODDESS ANIT.

four heads; one is the head of a bull, one that of a ram, and two are the heads of hawks. Above these are the characteristic horns of Khnemu which are surmounted by two plumes and four knives. These four heads represent the four gods who formed Khnemu of Ḥenen-su, i.e., Rā, Shu, Seb, and Osiris, and thus he might be identified with Rā-Tem of Heliopolis, or Ȧmen-Rā of Thebes, and either of these compound gods might be worshipped as one of his forms.

The female counterpart of Ḥer-shef possesses various names, and as she was identified with various goddesses this is not to be wondered at; her chief attributes were those of Hathor and Isis, and her local name was ĀṬET, , or MERSEKHNET, . Many of her attributes, however, were those of Net (Neith), , and Meḥ-urt, and ḤEQET, and ȦNIT, ; as the last named goddess she was the sister of KA-ḤETEP, i.e., Osiris. According to a text quoted by Dr. Brugsch,[1] Āṭet, the local goddess of Ḥenen-su, in the form of a cat slew Āpep, the great serpent of darkness. From this it is clear that she was a female counterpart of Rā, who, as we knew from the xviith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, took the form of a cat, and slew Āpep, the prince of darkness, who had taken the form of a monster serpent. The text says, "I am the CAT (MȦU,), which "fought (?) hard by the Persea Tree (Ȧsheṭ,), in Ȧnnu, on "the night when the foes of NEB-ER-TCHER[2] ( ) were "destroyed." The explanation of this statement which follows the question, "Who then is this?" is "The male CAT is Rā himself, "and he is called 'Mȧu' by reason of the words of the god SA,[3] "who said about him, '[Who] is like (*mȧu*, ), unto him?' "and thus his name became 'Mȧu' (i.e., Cat)." The fight here referred to is the first battle which the god of light waged against the fiends of darkness at Ȧnnu, after which he rose in the form of the sun upon this world.

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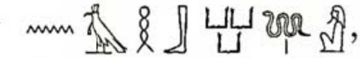
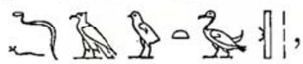
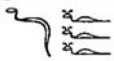
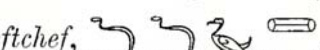
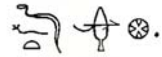
[1] *Dict. Géog.*, p. 399.

[2] A form of Osiris, both as the lord of the universe, and as lord of his re-united body.

[3] The god of Reason, or Intelligence.

Finally, in connexion with the city Ḥenen-su we must note that there existed in the temple there a shrine which was dedicated to the goddess NEḤEB-KAU , who was worshipped there in the form of a huge serpent. She was one of the Forty-two Assessors of the Hall of Maāti (Negative Confession, line 40), and in the Papyrus of Nu (cxlix. 5) the deceased says that she has "stablished his head for him;" elsewhere she seems to be mentioned as a form of Nut, and to be the female counterpart of the serpent god NĀU.[1] She was a goddess who provided for the dead meat and drink, not the material offerings of earth, but the divine *tchefaut* food, , or , or *tcheftchef*, , which may be compared to the nectar and ambrosia on which the gods of Olympus lived, and which grew in the portion of the Sekhet-Ȧaru, or Elysian Fields, called TCHEFET, . What this food was cannot be said, but the word *tchef* or *tcheftchef* is connected with *tcheftchef*, , "to shed light," and *tchefetch* , the "pupil of the eye" of Rā, i.e., the "Eye of Horus," , which is mentioned so often in the Pyramid Texts, and it must then either be a celestial food made of light, or some product of the mythological Olive Tree, , Baqet, which grew in Ȧnnu (Unȧs, line 170). In any case Neḥeb-kau was a very ancient goddess who was connected with the Elysian Fields of the Egyptians, and she is often depicted in the form of a serpent with human legs and arms, and sometimes with wings also, and she carries in her hands one or two vases containing food for the deceased. In the text of Unȧs (line 599) she is referred to in the following passage:—"Homage to thee, O Horus, in the domains of Horus! Homage "to thee, O Set, in the domains of Set! Homage to thee, thou

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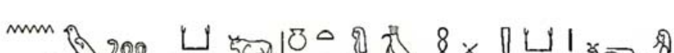
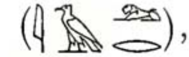
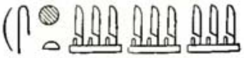
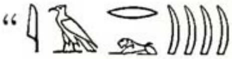
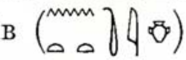
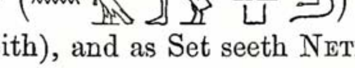
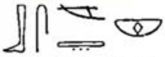
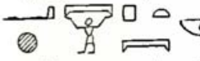
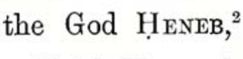
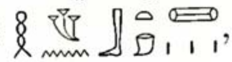
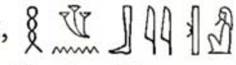
[1] , Chap. cxlix. Ȧat x., l. 6.

"god ÅAR (), in Sekhet-Åarer (
"). Homage to thee, NETETTHÅB (),
"daughter of these four gods who are in the Great House. Even "when the command of Unås goeth not forth, uncover yourselves "in order that Unås may see you as Horus seeth Isis, as NEḤEBU-"KAU () seeth Serqet, as Sebek seeth Net "(Neith), and as Set seeth NETETTHÅB."

Among the greatest of the festivals at Ḥenen-su were those in honour of Neḥeb-kau which, according to Dr. Brugsch,[1] were celebrated on the first of Tybi, that is to say, nine days after the "Festival of Ploughing the Earth," KHEBS-TA, , when men began to plough the land after the subsidence of the waters of the Inundation. Under the heading "Osiris" reference is made to the performance of the ceremony of "ploughing the earth," which gave the name to the festival, but it may be noted in passing that it appears to have had a double signification, i.e., it commemorated the burial of Osiris, and it symbolized the ploughing of the land throughout the country preparatory to sowing the seed for the next year's crop. Other festivals were those of Bast, which were celebrated in the spring of the Egyptian year, and those of the "hanging out of the heavens," , i.e., the supposed reconstituting of the heavens each year in the spring. Finally, in connexion with Ḥenen-su may be mentioned the God ḤENEB,[2] , for whom in the Saïte period the official Ḥeru planted two vineyards; of the attributes of this god we know nothing, but it is probable that he was supposed to preside over grain and other products of the land. In several passages of the *Book of the Dead* we have the word *ḥenbet* , "corn-lands, provisions," and the like, and in Chapter clxxx. line 29, a god called ḤENBI, , is mentioned, and he appears to be identical with the ḤENEB of the stele of Ḥeru.

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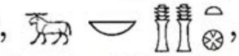
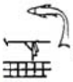
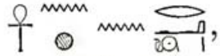
[1] *Religion*, p. 305.

[2] Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, pp. 852, 1364.

Coming now to the second great form of Khnemu, viz., that under which he was worshipped at Mendes, we find that at a very early date he was identified with the great god of that city, and was known as BA-NEB-ṬEṬṬU, , i.e., the Ram, lord of Ṭeṭṭu. Now as the word for "soul" in Egyptian was *Ba*, and as a name of the ram was also *Ba*, the title Ba-neb-Ṭeṭṭu was sometimes held to mean the "Soul, the lord Ṭeṭṭu," and this was the name at Mendes of the local form of Khnemu, whose symbol there, as elsewhere, was a ram. Ba-neb-Ṭeṭṭu, whose name was corrupted by the Greeks into *Μένδης*, and Tamai al-Amdîd[1] by the Arabs, was said to be the "living soul of Rā, the holy Sekhem "who dwelleth within Ḥāt-meḥit, ," and the "life of Rā," , and he was worshipped throughout the sixteenth nome from the earliest times. He was regarded as the virile principle in gods and men, and is styled, "King of the South and "North, the Ram, the virile male, the holy phallus, which stirreth "up the passions of love, the Ram of rams, whose gifts are brought "forth by the earth after it hath been flooded by the Nile, the "Soul, the life of Rā, who is united with Shu and Tefnut, the One "god, who is mighty in strength, who riseth in the heavens with "four heads, who lighteth up the heavens and the earth (like Rā), "who appeareth in the form of the Nile like (Osiris), who vivifieth "the earth (like Seb), and who formeth the breath of life for all "men, the chief of the gods, the lord of heaven and the king of "the gods."[2] Ba-neb-Ṭeṭṭu was originally a local form of Rā, but he subsequently was made to include within himself not only the Soul of Rā, but the Souls of Osiris, and Seb, and Shu. These four Souls are reproduced by Signor Lanzone,[3] and appear in the form of four rams, the horns of each being surmounted by a uraeus; they are described as "The Soul of Seb, lord of Ḥet-

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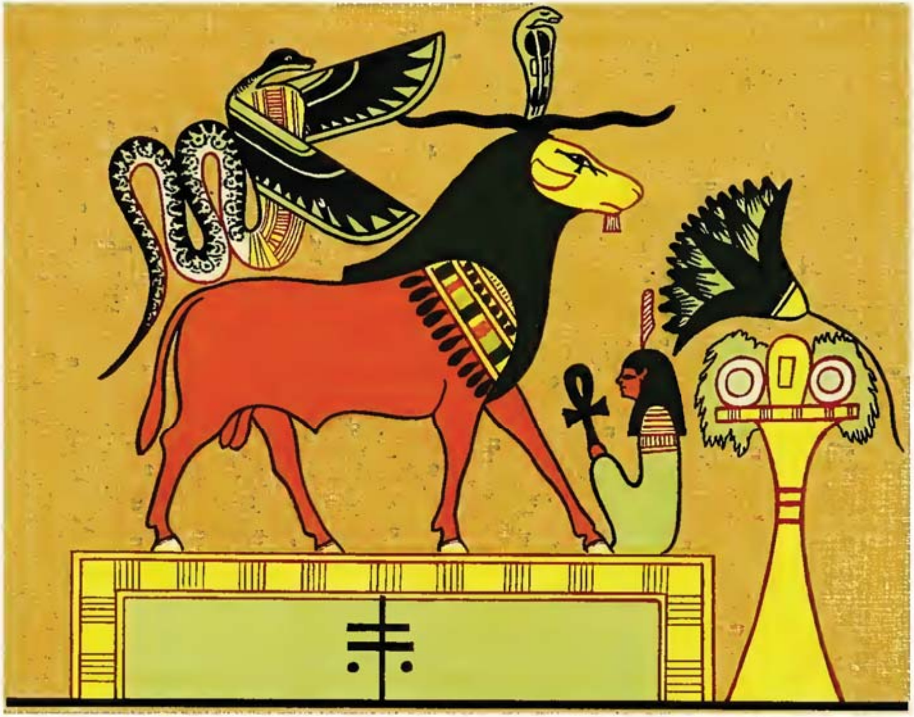
[1] تمى الامديد. As a matter of fact the first portion of this name represents Θμουίς, the Greek name of one portion of the ancient city of Ṭeṭṭu, and the second —"al-Amdîd"—is a corruption of Ba-neb-Ṭeṭṭu, which became Ba-neb-Ṭeṭ, then Ba-n-Ṭeṭ, and finally Man-Ṭeṭ, Mendes.

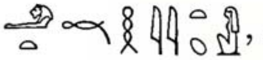
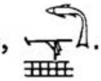
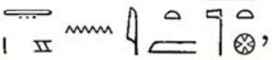
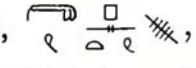
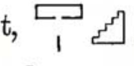
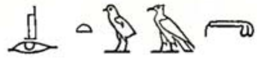
[2] See Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 309.

[3] *Dizionario*, pl. 68.



THE GOD BA-NEB-ṬĀṬĀU, ṬHE RAM GOD OF MENDES.

"teft; the Soul of Osiris, lord of Ta-sent; the Soul of "Shu, lord of Ȧnit; and the Soul of Rā, dweller in . . . . ." In allusion to these Souls the Ram of Mendes is sometimes described as the Ram with "Four faces (or, heads) on one neck," [1]

The female counterpart of Ba-neb-Ṭeṭṭu was ḤĀT-MEḤIT, , and her son by the god was Ḥeru-pa-khart, the dweller within Ṭeṭṭu, . This goddess is always represented as a woman, who bears on her head the fish, , which is the symbol of the nome, . She is described as the dweller in Ȧtemet, , and she was in some way connected with Punt, but the centre of her worship in Egypt was the city of Mendes, of which she is called the "Mother;" she was, of course, a form both of Isis and Hathor, and as such was called "the Eye of Rā, the lady of heaven, and the mistress of the gods." In late dynastic times, when Ba-neb-Ṭeṭṭu was especially regarded as the Soul of Osiris, and when the other aspects of the god were not considered of so much importance, Ḥāt-Meḥit was wholly identified with Isis, and her son "Harpocrates, the dweller in Mendes," became to all intents and purposes "Horus, the son of Isis," by Osiris. Thus we see that the local god of Mendes, who was originally a form of Rā, the Sun-god by day, was merged into Osiris, the Sun-god by night; the priests, however, were careful to preserve the peculiar characteristics of their god, i.e., virility and the power to create, and to recreate, and they did so by declaring that the phallus and the lower part of the backbone, , of Osiris were preserved in the temple of the city which bore the name of Per-khet, , i.e., the "House of the staircase." The Ram of Mendes was then a form of "Osiris as the Generator," , as he is called in Chapters cxli. and cxlii. of the *Book of the Dead*, and the popularity of his cult in the Delta was probably due to the elaborate phallic ceremonies which were celebrated at Mendes and in the neighbourhood annually.

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[1] Piehl in *Recueil*, tom. ii., p. 30; de Rougé, *Géog. Ancienne*, p. 114.

Before the close of the Ptolemaic period, however, some calamity seems to have fallen upon Mendes, and her sanctuary was forsaken and her god forgotten; on the other hand, the portion of the city which was known by the name Thmuis, Θμουις, survived, and was sufficiently important in Christian times to possess a bishop of its own. The Copts called the place **ⲑⲙⲟⲩⲉⲱⲥ**, or **ϯⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲑⲙⲟⲩⲓ**, and a Bishop of Thmoui was present both at the Council of Nice and the Council of Ephesus.[1]

Finally, we have to note that Khnemu as a form of Shu, i.e., as a personification of the wind, and atmosphere, and the supporter of heaven, and the light of the Sun and Moon, was worshipped at several places in Upper Egypt and in Heliopolis under the form of a ram; the centre of his worship at this last-named place was Ḥet-Benben, or the "House of the Obelisk." At Latopolis he absorbed the attributes of Tem, and he was identified with Nu, the maker of the universe and creator of the gods; similarly, he was regarded as a form of Ptaḥ and of Ptaḥ-Tanen, and his female counterparts were Menḥit, Sekhet, and Tefnut. In a hymn which is inscribed on the walls of the temple of Esna he is called, "The "prop of heaven who hath spread out the same with his hands," and the sky is said to rest upon his head whilst the earth beareth up his feet. He is the creator of heaven and earth and of all that therein is, and the maker of whatsoever is; he formed the company of the gods, and he made man upon his potter's wheel. He is the One god, the source from which sprang the regions on high, the primeval architect, the maker of the stars, the creator of the gods, who was never born, and the begetter or maker of his own being, whom no man can understand or comprehend. Many other passages in the inscriptions at Esna ascribe to him naturally all the powers and attributes[2] of Ptaḥ. Among several interesting addresses to the god may be mentioned that wherein it is said, "Thou hast raised up heaven to be a dwelling-place for thy soul, "and thou didst make the great deep that it might serve as a "hiding-place for thy body." Finally, it may be noted that as Khnemu-Shu absorbed the attributes of Nu, Rā, Ptaḥ, Thoth, etc., so also several great goddesses, besides those already mentioned, were identified with his female counterparts, e.g., Nut, Net (Neith), Nebuut, etc.

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[1] Amélineau, *La Géographie de l'Égypte*, p. 501.

[2] For the enumeration of several of them see Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 504.

CHAPTER IV

ȦTEN, , THE GOD AND DISK OF THE SUN

IN connexion with the Sun-gods of Egypt and with their various forms which were worshipped in that country must be considered the meagre facts which we possess concerning ȦTEN, who appears to have represented both the god or spirit of the sun, and the solar disk itself. The origin of this god is wholly obscure, and nearly all that is known about him under the Middle Empire is that he was some small provincial form of the Sun-god which was worshipped in one of the little towns in the neighbourhood of Heliopolis, and it is possible that a temple was built in his honour in Heliopolis itself. It is idle to attempt to describe the attributes which were originally ascribed to him under the Middle or Early Empire, because the texts which were written before the XVIIIth Dynasty give us no information on the subject. Under the XVIIIth Dynasty, and especially during the reigns of Ȧmen-ḥetep III. and his son Ȧmen-ḥetep IV., he was made to usurp all the titles and attributes of the ancient solar gods of Egypt, Rā, Rā-Ḥeru-khuti, Horus, etc., but it does not follow that they originally belonged to him. In the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, which is based upon the Heliopolitan, we find ȦTEN mentioned by the deceased thus:—"Thou, O Rā, "shinest from the horizon of heaven, and Ȧten is adored when he "resteth (or setteth) upon this mountain to give life to the two "lands."[1] Hunefer says to Rā, "Hail, Ȧten, thou lord of beams "of light, [when] thou shinest all faces (i.e., everybody) live;"

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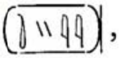
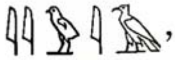
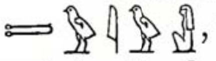
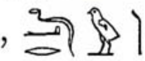
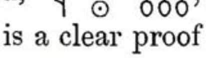
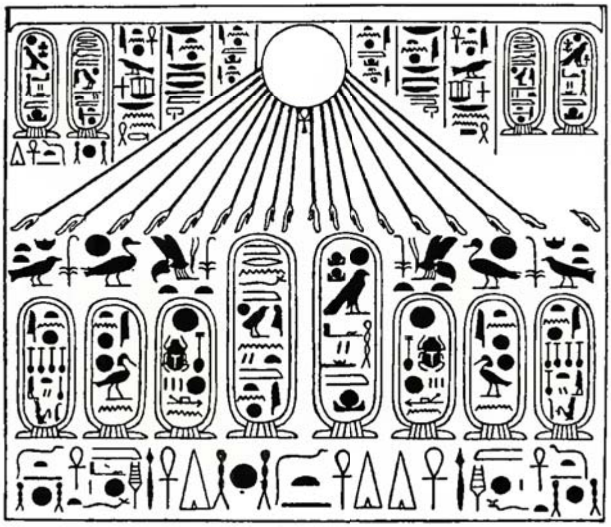
[1] See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* (Translation), p. 7; for the passages which follow see the *Vocabulary*, s.v. *ȧten*, p. 48.

Nekht says to Rā, "O thou beautiful being, thou dost renew "thyself and make thyself young again under the form of Åten;" Ani says to Rā, "Thou turnest thy face towards the Underworld, "and thou makest the earth to shine like fine copper. The dead "rise up to see thee, they breathe the air and they look upon thy "face when Åten shineth in the horizon;" ". . . . I have come "before thee that I may be with thee to behold thy Åten daily;" "O thou who art in thine Egg, who shinest from thy Åten," etc.

These passages show that Åten, at the time when the hymns from which they are taken were composed, was regarded as the material body of the sun wherein dwelt the god Rā, and that he represented merely the solar disk and was the visible emblem of the great Sun-god. In later times, owing to protection afforded to him by Åmen-ḥetep III., the great warrior and hunter of the XVIIIth Dynasty, other views were promulgated concerning Åten, and he became the cause of one of the greatest religious and social revolutions which ever convulsed Egypt. After the expulsion of the Hyksos, Åmen, the local god of Thebes, as the god of the victorious princes of that city, became the head of the company of the gods of Egypt, and the early kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty endowed his shrine with possessions, and gave gifts to his priesthood with a lavish hand. In spite of this, however, some of these kings maintained an affection for the forms of the Sun-god which were worshipped at Heliopolis, and Thothmes IV., it will be remembered, dug out the Sphinx from the sand which had buried him and his temple, and restored the worship of Rā-Harmachis, and he was not the only monarch who viewed with dismay the great and growing power of the priests of Åmen-Rā, the "king of the gods" at Thebes.

Åmen-ḥetep III., the son of Thothmes IV., held the same views as his father in this respect, and he was, apparently, urged to give effect to them by his wife Thi, , the daughter of Iuåa, , and Thuåu, , who was a foreigner and who was in no way connected with the royal house of Egypt. Having married this lady, he gave her as dowry the frontier city of Tchāru, , and her natural ability, coupled with the favour of her husband, made her chief of all the royal wives, and a great power in the affairs of the government of the country. It has been thought by some that she was a native of the country near Heliopolis, and it is possible that she herself was a votary of Ȧten, but be that as it may, she appears to have supported the king in his determination to encourage the worship of this god. At an early period in his reign he built a temple in honour of Ȧten at Memphis, and later he built one at Thebes, quite close to the great sanctuary of Ȧmen-Rā, the priests of whom were, of course, powerless to resist the will of such an active and able king. Soon after his marriage with Thi, Ȧmen-ḥetep III. dug, in his wife's city of Tchāru, a lake, which was about 6000 feet long by 1000 feet broad,[1] and on the day of the festival when the water was allowed to flow into it, he sailed over it in a boat called "Ȧten-neferu," , i.e., the "Beauties of Ȧten;" the name of the boat is a clear proof of his devotion to the god Ȧten. Ȧmen-ḥetep IV., the son of Ȧmen-ḥetep III. by the foreign lady Thi, not only held the religious views of his father, but held them very strongly, and his



The beams of Ȧten illumining the names of Khu-en-Ȧten and his family.

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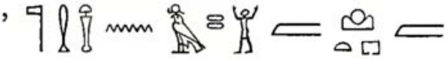
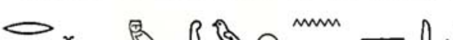
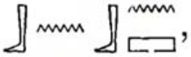
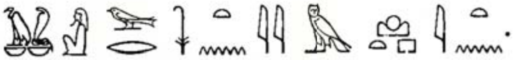
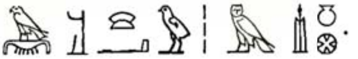
[1] , i.e., "its length 3600 cubits, its breadth 600 cubits."

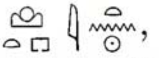
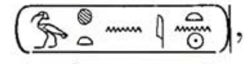
life shows that he must have been from his youth up an adherent of the worship of Ȧten; it is supposed, and with much probability, that the intensity of his love for Ȧten and his hatred for Ȧmen-Rā were due to his mother's influence.

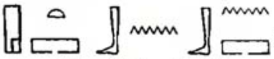
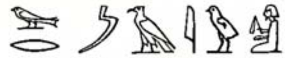
Ȧmen-ḥetep IV. succeeded his father without difficulty, even though his mother was not a member of the royal family of Egypt, and for the first few years of his reign he followed the example of the earlier kings of his dynasty, and lived at Thebes, where he no doubt ruled according to his mother's wishes; he offered up sacrifices to Ȧmen-Rā at the appointed seasons, and was, outwardly at least, a loyal servant of this god, whose name formed a part of his name as "son of the Sun." We may note in passing, that he had adopted on his accession to the throne the title "High-"priest of Rā-Ḥeru-khuti, the exalted one in the horizon, in his "name of Shu who is in Ȧten,"  , which is a clear proof that he was not only a worshipper of Rā-Harmachis, another of the forms of the Sun-god of Heliopolis, but also that he endorsed the views and held the opinions of the old College of Priests at Heliopolis, which made Shu to be the creator of the gods, and which assigned the disk (Ȧten) to him for a dwelling-place. Ȧmen-ḥetep's titles as lord of the shrines of the cities of Nekhebet and Uatchet,[1] and as the Horus of gold[2] also prove his devotion to a Sun-god of the South whose attributes were the same as the Sun-god of Heliopolis. During the early years of his reign at Thebes he built a massive Benben, , in honour of Rā-Harmachis at Thebes, and it is probable that he took the opportunity of restoring or enlarging the temple of Ȧten which had been built by his father; at the same time we find that he worshipped both Ȧmen and Ȧten, the former in his official position as king, and the latter in his private capacity. It was, however,

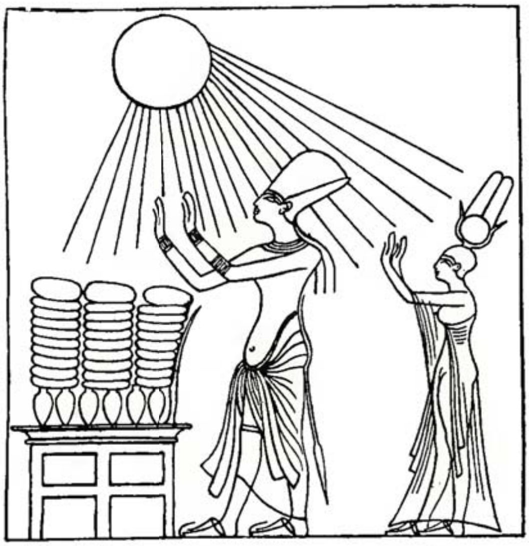
[1] .

[2] .

impossible for the priests of Åmen-Rā to tolerate the presence of the new god Åten and his worship in Thebes, and the relations between the king and that powerful body soon became strained. On the one hand the king asserted the superiority of Åten over every god, and on the other the priests declared that Åmen-Rā was the king of the gods. As, however, Åmen-Rā was the centre of the social life of Thebes, and his priests and their relatives included in their number the best and greatest families of the capital city, it came to pass that the king found himself and the worship of Åten wholly unsupported by the great mass of its population, whose sympathies were with the old religion of Thebes, and by those who gained their living in connexion with the worship of Åmen-Rā. The king soon realized that residence in Thebes was becoming impossible, and in the fifth year of his reign he began to build a new capital on the east bank of the Nile, near a place which is marked to-day by the Arab villages of Haggi Ḳandîl and Tell el-'Amarna; he planned that it should include a great temple to Åten, a palace for the king, and houses for all those who were attached to the worship of Åten and were prepared to follow their king there.

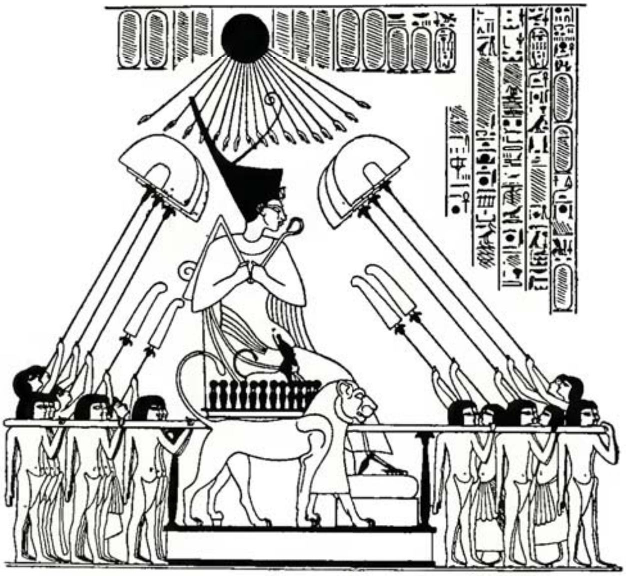
Whilst the new capital was building the dispute between the king and the priests of Åmen-Rā became more severe, and matters were much aggravated by Åmen-ḥetep IV. when he promulgated the edict for obliterating the name of Åmen and his figure from every monument in Egypt. At length the king left Thebes and took up his abode in his new capital, which he called "Khut-Åten," , i.e., "Horizon of Åten," and as a sign of the entire severance of his connexion with the traditions of his house in respect of Åmen-Rā he discarded his name "Åmen-ḥetep" and called himself Khut-en-Åten , i.e., "Glory of Åten," or, "Spirit of Åten." At the same time he changed his Horus name of "Exalted One of the double plumes" to "Mighty Bull, beloved of Åten" (or, lover of Åten), and he adopted as lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet the title of "Mighty one of sovereignty in Khut-Åten," and as the Horus of gold he styled himself, "Exalter of the name of Åten." The temple of Åten at

Khut-Àten was, like that at Heliopolis, called Ḥet Benben, , a name which probably means "House of the Obelisk;" it was begun on a very large scale, but was never finished. It contained many altars whereon incense was burnt and offerings were laid, but no sacrifices of any kind were offered up on them. The high-priest of Àten assumed the title of the high-priest of Rā at Heliopolis, Ur-maàu, , and in many respects the new worship was carried on at Khut-Àten by means of many of the old forms and ceremonies of the Heliopolitan priesthood; on stated occasions the king himself officiated. The worship of Àten as understood by Àmen-ḥetep IV. was, however, a very different thing from the ancient worship of Àten, for whereas that was tolerant the new worship was not. It is clear from the reliefs which have been found in the city of Khut-Àten that Àten was regarded as the giver of life, and the source of all life on this earth, and that his symbols were the heat and light of the sun which vivified and nourished all creation. Àten was also the one physical body of the Sun, and the creed of Àten ascribed to the god a monotheistic character or oneness, of which it denied the existence in any other god. This being so, the new religion could neither absorb nor be absorbed by any other; similarly, Àten could neither absorb nor be absorbed by the other gods of Egypt, because he had nothing in common with them. Attempts have been made to prove that the Àten worship resembled that of the monotheistic worship of the Hebrews, and to show that Àten is only another form of the name



Àmen-ḥetep IV. and his Wife adoring Àten.

Âdôn, i.e., the Phoenician god אָדֹן, whom the Greeks knew as Ἄδωνις; but as far as can be seen now the worship of Àten was something like a glorified materialism, which had to be expounded by priests, who performed ceremonies similar to those which belonged to the old Heliopolitan sun-worship, without any connexion whatsoever with the worship of Yahweh, and a being of the character of Âdôn, the local god of Byblos, had no place in it anywhere. In so far as it rejected all other gods, the Àten religion was monotheistic, but to judge by the texts which describe the power and works of Àten, it contained no doctrines on the unity or oneness of Àten similar to those which are found in the hymns to Rā, and none of the beautiful ideas about the future life, with which we are familiar from the hymns and other compositions in the *Book of the Dead*.



Àmen-ḥetep IV. seated on his throne beneath the Disk.

The chief source of our knowledge of the attributes ascribed to Àten is obtained from the hymns to this god which Àmen-ḥetep IV. caused to be inscribed on his monuments, and from one of them which has twice been published in recent years[1] we obtain the following extracts. The hymn is prefaced by these words:—

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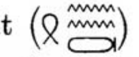
[1] First by Bouriant in *Mémoires de la Mission*, tom. i., pp. 2 ff., and later, with numerous corrections of Bouriant's text and a running commentary by Mr. Breasted, in *De Hymnis in Solem sub rege Amenophide IV. conceptis*, Berlin (no date).

"1. A hymn of praise to Ḥeru-khuti (Harmachis), who "springeth up joyfully in the horizon in his name of 'Shu who is "in the Disk,' and who liveth for ever and for ever, Ȧten the "Living One, the Great One, he who is [celebrated] in the thirty "year festival, the lord of the orbit () of the sun, the lord "of the sun, the lord of heaven, the lord of earth, the lord of the "House of Ȧten in the city of Khut-Ȧten, 2. by the king of the "South and of the North, who liveth by Maāt, the Lord of the Two "Lands, (Nefer-kheperu-Rā-uā-en-Rā),[1] the son of the Sun, who "liveth by Maāt, the lord of crowns, (Khu-en-Ȧten),[2] who is great "in the duration of his life, 3. and by his great royal wife, his darling, "the Lady of the Two Lands, (Nefert-iti, Nefer-neferu-Ȧten),[3] "the living one, the strong one for ever." The hymn proper begins after the words, "He (i.e., the king) saith, 4. 'Thy rising is "'beautiful in the horizon of heaven, 5. O thou Ȧten, who hadst "'thine existence in primeval time. 6. When thou risest in the "'eastern horizon thou fillest every land with thy beauties, 7. thou "'art beautiful to see, and art great, and art like crystal, and art "'high above the earth. 8. Thy beams of light embrace the lands, "'even every land which thou hast made. 9. Thou art as Rā, "'and thou bringest [thyself] unto each of them, 10. and thou "'bindest them with thy love. 11. Thou art remote, but thy beams "'are upon the earth. 12. So long as thou art in the heavens day "'shall follow in thy footsteps. 13. When thou settest in the "'western horizon the earth is in darkness, and is like a being that "'is dead. 14. They lie down and sleep in their habitations, "'15. their heads are covered up, and their nostrils are stopped, "'and no man can see his neighbour, 16. and all their goods and

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[1] These titles mean something like, "Beauty of the creations of Rā, the only one of Rā."

[2] I.e., "Glory of Ȧten."

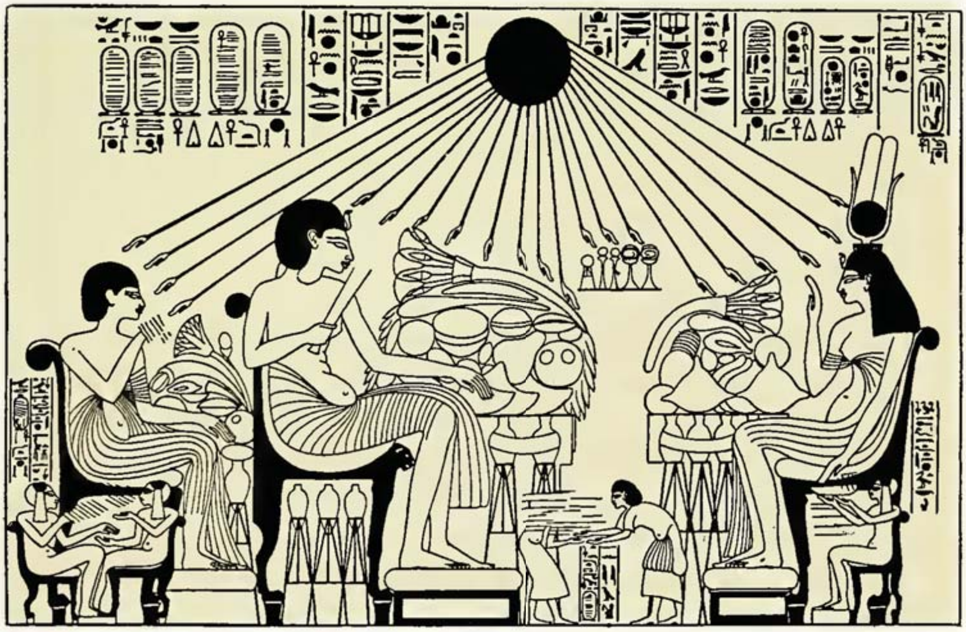
[3] The proper name is Nefert-iti, and her title means "Beauty of the beauties of Ȧten."

" ' possessions may be carried away from under their heads without " ' their knowing it. 17. Every lion cometh forth from his den, " ' 18. and serpents of every kind bite; 19. the night becometh " ' blacker and blacker, 20. and the earth is silent because he who " ' hath made them hath sunk to rest in his horizon.

" 21. When thou risest in the horizon the earth lightens, and " when thy beams shine forth it is day. 22. Darkness taketh to " flight as soon as thy light bursteth out, and the Two Lands keep " festival daily. 23. Then [men] wake up and stand upon their " feet because thou hast raised them up, 24. they wash themselves, " and they array themselves in their apparel, 25. and they lift up " to thee their hands with hymns of praise because thou hast risen. " 26. [Over] all the earth they perform their work. 27. All beasts " and cattle repose in their pastures, 28. and the trees and the " green herb put forth their leaves and flowers. 29. The birds " fly out of their nests, and their wings praise thy Ka as they fly " forth. 30. The sheep and goats of every kind skip about on " their legs, 31. and feathered fowl and the birds of the air also " live [because] thou hast risen for them. 32. The boats float " down and sail up the river likewise, 33. for thy path is opened " when thou risest. 34. The fish in the stream leap up towards " thy face, 35. and thy beams shine through the waters of the " great sea.

" 36. Thou makest male seed to enter into women, and thou " causest the liquid seed to become a human being. 37. Thou " makest the man child to live in the body of his mother. " 38. Thou makest him to keep silent so that he cry not, 39. and " thou art a nurse to him in the womb. 40. Thou givest breath " that it may vivify every part of his being. 41. When he goeth " forth from the belly, on the day wherein he is born, 42. thou " openest his mouth that he may speak, 43. and thou providest " for him whatsoever is necessary. 44. When the chick is in the " the egg, and is making a sound within the shell, 45. thou givest " it air inside it so that it may keep alive. 46. Thou bringest it " to perfection so that it may split the eggshell, 47. and it cometh " forth from the egg to proclaim that it is a perfect chick, " 48. and as soon as it hath come forth therefrom it runneth "about on its feet. 49. How many are the things which thou "hast created!

"50. There were . . . . . in the face of the One God, and his ". . . . . had rest. 51. Thou didst create the earth at thy will "when thou didst exist by thyself, 52. and men and women, and "beasts and cattle, and flocks of animals of every kind, 53. and "every thing which is upon the earth and which goeth about on "its feet, 54. and everything which is in the air above and which "flieth about with wings, 55. and the land of Syria and Nubia,



Ȧmen-ḥetep IV. and his Wife and Daughter.

"and Egypt. 56. Thou settest every man in his place, 57. and "thou makest for them whatsoever they need. 58. Thou pro"videst for every man that which he should have in his storehouse, "and thou computest the measure of his life. 59. They speak in "tongues which are different [from each other], 60. and their "dispositions (or characteristics) are according to their skins. "61. Thou who canst discern hast made the difference between "the dwellers in the desert to be discerned.

"62. Thou hast made Ḥāpi (i.e., the Nile) in the Ṭuat, 63. and “thou bringest him on according to thy will to make rational “beings to live, 64. inasmuch as thou hast made them for thyself, “65. O thou who art the lord of all of them, and who dost remain “with them. 66. Thou art the lord of every (?) land, and thou “shinest upon them, 67. thou art Àten of the day, and art “revered in every foreign land (?), 68. and thou makest their “lives. 69. Thou makest Ḥāpi in heaven to come down to them, “70. and he maketh his rushing waters to flow over the hills like “the great green sea. 71. and they spread themselves abroad “and water the fields of the people in their villages. 72. Thy “plans (or, counsels) are doubly beneficent. 73. Thou art the “Lord of eternity, and thou thyself art the Nile in heaven, and “all foreign peoples and all the beasts on all the hills 74. go about “on their feet [through thee]. 75. Ḥāpi (i.e., the Nile) cometh “from the Ṭuat to Egypt, 76. and thou givest sustenance to its “people and to every garden, and 77. [when] thou hast risen they “live for thee.

“78. Thou hast made the seasons of the year so that they “may cause the things which thou hast made to bring forth, “79. the winter season bringeth them cold, and the summer “season fiery heat. 80. Thou hast created the heavens which are “far extending that thou mayest rise therein and mayest be able “to look upon all which thou didst create when thou didst exist “by thyself, 81. and thou dost rise in thy creations as the living “Àten, 82. and thou dost rise, and dost shine, and dost depart on “thy path, and dost return. 83. Thou didst create [the forms] “of created things in thyself when thou didst exist alone. 84. “Cities, towns, villages and hamlets, roads and river[s], 85. from “these every eye looketh upon thee, 86. for thou art the Àten of “the day and art above the earth. 87. Thou journeyest through “that which existeth in thine Eye. 88. . . . . 89. “Thou art in my heart, 90. and none knoweth thee except thy “son (Nefer-kheperu-Rā-uā-en-Rā), 91. and thou makest him to “be wise and understanding through thy counsels and through “thy strength. 92. The earth is in thy hand, inasmuch as thou “hast made them (i.e., those in it). 93. When thou risest man-

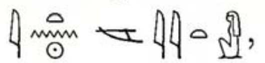
"kind live; and when thou settest they die. 94. As long as thou "art in the sky they live in thee, 95. and the eyes of all are upon "thy beauties until thou settest, 96. and they set aside their "work of every kind when thou settest in the west. 97. Thou "risest and thou makest to grow . . . . for the king. "98. . . . . . . from the time when thou didst lay the foundations "of the earth, 99. and thou didst raise them up for thy son who "proceeded from thy members." [Here follow two lines wherein the names and titles of the king are repeated.]

The above version of the hymn to Åten will serve to illustrate the views held by the king and his followers about this god, and may be compared with the hymns to Rā, which are quoted in the section on the forms of the Sun-god, when it will be seen that many of the most important characteristics of hymns to sun-gods are wanting. There is no mention of enemies or of the fiends, Āpep, Sebåu, and Nåk, who were overcome by Rā when he rose in the eastern horizon; no reference is made to Kheperå, or to the services which Thoth and Maāt were believed to render to him daily; and the frequent allusions to the Māṭet and Sektet Boats in which Rā was thought to make his journey over the sky are wholly omitted. The old myths which had grown up about Rā are ignored, and the priests of Åten proclaimed with no uncertain voice the unity of their god in terms which provoked the priests of Åmen to wrath. Åten had existed for ever, they said, he was beautiful, glorious, and self-existent, he had created the sun and his path, and heaven, and earth, and every living being and thing therein, and he maintained the life in man and beast, and fed all creatures according to his plans, and he determined the duration of their life. Everything came from Åten, and everything depended upon him; he was, moreover, everlasting. From the absence of any mention of the "gods" or of the well-known great gods of Egypt it is evident that they wished to give a monotheistic character to the worship of Åten, and it was, manifestly, this characteristic of it which made the king and his god detested at Thebes; it accounts for the fact that Åmen-ḥetep IV. felt it to be necessary to build a new capital for himself and his god, and supplies us with the reason why he did not settle in one of the ancient religious centres of his kingdom. We should expect that, as he styled himself the high-priest of Ḥeru-khuti (i.e., Harmachis), he would have taken up his abode in Memphis or Heliopolis, where this god was greatly honoured, but as he did not, we are driven to conclude that there was in the worship of Åten and in the doctrines of his priests something which could neither brook nor tolerate the presence of another god, still less of other gods, and that that something must have been of the nature of monotheism.

Now although the hymn quoted above gives us an idea of the views held by Åmen-ḥetep IV. and his adherents concerning Åten, it is impossible to gather from it any very precise information about the details of the belief or doctrine of Åten, but it is clear that in practice the religion was of a sensuous character, and eminently materialistic. Incense was burnt freely several times in the day, and the hymns sung to Åten were accompanied by the sounds of the music of harps and other instruments, and the people vied with each other in bringing gifts of fruit, and flowers, and garden produce to lay on the altars which were never drenched with the blood of animals offered up for sacrifice. The worship of Åten was of a joyous character, and the surroundings among which it was carried on were bright and cheerful. The mural decorations in the temple were different from those of the older temples of Egypt, for they were less severe and less conventional, and they were painted in lively colours; in fact, the artists employed by Åmen-ḥetep IV. threw off many of the old trammels of their profession, and indulged themselves in new designs, new forms, new colours, and new treatment of the subjects which they wished to represent. We may see from the remains of their wall decorations that the artists of the city of Khut-Åten made one great step in advance, that is to say, they introduced shading into their painting, and it is greatly to be regretted that it was retraced later; it was only during the reign of Åmen-ḥetep IV. that the Egyptian artist ever showed that he understood the effects of light and shade in his work. The texts and inscriptions which were placed upon the walls relate to the glory and majesty and beneficence of Åten, and everywhere are seen representations of the visible emblem of the god. The form in which he is depicted is that of the solar disk, from which proceed rays, the ends of which terminate in hands wherein are the emblems of life, ☥, and sovereignty, ; in the bas-reliefs and frescoes we see these human-handed rays shining upon the king, and his queen and family, and upon the cartouches containing the names of himself and of his queen Nefert-ith. The simple interpretation of such scenes is that the sun is the source of all life and of everything which supports it upon earth, but it is probable that the so-called Åten heresy was in some way founded upon the views which the Åtenites held about this method of representing their god. Be this as it may, Åmen-ḥetep IV. loved to be depicted with the human-handed rays falling upon him, and whatever his doctrines of Åten were he preached them with all the enthusiasm of an Oriental fanatic, and on special occasions he himself officiated as high-priest of the cult. The wisdom of his policy is open to doubt, but there is no reason for regarding him as anything but an earnest and honest propagandist of a new creed.

Now, as the king changed his religion and his name, so he also caused his own form and figure when represented in bas-reliefs to be changed. In the earlier monuments of his reign he is depicted as possessing the typical features of his father and of others of his ancestors, but at Tell el-'Amarna his physical characteristics are entirely different. Here he is portrayed with a very high, narrow, and receding forehead, a large, sharp, aquiline nose, a thin, weak mouth, and a large projecting chin, and his head is set upon a long and extremely slender neck; his chest is rounded, his stomach inflated, his thighs are large and broad, and in many respects his figure resembles that of a woman. It is impossible that such representations of the king would be permitted to appear in bas-reliefs in his city unless he approved of them, and it is clear that he did approve, and that his officials understood that he approved of this treatment of his person at the hands of sculptors and artists, for some of the high officials were themselves represented in the same manner. Still, some of the drawings of the king must be regarded as caricatures, but whether intentional or otherwise cannot be said.

For a few years Ȧmen-ḥetep IV. led a life of great happiness and enjoyment in his new capital, and his whole time seems to have been passed in adorning it with handsome buildings, fine sculptures, and large gardens filled with trees and plants of every kind; he appears to have bestowed gifts with a lavish hand upon his favourites, who it must be admitted, were his officials who seconded his wishes and gave effect to them. Life at Khut-Ȧten was joyous, and there is no evidence that men troubled themselves with thoughts about death or the kingdom of Osiris; if they did, they made no mention of them in their hymns and inscriptions.

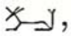
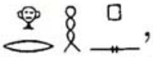
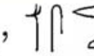
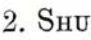
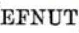
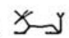
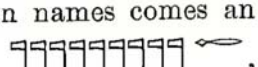
On the other hand Ȧmen-ḥetep IV. did not, or could not, abolish the characteristic funeral customs and beliefs of his country, and the tombs of the adherents of Ȧten bear witness to the fact. The king caused a tomb to be hewn out of the rock in the mountains near the town, on its eastern side, and it contained, when discovered in 1892 by the natives, the things which are usually found in tombs of men of high rank. The sarcophagus was broken in pieces, but scattered about the mummy-chamber and along the corridor which led to it were numbers of objects and fragments of objects made of the beautiful purple and blue glazed faïence which is so characteristic of the reign of Ȧmen-ḥetep IV. The body of the king must have been mummified, and on it must have been laid the same classes of amulets that are found on the royal mummies at Thebes. Portions of several granite *ushabtiu* figures were also found, a fact which shows that those who buried the king assumed he would enjoy a somewhat material life in Sekhet-ḥetepet and Sekhet-Ȧarru in the kingdom of Osiris. That Ȧmen-ḥetep IV. thought little about his death and burial is proved by the state of his tomb, which shows that he made no attempt to prepare it for the reception of his body when the need should arise. This is the more strange because he had caused his eldest daughter Ȧten-merit, , to be buried in it, and he must have known from sad experience what great preparations had to be made, and what complicated ceremonies had to be performed when a royal personage was laid to rest. The tombs of the adherents of Åten are very disappointing in many ways, though they possess an interest peculiar to themselves. From the scenes painted on their walls it is possible to obtain an idea of the class of buildings which existed in the city of Khut-Åten, and of the arrangements of its streets and gardens, and of the free manner in which the various members of the royal family moved about among the people. The king's tomb was never finished, and the remains of the greater number of the paintings on its walls show that they were executed not for him but for his eldest daughter, who has already been mentioned; the chief subject chosen for illustration is the worship of Åten, and both the scenes and the texts accompanying them represented that the god was adored by every nation in the world.

It is, unfortunately, not known how old the king was when he died, but he must have been a comparatively young man, and his reign could not have been so long as twenty years. In the ten or twelve years of it which he lived at Khut-Åten he devoted himself entirely to the building of his new capital and the development of the cult of Åten, and meanwhile the general condition of Egypt was going from bad to worse, the governors of Egyptian possessions in Syria and Palestine were quarrelling among themselves, strong and resolute rebels had risen up in many parts of these countries, and over and above all this the infuriated priesthood of Åmen-Rā were watching for an opportunity to restore the national god to his proper place, and to set upon the throne a king who would forward the interests of their brotherhood. This opportunity came with the death of Åmen-ḥetep IV., when Tut-ānkh-Åmen, a son of Åmen-ḥetep III. by a concubine, ascended the throne; he married a daughter of Åmen-ḥetep IV., who was called Ānkh-s-en-pa-Åten, but she changed her name into Ānkh-s-en-Åmen, and both the new king and queen were worshippers of the great god of Thebes. Tut-ānkh-Åmen at once began to restore the name and figure of Åmen which his father-in-law had cut out from the monuments, and began to build at Thebes; very soon after his accession he came to terms with the priests of Åmen, and in due course removed his court to the old capital. On the death of Tut-ānkh-Ȧmen, a "superintendent of the whole stud of Pharaoh" of the name of Ȧi ascended the throne by virtue of his marriage with Thi, who was in some way related to the family of Ȧmen-ḥetep IV.; before Ȧi became king he was a follower of Ȧten, and built himself a tomb at Khut-Ȧten, which was ornamented after the manner of those of the adherents of this god, but as soon as he had taken up his abode at Thebes and begun to reign over Egypt he built another tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes.

The decoration of the sarcophagus which he placed in the latter tomb makes it quite certain that when he made it he had rejected the cult of Ȧten, and that he was, at all events outwardly, a loyal follower of the god Ȧmen-Rā. On the death of Ȧi several pretenders to the throne rose up in Egypt, and a period of anarchy followed. Of the details of the history of this period nothing is known, and the only certain fact about it is that the power of the XVIIIth Dynasty was broken, and that its downfall was certain. During the reigns of Tut-ānkh-Ȧmen and Ȧi the prosperity of the city Khut-Ȧten declined rapidly, and as soon as the period of anarchy which followed their reigns began its population left it, little by little, and its downfall was assured; the artists and workmen of all kinds who had obtained work there under Ȧmen-ḥetep found their occupation gone, and they departed to Thebes and the other cities whence they had come. Under the reign of Ḥeru-em-ḥeb the decay of the city advanced and it became generally deserted, and very soon after men came from far and near to carry off, for building purposes, the beautiful white limestone blocks which were in the temple and houses. Ḥeru-em-ḥeb was the nominee of the priests of Ȧmen-Rā, and he used all his power and influence to stamp out every trace of the worship of Ȧten, and succeeded. Thus Ȧmen-Rā conquered Ȧten, Thebes once more became the capital of Egypt, the priests of Ȧmen regained their ascendancy, and in less than twenty-five years after the death of Ȧmen-ḥetep IV. his city was deserted, the sanctuary of his god was desecrated, his followers were scattered, and his enemies were in undisputed possession of the country.

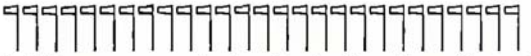
CHAPTER V

THE GREAT COMPANY OF THE GODS OF HELIOPOLIS

A PERUSAL of the Pyramid Texts reveals the fact that the priests of Heliopolis believed in the existence of three companies of gods, and that to each company they assigned at least nine gods; in certain cases a company contained eleven, twelve, or more gods. In the text of Unȧs (line 222 ff.) we find a series of addresses to Rā-Tem, wherein are mentioned Set and Nephthys, , , Osiris, Isis, and Ḥer-ḥepes, , , , Thoth, Anubis, and Usert, , , , and Horus, which seems to show that one company of gods, of which the dual god Rā-Tem was the head, consisted of Set, Nephthys, Ḥer-ḥepes, Osiris, Isis, Thoth, Anubis, Usert, and Horus, i.e., in all ten gods. In the next section but one of the same king's text (line 240 f.) the Great Company of the gods of Heliopolis are declared to be:—
1. TEM, . 2. SHU, . 3. TEFNUT, . 4. SEB, . 5. NUT, . 6. ISIS, . 7. SET, . 8. NEPHTHYS, . 9. THOTH, . 10. HORUS, . Here again we have ten gods assigned to the divine company, but curiously enough the name of OSIRIS, one of the most important of the gods, is omitted. Following these ten names comes an address to the "Great Company of the Gods," , which clearly refers to the gods whose names we have mentioned. In the text of Pepi II. (line 665), the gods who are declared to form "the Great Company of the gods who are in Annu" are:—1. TEM. 2. SHU. 3. TEFNUT. 4. SEB. 5. NUT. 6. OSIRIS. 7. ISIS. 8. SET, , and 9.

NEPHTHYS, , and they are called the "offspring of Tem, who "made wide his heart when he gave them birth in your name of "'Nine.'"[1] A few lines lower down the king makes a petition to the "Great Company of the gods who are in Ȧnnu," and he includes in it the names of TEM, SHU, TEFNUT, SEB, NUT, OSIRIS, OSIRIS-KHENT-ȦMENTI, SET of Ombos, ḤERU of Edfu,[2] RĀ, KHENT-MAATI,[3] and UATCHET; thus the Great Company of the gods of Heliopolis may contain either nine or twelve gods. In several passages in the Pyramid Texts two groups or companies of gods, eighteen in number, are mentioned; thus in the text of Mer-en-Rā, line 453, allusion is made to the "very great "eighteen gods who are at the head of the Souls of Ȧnnu," but these, clearly, include the Great Company and the Little Company, who are addressed on behalf of the deceased in the text of Unȧs, lines 251, 252.

The triple Company to which allusion is sometimes made,



(Tetȧ, line 307), was probably supposed to include the Great Company of the gods of heaven, the Little Company of the gods of earth, and the Company of the gods of the Underworld, but from many passages it is evident that the Great and Little Companies represented to the Egyptian, for all practical purposes, the whole of the gods whom he attempted to worship. The priests of the provincial cities and towns adopted by degrees the more important of the views of the Heliopolitan priesthood concerning the Egyptian cosmogony and theogony, and as they were able to identify their local gods with Temu, or Rā-Tem, the head of the Heliopolitan Company of gods, and with the members of his company to whom their attributes were most akin, no serious opposition appears to have been offered by them to the tenets of the great religious centre of Heliopolis. The priests of this city were prudent enough to include as forms of the gods of their divine companies the great ancient gods and goddesses of the South and the North, as well as a number of

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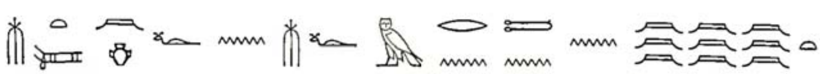
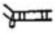
[1] .

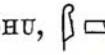
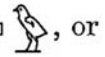
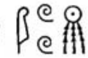
[2] .

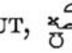
[3] .

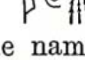
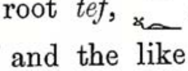
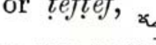
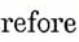
lesser gods whose worship was quite local, and in this way they succeeded in causing their doctrines to be accepted throughout the length and breadth of Egypt, and there is no doubt that the great theological system of Thebes under the Middle and New Empires was based entirely upon that of Heliopolis. We have now to describe the attributes of the gods of the Great Company, which for convenience may be assumed to consist of the following:— Tem, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Set, and Nephthys.

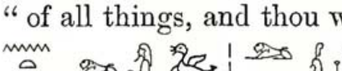
1. TEM , or .

TEM was a form of the Sun-god, and was the great local god of Ȧnnu, and the head of the company of gods of that place. His name is connected with the root *tem*, , or *temem*, , "to be complete," "to make an end of," and he was regarded as the form of the Sun-god which brought the day to an end, i.e., as the evening or night sun. He is always depicted in the human form. The attributes of the god have been already described in the section which treats of the forms of the Sun-god Rā.

2. SHU, , or , or , or .

3. TEFNUT, .

SHU and his female counterpart TEFNUT may be considered together, because they are usually mentioned together, at all events in the texts of the later periods. The name Shu appears to be derived from the root *shu*, , "dry, parched, withered, empty," and the like, and the name Tefnut must be connected with the root *tef*, , or *teftef*, , "to spit, be moist," and the like; thus Shu was a god who was connected with the heat and dryness of sunlight and with the dry atmosphere which exists between the earth and the sky, and Tefnut was a personification of the moisture of the sky, and made herself manifest in various forms. The oldest legend about the origin of the gods is contained in the text of Pepi I., wherein it is said (line 465) that once upon a time Tem went to the city of Ȧnnu and that he there produced from his own body by the irregular means of masturbation his two children Shu and Tefnut. In this crude form the myth is probably of Libyan origin, and it suggests that its inventors were in a semi-savage, or perhaps wholly savage, state when it was first promulgated. In later times, as we have already seen, the Egyptians appear to have rejected certain of the details of the myth, or to have felt some difficulty in believing that Shu and Tefnut were begotten and conceived and brought forth by Tem, and they therefore assumed that his shadow, , *khaibit*, acted the part of wife to him; another view was that the goddess Iusaāset was his wife.[1]

The old ideas about the origin of the twin gods, however, maintained their position in the minds of the Egyptians, and we find them categorically expressed in some of the hymns addressed to Ȧmen-Rā, who under the New Empire was identified with Tem, just as at an earlier period Rā was identified with the same god. In two hymns quoted by Brugsch[2] we have the following:—"O Ȧmen-Rā, the gods have gone forth from thee. What flowed "forth from thee became Shu, and that which was emitted by thee "became Tefnut; thou didst create the nine gods at the beginning "of all things, and thou wast the Lion-god of the Twin Lion-gods," .[3] The Twin Lion-gods are, of course, Shu and Tefnut, who are mentioned in the *Book of the Dead* in several passages.[4] In the second hymn to Ȧmen-Rā it is said,

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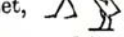
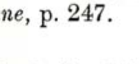
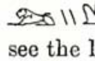
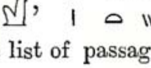
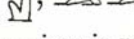
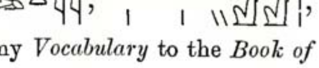
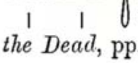
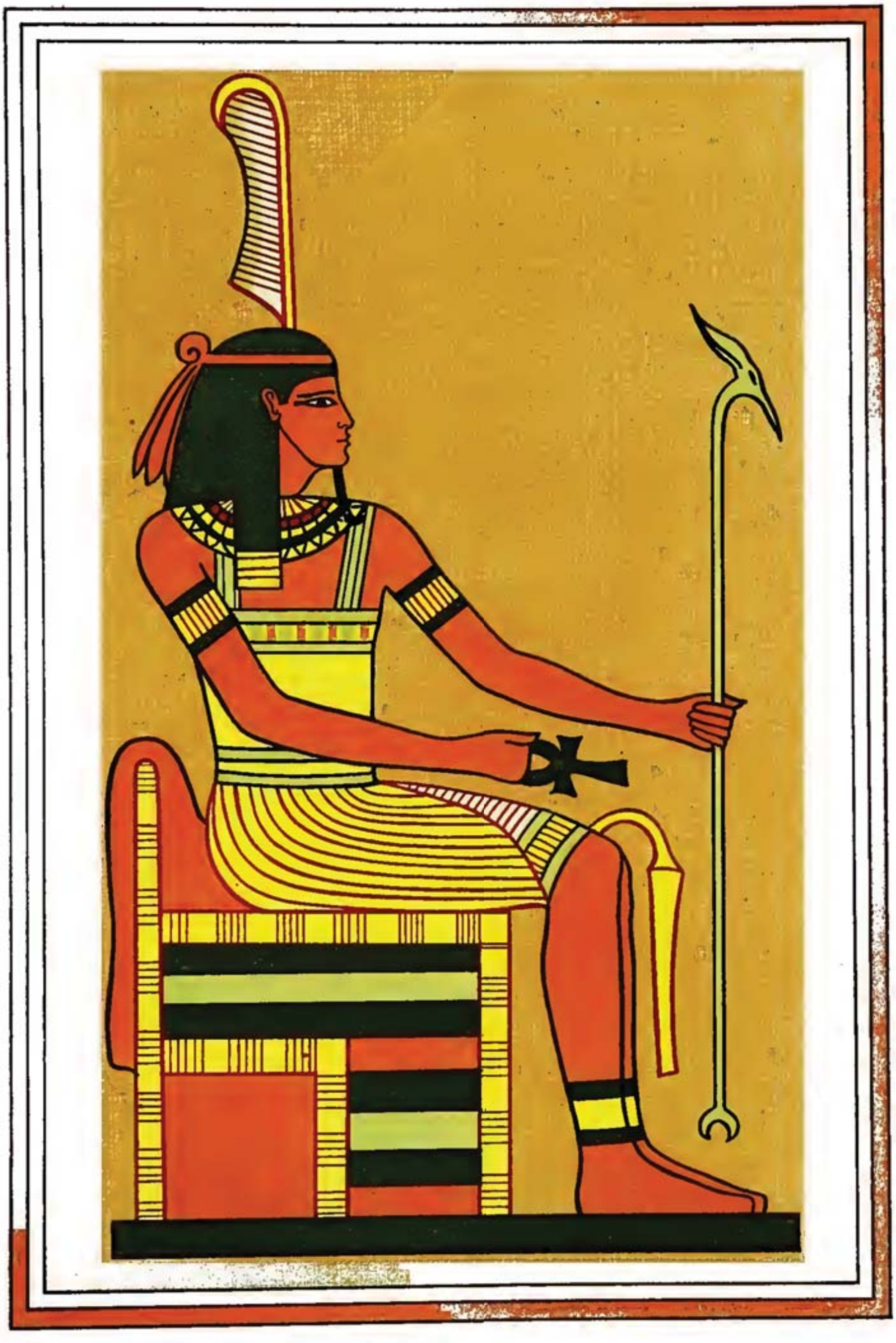
[1] In the passage referred to the opening words are, "Tem came to take pleasure in himself,"  *iu sa*, and M. Maspero thinks that the name of the goddess Iusaāset, , may be derived from them. See *La Mythologie Égyptienne*, p. 247.

[2] *Religion*, p. 422.

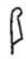
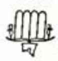
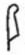
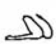
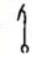
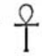
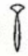
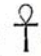
[3] Brugsch, *Reise*, pl. 26, l. 26.

[4] The forms are , , , , ; see the list of passages given in my *Vocabulary* to the *Book of the Dead*, pp. 197, 198.



THE GOD SHU.

"Thou art the One God, who didst form thyself into two gods, "thou art the creator of the Egg, and thou didst produce thy "Twin-Gods." In connexion with the production of Shu and Tefnut Dr. Brugsch refers to the well-known origin of the gods of Taste and Feeling, Ḥu, , and Sa, , who are said to have sprung into being from the drops of blood which fell from the phallus of Rā, and to have taken up their places among the gods who were in the train of Rā, and who were with Temu every day.[1] (*Book of the Dead*, xvii. 62).

Shu is represented in the form of a man who wears upon his head one feather, , or two, , or four, ; the phonetic value of the sign  is *shu*, and the use of it as the symbol of the god's name seems to indicate some desire on the part of the Egyptians to connect the word *shu*, or *shȧu*, "feather," with *shu*, "light, empty space, dryness," etc. As the god of the space which exists between the earth and the sky, Shu was represented under the form of a god who held up the sky with his two hands, one supporting it at the place of sunrise, and the other at the place of sunset, and several porcelain figures exist in which he is seen kneeling upon one knee, in the act of lifting up with his two hands the sky with the solar disk in it. When Shu wears no feather he bears upon his head the figure of the hind-quarter of a lion , *peḥ;* in mythological scenes we find him both seated and standing, and he usually holds in one hand the sceptre , and in the other . In a picture given by Lanzone[2] he grasps in his left hand a scorpion, a serpent, and a hawk-headed sceptre. The goddess Tefnut is represented in the form of a woman, who wears upon her head the solar disk encircled by a serpent, and holds in her hands the sceptre , and ; she, however, often appears with the head of a lioness, which is surmounted by a uraeus, and she is sometimes depicted in the form of a lioness.

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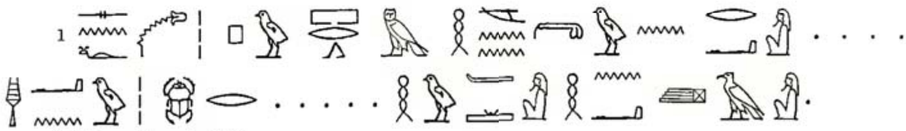
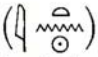
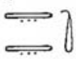
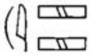
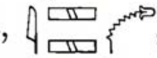
[1] 

[2] Op. cit., pl. 386.

An examination of the texts shows that Shu was a god of light, or light personified, who made himself manifest in the beams of the sun by day, and in the light of the moon by night, and his home was the disk () of the sun. Viewed in this connexion it is easy to understand the scene in which the god appears rising up from behind the earth with the solar disk upon his head, and his hands supporting that upon which it rests. In a text at Edfû published by Bergmann,[1] the creator of Shu is called Tauith, , and to him the king who caused the words to be inscribed is made to say, "Thou hast emitted ( *åshesh*) Shu, and "he hath come forth from thy mouth. . . . He hath become a "god, and he hath brought for thee every good thing; he hath "toiled for thee, and he hath emitted for thee in his name of Shu, "the royal double. He hath laboured for thee in these things, "and he beareth up for thee heaven upon his head in his name "of Shu, and Tauith giveth the strength of the body of heaven "in his name of Ptaḥ. He beareth up ( ) for thee "heaven with his hands in his name of Shu, the body of the "sky."[2] It must be noted that the same word *åshesh*, , is used to express both the idea of "pouring out" and of "supporting," and it is difficult to reconcile these totally different meanings unless we remember that it is that which Tem, or Rā-Tem, has poured out which supports the heavens wherein shines the Sun-god. That which Tem, or Rā-Tem, has poured out is the light, and light was declared to be the prop of the sky.

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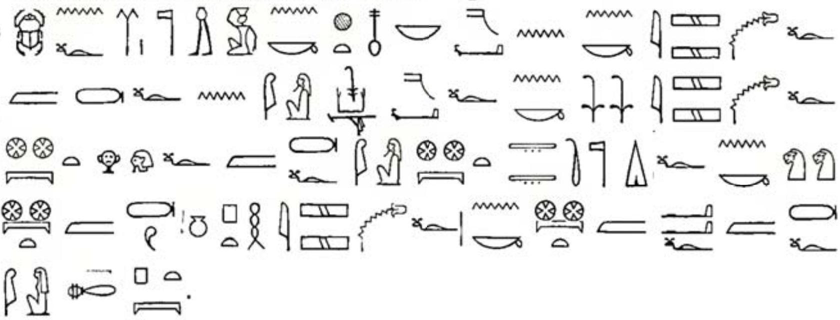
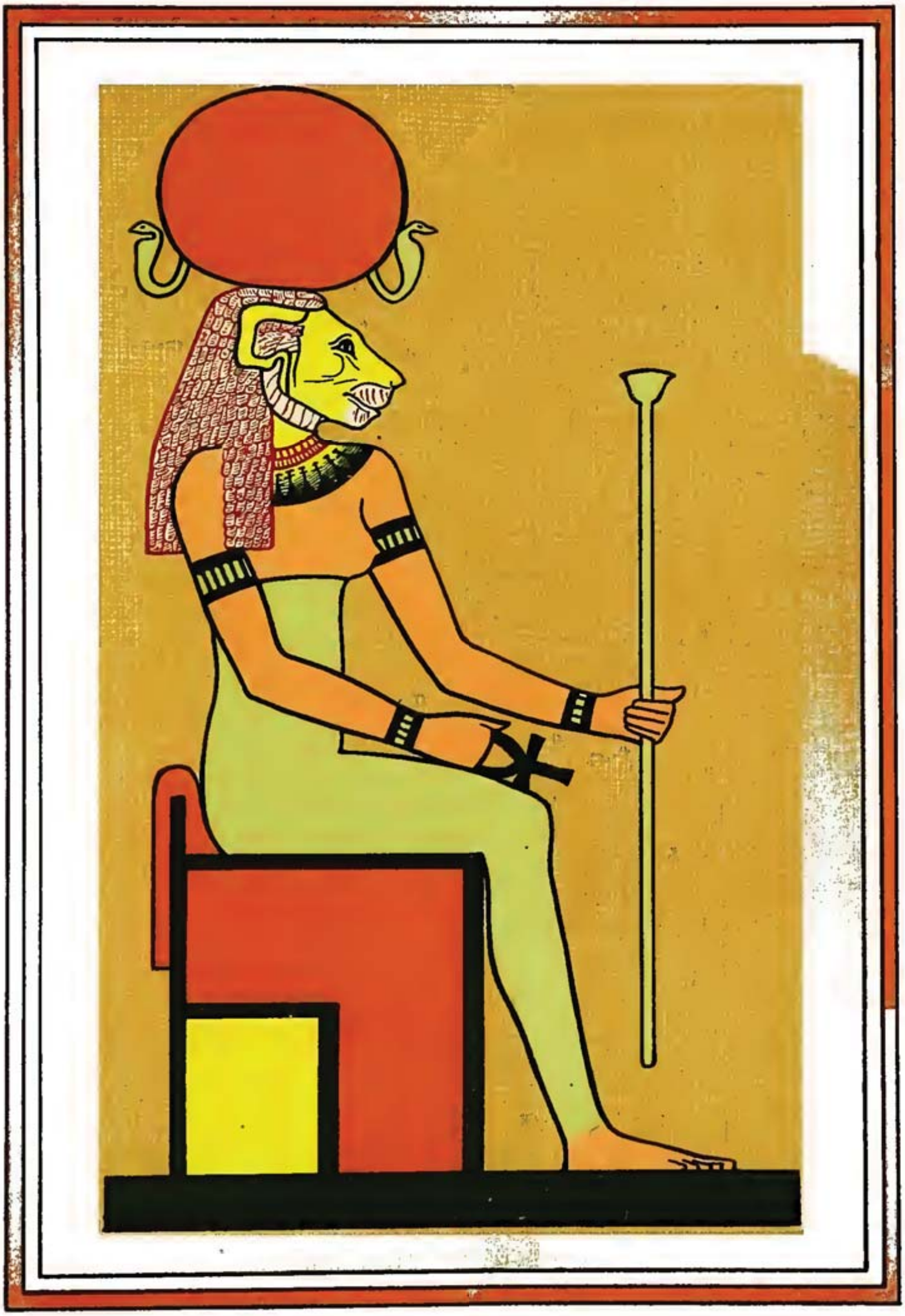
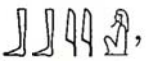
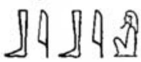
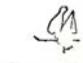
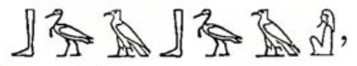
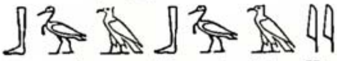
[1] *Hieroglyphische Inschriften*, Vienna, 1879, pl. 42, ll. 1-4, 10, 11.

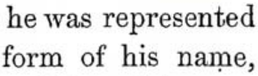
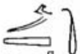
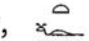
[2] 



THE GODDESS TEFNUT.

From a number of passages examined by Dr. Brugsch[1] we find that Shu was a personification of the rays which came forth from the eyes of Rā, and that he was the soul of the god Khnemu, the great god of Elephantine and of the First Cataract; he also represented the burning, fiery heat of the sun at noon, and the sun in the height of summer.

In another aspect his abode was the region between the earth and the sky, and he was a personification of the wind of the North; Dr. Brugsch went so far as to identify him with the "spiritual Pneuma in a higher sense," and thought that he might be regarded as the vital principle of all living beings. He was certainly, like his father Tem, thought to be the cool wind of the North, and the dead were grateful to him for his breezes. Shu was, in fact, the god of the space which is filled with the atmosphere, even as Rā was the god of heaven, and Seb the god of the earth, and Osiris the god of the Underworld. From the *Book of the Dead* (xvii. 16) we learn that Shu and Tefnut were supposed to possess but one soul between them, but that the two halves of it were identified with the soul of Osiris and the soul of Rā, which together formed the great double soul which dwelt in Ṭaṭṭu. The gate of Tchesert in the Underworld was called the "gate of the pillars of Shu" (xvii. 56), and Shu and Tefnut laid the foundations of the house in which the deceased was supposed to dwell. From the xviiith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* we find that the princes of Heliopolis were Tem, Shu, Tefnut, Osiris, and Thoth, and that Rā, Osiris, Shu, and Bebi were the princes of the portion of the Underworld which was known by the name of Ȧnruṭ-f. We may note in passing that BEBI, , or BȦBȦ, , or , or BABA, , or BABAI, , was the first-born son of Osiris.

According to Dr. Brugsch, Baba was personified in the form of some Typhonic mythological animal, and was the god who presided over the phallus; the blood which fell from his nose grew up into plants which subsequently changed into cedars. Dr. Pleyte has rightly identified Bebi or Baba with the *Βέβων* or *Βεβῶνα* of Plutarch (*De Iside*, § 62) and with the *Βάβυς* of Hellanicus.[1] Bebôn was a name of Typhon, i.e., Set, and that he was represented by an animal is proved by the hieroglyphic form of his naṃe, which is determined by the skin of an animal, . In Chapter xxiii. the deceased prays that his "mouth may be unclosed by Shu with the iron knife wherewith he opened the mouth of the gods." From Chapters xxxiii. and xxxv. we learn that Shu was believed to possess power over serpents, and he it was who made the deceased to stand up by the Ladder which would take him to heaven (xcviii. 4). That souls needed a ladder whereby to mount from earth to heaven was a very ancient belief in Egypt. The four pillars which held up the sky at the four cardinal points were called the "pillars of Shu" (cix. 5, cx. 13), and Shu was the breath of the god Rā (cxxx. 4). The deceased was nourished with the food of Shu, i.e., he lived upon light; and in the Roman period Shu was merged in Rā, the god of light. The part played in Egyptian mythology by Tefnut is not easily defined, and but little is known about her. In the text of Unȧs (line 453) she is mentioned together with the two Maāt goddesses, , and with Shu, but curiously enough, she seems to appear as the female counterpart of a god called TEFEN, . The passage reads, "TEFEN and TEFNET have weighed Unȧs, and the "Maāt goddesses have hearkened, and Shu hath borne witness," etc. In the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* she is mentioned a few times in connexion with Shu (Chapters xvii., cxxx., etc.), and she is one of the group of gods who form the divine company and the "body and soul of Rā" (cxl. 7), but she performs no service for the deceased beyond providing him with breath. She was originally a goddess of gentle rain and soft wind, but at a comparatively late period of Egyptian history she was identified with Neḥemāuit at Hermopolis, with Menḥit at Latopolis, with Sekhet in Memphis, and with Apsit in Nubia.

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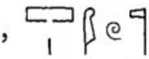
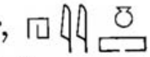
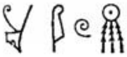
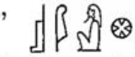
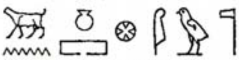
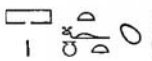
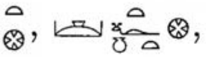
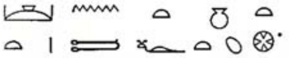
[1] *Religion*, p. 432.

Unlike most of the gods of Egypt, Shu and Tefnut do not appear to have have had set apart for them any special city or district, but at the same time titles were given to certain cities which presupposed some connexion between them and these gods. Thus Dendera was called Per-Shu, , i.e., "House of Shu," and Apollinopolis Magna was called Hinu-en-Shu-nefer,  , and Edfû was the "Seat of Shu," , and Memphis bore the name of "Palace of Shu," .[1] Similarly, one portion of Dendera was known as the "House of Tefnut," or the "Åat of Tefnut," , , or . Whether there were statues of Shu and Tefnut in these cities cannot be said, but it is very probable that they were worshipped in their sanctuaries under the forms of lions, and in this connexion it is worthy of note that Aelian records (*De Nat. Animal.* xii. § 7) that the people of Heliopolis worshipped lions in the temple of Helios.

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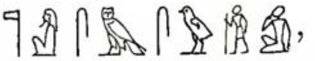
[1] *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1865, p. 55.

It has already been mentioned that Shu was the sky-bearer *par excellence*, and we may note in passing the interesting myth which the Egyptians possessed about him in this capacity, and the explanation which they gave of his occupying this position. According to the text which is found in the tomb of Seti I. in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, in very remote times, when Rā ruled over gods and men and had his throne established in the city of Suten-ḥenen, or Ḥenen-su, mankind began to utter seditious words against him, and the great god determined to destroy them. He summoned Hathor, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, and Nut into his presence, and having told them what men, who had proceeded from his eye, had been saying about him, he asked them for their advice, and promised that he would not slay the rebels until he had heard what the "first-born god" and the "ancestor gods" had to say on the matter. In answer to this the first-born god Nu, , advised him to let his daughter Hathor, "the eye of Rā," go forth and slay men; Rā accepted the advice straightway, and Hathor went forth and slew all mankind, and when she returned Rā was well pleased with her. Soon after this he became wearied with the earth, and the goddess Nut having been turned into a cow he mounted upon her back and remained there, but before long the cow began to shake and to tremble because she was very high above the earth, and when she complained to Rā about it he commanded Shu to be a support to her, and to hold her up in the sky. In the picture of the cow which accompanies the text we see her body resting upon the head and the two raised hands and arms of the god. When Shu had taken up his place beneath the cow and was bearing up her body, the heavens above and the earth beneath came into being, and the four legs of the cow became the four props of heaven at the four cardinal points; and thus it came to pass that the god Seb and his female counterpart Nut began their existence.

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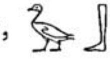
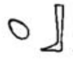
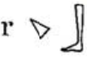
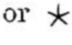
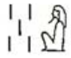
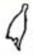
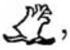
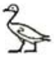
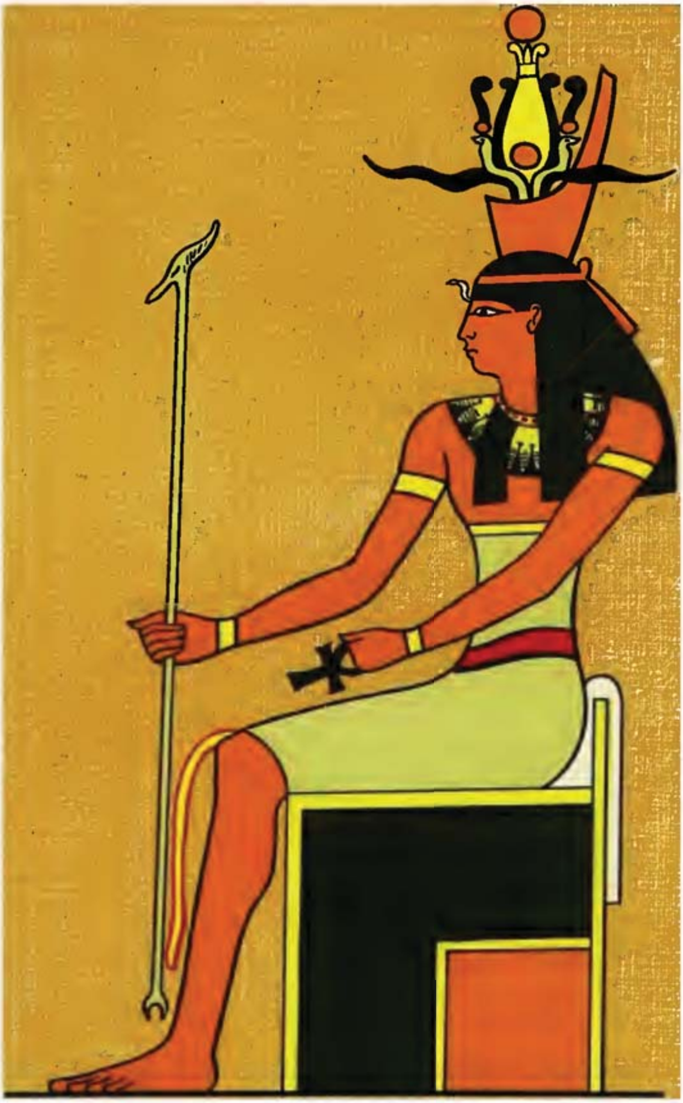
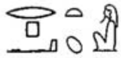
[1] Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 776.

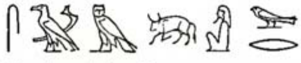
SEB, , or , or , or , or .

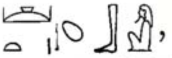
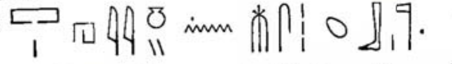
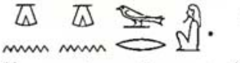
SEB was the son of Shu and Tefnut, and was the brother and husband of Nut, and the father of Osiris and Isis, Set and Nephthys, and some say of one of the Horus gods; according to the late Dr. Brugsch his name should be read Geb or Ḳeb, or Gebb, or Ḳebb, and in very early times this undoubtedly seems to have been the correct form of the god's name. He is usually represented in the form of a man who bears upon his head either the white crown , or the crown of the North, to which is added the *Atef* crown, , or a goose, , of the peculiar species called *seb*. This bird was sacred to him because he was believed to have made his way through the air in its form. Seb was the god of the earth, and the earth formed his body and was called the "house of Seb," just as the air was called the "house of Shu," and the heaven the "house of Rā," and the Underworld the "house of Osiris." As the god of the surface of the earth from which spring up trees, and plants, and herbs, and grain he played a very prominent part in the mythology of the Underworld, and as the god of the earth beneath the surface of the ground he had authority over the tombs wherein the dead were laid. In hymns

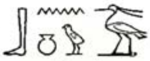


SEB, THE ERPĀ OF THE GODS.

and other compositions he is often styled the *erpāt*, , i.e., the hereditary, tribal chief of the gods, and he plays a very important part in the *Book of the Dead*. Thus he is one of the company of the gods who watch the weighing of the heart of the deceased in the Judgment Hall of Osiris, and on his brow rested the secret gates which were close by the Balance of Rā, and which were guarded by the god himself (xii. 2).

The soul of Seb was called Smam-ur, , (xvii. 116). The righteous who were provided with the necessary words of power were enabled to make their escape from the earth wherein their bodies were laid, but the wicked were held fast by Seb (xix. 14); Sekhet and Ȧnpu were great helpers of the deceased, but it was Seb whom he asked to open wide his two jaws for him, whom he begged to open his eyes, and loose his legs which were bandaged (xxvi. 1). And of him the deceased said, "My "father is Seb, and my mother is Nut" (xxxi. 5). Like Shu the god Seb was appealed to by the deceased for help against serpents (xxxiii. 2), and he was never tired of boasting that his cakes were "on the earth with the god Seb" (liii. 4), and that the gods had declared that he was "to live upon the bread of Seb" (lxviii. 9). In a burst of joy, Nu, the overseer of the house of the overseer of the seal, is made to say, "The doors of heaven are opened for me, the "doors of earth are opened for me, the bars and bolts of Seb are "opened for me" (lxviii. 2), and "I exchange speech with Seb "(lxxviii. 12), I am decreed to be the divine heir of Seb, the "lord of the earth, and to be the protector therein. The "god Seb refresheth me, and he maketh his risings to be mine" (lxxx. 11, 12).

The religious texts show that there was no special city or district set apart for the god Seb, but a portion of the temple estates in Apollinopolis Magna was called the "Ȧat of Seb," , and a name of Dendera was "the home of the children of Seb," . The chief seat of the god appears to have been at Heliopolis, where he and his female counterpart Nut produced the great Egg whereout sprang the Sun-god under the form of a phoenix.[1] Because of his connexion with this Egg Seb is sometimes called the "Great Cackler," ḲENḲEN-UR, . Thus the deceased says, "Hail, thou god Tem, "grant unto me the sweet breath which dwelleth in thy nostrils. "I embrace that great throne which is in the city of Hermopolis, "and I keep watch over the Egg of the Great Cackler (or, "according to another reading, I am the Egg which is in the "Great Cackler, and I watch and guard that mighty thing which "hath come into being wherewith the god Seb hath opened the "earth), I germinate as it germinateth; I live as it liveth; and "[my] breath is [its] breath" (*Book of the Dead*, Chapters liv., "lvi., lix.).

The name of the phoenix in Egyptian is "Bennu," , and this bird played a very prominent part in Egyptian mythology, but the texts do not bear out the extraordinary assertions which have been made about it by classical writers. According to the story which Herodotus heard at Heliopolis (ii. 73), the bird visited that place once every five hundred years, on its father's death; when it was five hundred, or fourteen hundred and sixty-one years old, it burnt itself to death. It was supposed to resemble an eagle, and to have red and gold feathers, and to come from Arabia; before its death it built a nest to which it gave the power of producing a new phoenix, though some thought that a worm crept out of its body before it died, and that from it the heat of the sun developed a new phoenix. Others thought that it died after a life of seven thousand and six years, and another view was that the new phoenix rose from the burnt and decomposing remains of his old body, and that he took these to Heliopolis where he burnt them.[2] All these fabulous stories are the result of misunderstandings of the Egyptian myth which declared that the renewed morning sun rose in the form of a Bennu, and of the belief which declared that this bird was the soul of Rā and also the living symbol of Osiris, and that it came forth from the very heart of the

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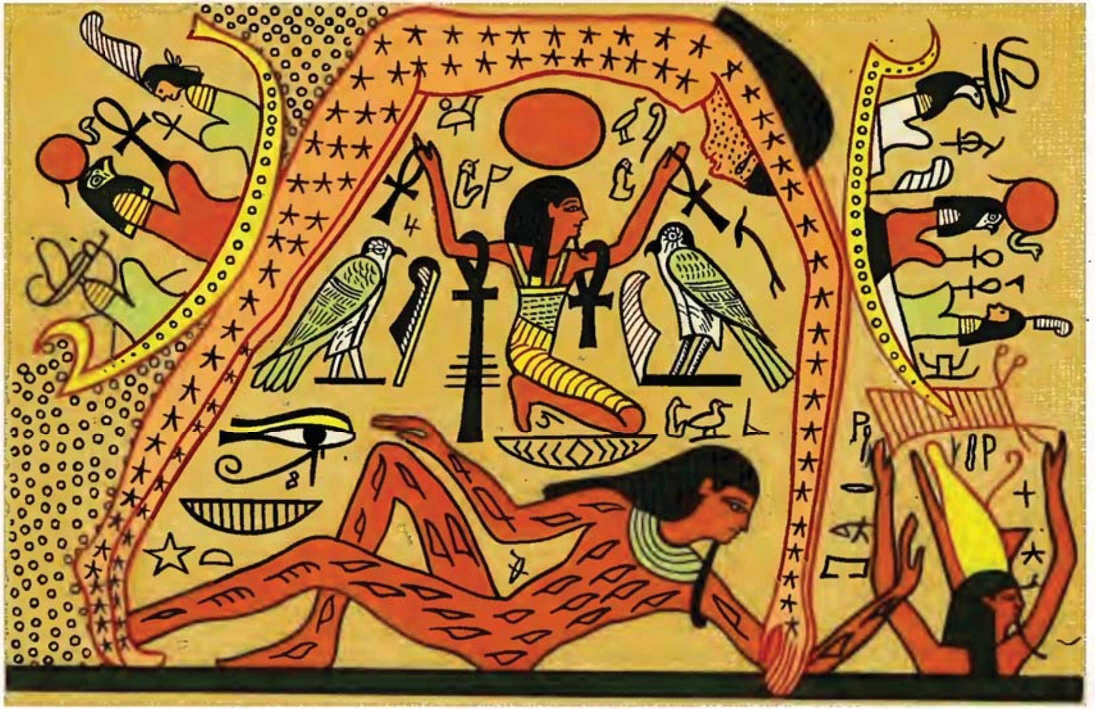
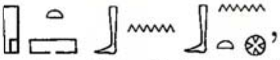
[1] Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 577.

[2] See Lucian, *De Mort. Pers.*, xxvii.; Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.*, iii. 49; Tzetzes, *Chiliar*, v. 397; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, x. 2; Pomponius Mela, iii. 8.



The God SEB supporting NUT on Heaven.

god. The sanctuary of the Bennu was the sanctuary of Rā and Osiris, and was called Ḥet Benben, , i.e., the "House of the Obelisk," and remembering this it is easy to understand the passages in the *Book of the Dead*, "I gȯ in like the "Hawk, and I come forth like the Bennu, the Morning Star (i.e., "the planet Venus) of Rā" (xiii. 2); "I am the Bennu which is in "Heliopolis" (xvii. 27), and the scholion on this passage expressly informs us that the Bennu is Osiris. Elsewhere the deceased says, "I am the Bennu, the soul of Rā, and the guide of the gods "in the Ṭuat; (xxix.c 1); let it be so done unto me that I may "enter in like a hawk, and that I may come forth like Bennu, "the Morning Star" (cxxii. 6). On a hypocephalus quoted by Prof. Wiedemann,[1] the deceased is made to say, "I am in the form "of the Bennu, which cometh forth from Ḥet-Benbenet in Ȧnnu," and from many passages we learn that the Bennu, the Soul of Rā, which appeared each morning under the form of the rising sun, was supposed to shine upon the world from the top of the famous Persea tree wherein he renewed himself. We may note that a Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* (lxxxii.) was written with the special object of enabling the deceased to transform himself into a Bennu bird if he felt disposed to do so; in it he identifies himself with the god Kheperȧ, and with Horus, the vanquisher of Set, and with Khensu.

It has already been said that Seb was the god of the earth, and the Heliopolitans declared that he represented the very ground upon which their city stood, meaning that Heliopolis was the birthplace of the company of the gods, and in fact that the work of creation began there. In several papyri we find pictures of the first act of creation which took place as soon as the Sun-god, by whatsoever name he may be called, appeared in the sky, and sent forth his rays from the heights of heaven upon the earth, and in these Seb always occupies a very prominent position. He is seen lying upon the ground with one hand stretched out upon it, and the other extended towards heaven, which position seems to be referred to in the text of Pepi I., lines 338, 339, wherein we read,

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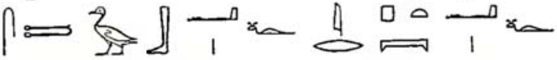
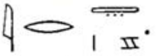
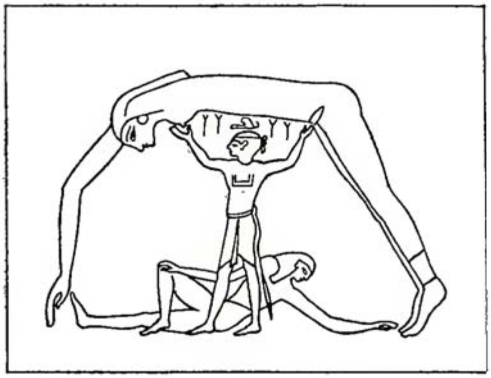
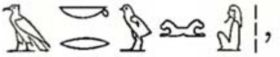
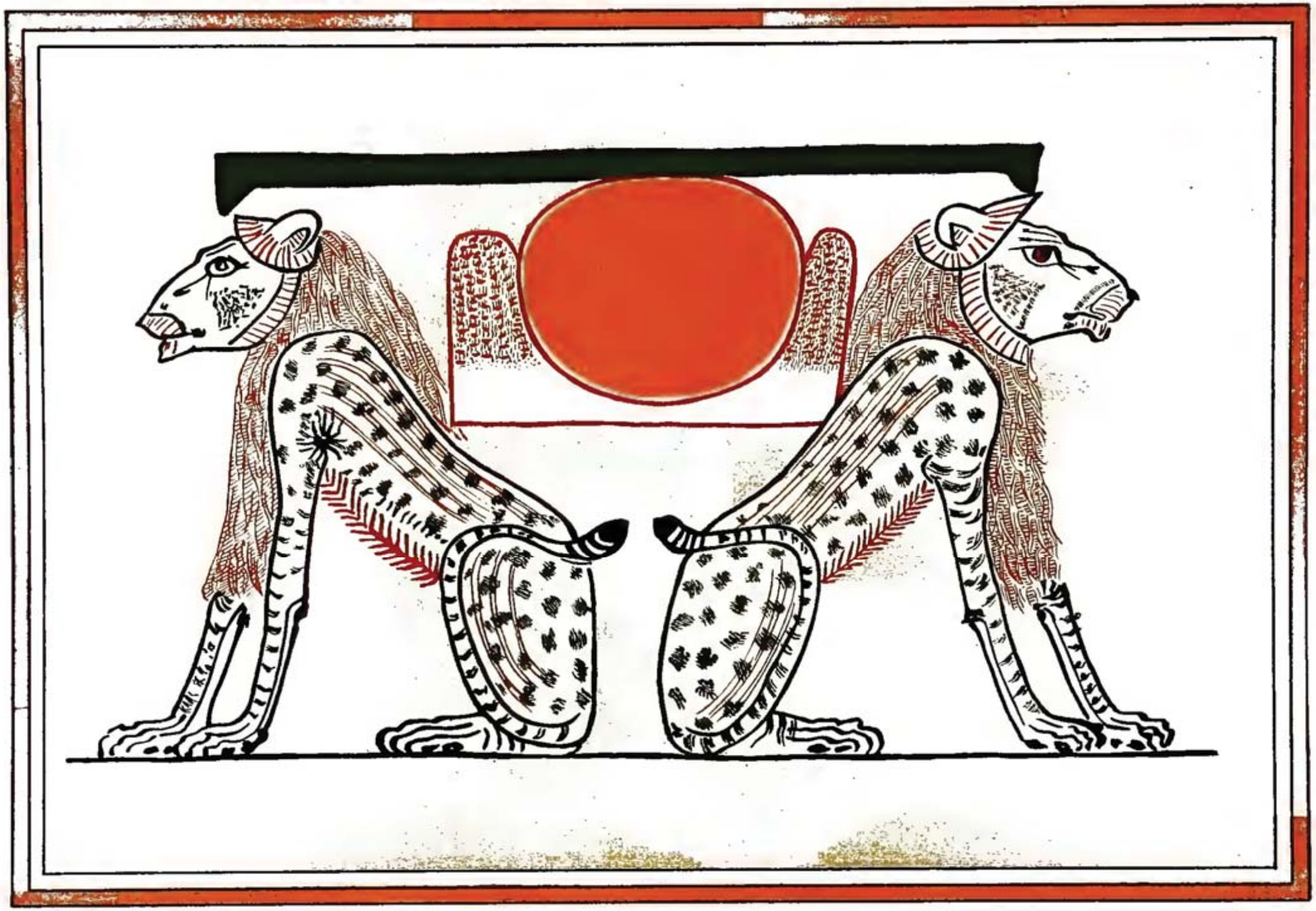
[1] *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1878, p. 93.

"Seb throws out his [one] hand to heaven and his [one] hand "towards the earth,"  . By his side stands the god Shu, who supports on his upraised hands the heavens which are depicted in the form of a woman, whose body is bespangled with stars; this woman is the goddess Nut, who is supposed to have been lifted up from the embrace of Seb by Shu when he insinuated himself between their bodies and so formed the earth and the sky. This was the act of Shu which brought into being his heir Seb, and his consort Nut, and it was the heirship of this god which the kings of Egypt boasted they had received when they sat upon their thrones.

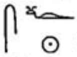
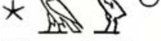


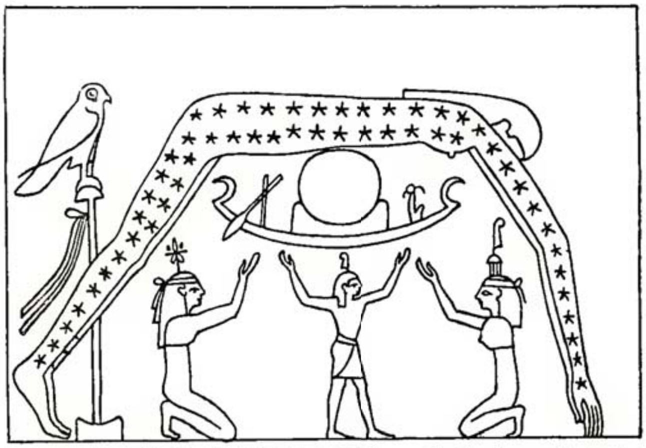
Seb and Nut.

Seb was the hereditary tribal chief of the gods, and his throne represented the sovereignty both of heaven and of earth; as a creative god he was identified with Tem, and so, as Dr. Brugsch pointed out, became the "father of his father." As an elementary god he represented the earth, as Rā did fire, and Shu air, and Osiris water. In some respects the attributes of Nut were assigned to him, for he is sometimes called the lord of the watery abyss, and the dweller in the watery mass of the sky, and the lord of the Underworld. He is also described as one of the porters of heaven's gate, who draws back the bolts, and opens the door in order that the light of Rā may stream upon the world, and when he set himself in motion his movements produced thunder in heaven and quaking upon earth. He was akin in some way to the two Akeru gods, , who were represented as a lion with a head at each end of its body; this body was a personification of the passage in the earth through which the sun passed during the hours of night from the place where he set in the evening to that where he rose the next morning. The mouths of the lions formed

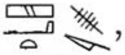
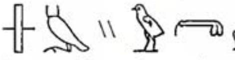
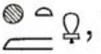


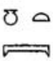
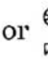
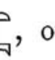
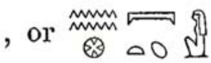
The Lion Gods of Yesterday and To-day.

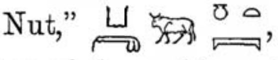
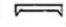
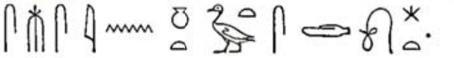
the entrance into and the exit from this passage, and as the head of one lion symbolized the evening and the west, and the other symbolized the morning and the east, in later days each lion's head was provided with a separate body, and the one was called SEF, , i.e., "Yesterday," and the other was called ṬUAU, , i.e., "To-day" (*Book of the Dead*, xvii., lines 14, 15). Though he was god of the earth Seb also acted as a guide to the deceased in heaven, and he provided him with meat and drink; numerous passages in the *Book of the Dead* refer to the gifts which he bestowed upon Osiris his son, and the deceased prayed fervently that he would bestow upon him the same protection and help which he had bestowed upon Osiris.



Shu supporting the boat of the Sun-god beneath the sky-goddess Nut.

In two passages in the *Book of the Dead* (Chapter xxxi. 3 of the Saïte Recension; and Chapter lxix. 7, Theban Recension) we appear to have an allusion to a myth concerning Seb which is otherwise unknown. In the former the deceased says, "I, even I, "am Osiris, who shut in his father Seb together with his mother "Nut on the day of the great slaughter. My father is Seb and my "mother is Nut"; and in the latter he says, "I, even I, am Osiris, "who shut in his father together with his mother on the day of "making the great slaughter," and the text adds, "now, the father "is Seb, and the mother is Nut." The word used for "slaughter" is *shāt*, , and there is no doubt whatsoever about its meaning, and according to Dr. Brugsch[1] we are to understand an act of self-mutilation on the part of Rā, the father of Osiris, similar to that which is referred to in the *Book of the Dead*, Chapter xvii., line 61. According to this passage the gods Ȧmmiu, , sprang from the drops of blood[2] which fell from Rā after the process of mutilation, and Dr. Brugsch compared the action of Osiris in shutting in, , his father Seb with the punishment which Kronos inflicted upon his father Uranus because he threw the Cyclopes into Tartarus, and the Ȧmmiu gods had an origin somewhat similar to that of the Erinnyes.

Nut, , or , or , or .

The goddess Nut was the daughter of Shu and Tefnut, and the wife of Seb, the Earth-god, and the mother of Osiris and Isis, and Set and Nephthys; she was the personification of the heavens and the sky, and of the region wherein the clouds formed, and in fact of every portion of the region in which the sun rose, and travelled from east to west. As a goddess of the late historical period in Egypt Nut seems to have absorbed the attributes of a number of goddesses who possessed attributes somewhat similar to those of herself, and the identities of several old nature goddesses were merged in her. In the Pyramid Texts (e.g., Unȧs, line 452) Nut appears as the regular female counterpart of Seb, who is described as the "Bull of Nut," , i.e., he was either the father, or husband, or son of the goddess; her name is sometimes written without , the determinative for sky, e.g., in Pepi I., line 242, where it is said, "Nut hath brought forth her daughter Venus," . Properly

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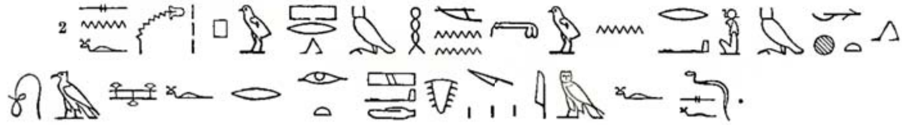
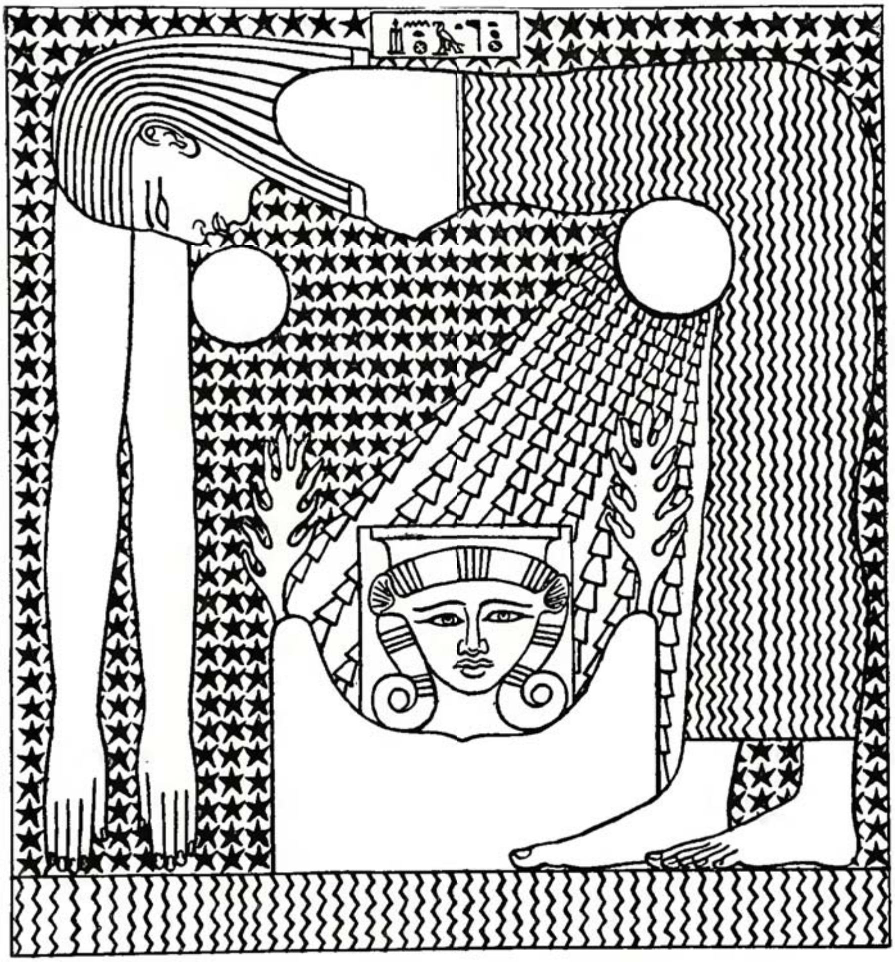
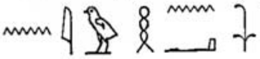
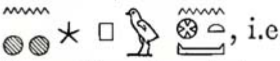
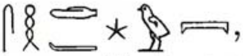
[1] *Religion*, p. 581.

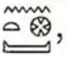
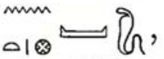
[2] .

speaking, Nut, , is the personification of the Day-sky, i.e., of the sky which rests upon the two mountains of BAKHAU and Manu, that is, the Mountain of Sunrise and the Mountain of Sunset, but the Pyramid Texts prove that the Egyptians conceived the existence of a personification of the Night-sky, and it seems as if



Nut giving birth to the Sun, the rays of which fall on Hathor in the horizon.

this goddess and her male counterpart were entirely different beings from Seb and Nut, and had different names. In the text of Unȧs (line 557) we find mentioned the two gods NȦU and NȦUT, , who are, however, regarded as one god and are addressed accordingly. Thus it is said, "Thy cake is to "thee, NÀU and NÀUT, even as one who uniteth the gods and who "maketh the gods to refresh themselves beneath their shadow." In this passage it is certainly right to assume that Nàut represents the Night-sky because of the determinative of the name , which is the sky, or heaven, inverted. In another passage (Tetà, line 218) we read of the "star NEKHEKH of Nàut" (or Nut), , i.e., the "star Nekhekh in the Night-sky"; on the other hand too much stress must not be laid upon the determinative, because in the word , which seems to mean the "firmament strewn with stars,"[1] the determinative is that of the Day-sky.

At a very early period, however, the difference between the Day-sky and the Night-sky was forgotten, at least in speaking, and it is chiefly from good funeral texts that we learn that a distinction between them was made in writing. In the Papyrus of Ani[2] are several examples of the name Nut written , or , and the latter form is several times found in the Papyrus of Nu, which dates from the first half of the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty; whenever one or other of these forms is found in good papyri it is the Night-sky which is referred to in the text. We have already seen in the paragraphs on the god Nu that he had a female counterpart called Nut, who represented the great watery abyss out of which all things came, and who formed the celestial Nile whereon the Sun sailed in his boats; this watery path was divided into two parts, that whereon the Sun sailed by day, and that over which he passed during the night. The goddess Nut, whom the texts describe as the wife of Seb, is for all practical purposes the same being as Nut, the wife of Nu; this fact is proved by her titles, which are, "Nut, the mighty one, "the great lady, the daughter of Rā"; "Nut, the lady of heaven, "the mistress of the gods"; "Nut, the great lady, who gave birth "to the gods"; "Nut, who gave birth to the gods, the lady of

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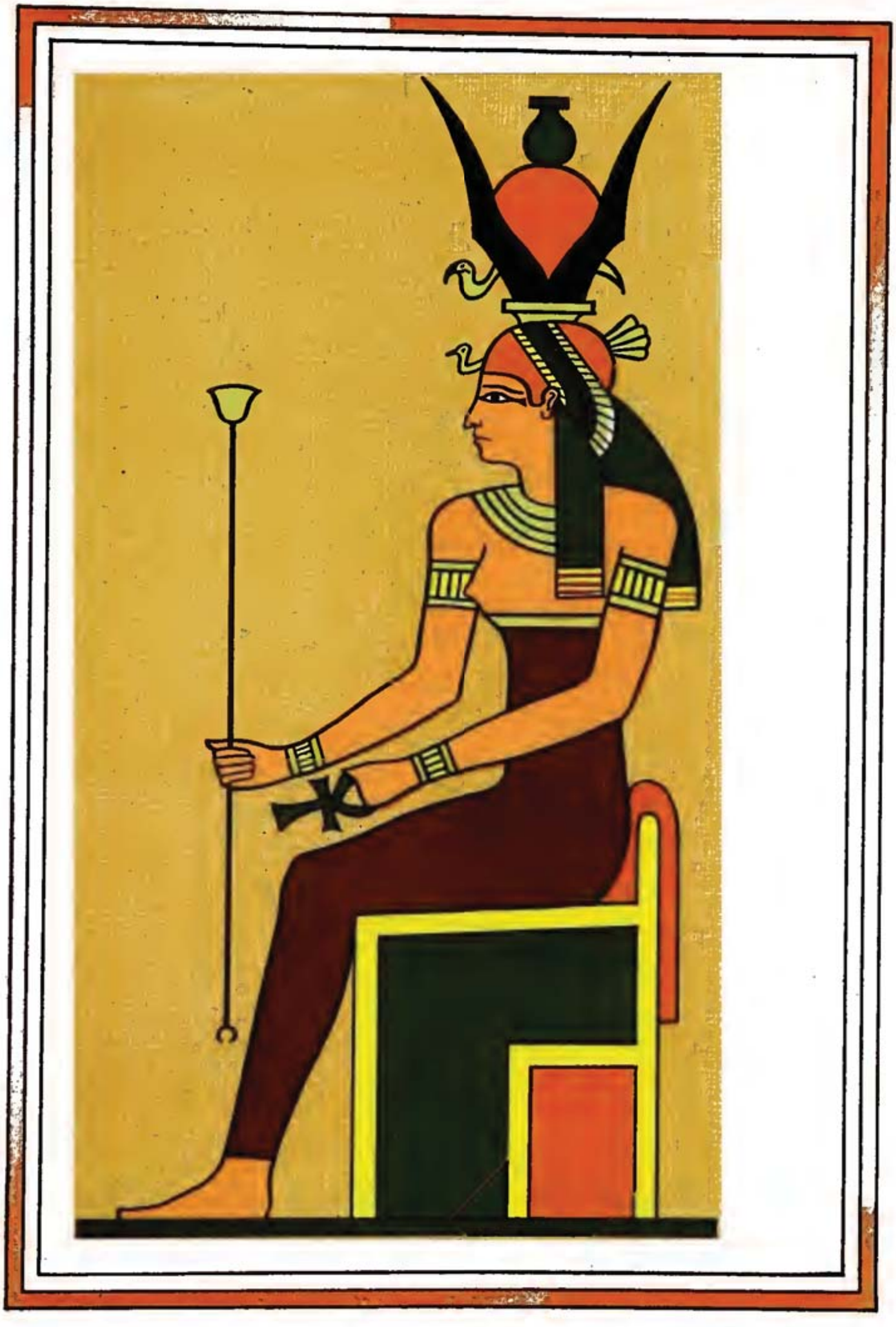
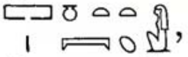
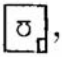
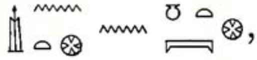
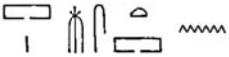
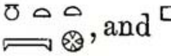
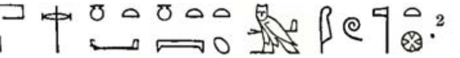
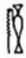
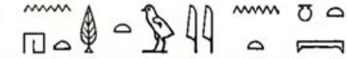
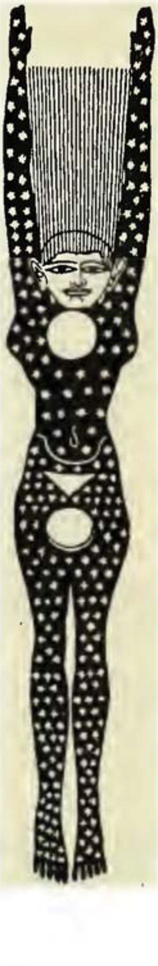
[1] Maspero, *Recueil*, tom. v., p. 25.

[2] See my *Vocabulary* to the *Book of the Dead*, p. 159.



NUT, THE MOTHER OF THE GODS.

"heaven, the mistress of the Two Lands."[1] The shrines of the goddess were not very numerous, but there was a Per-Nut, , in Memphis, and a Ḥet-Nut, , in the Delta, and three portions of the temple territory in Dendera were called respectively Ȧnt-en-Nut, Per-mest-en-Nut, and Per-netch-Nut-mā-Shu, ,  , and .[2] The goddess is usually represented in the form of a woman who bears upon her head a vase of water, , which has the phonetic value *Nu*, and which indicates both her name and her nature;[3] she sometimes wears on her head the horns and disk of the goddess Hathor, and holds in her hands a papyrus sceptre and the symbol of "life." She once appears in the form of the amulet of the buckle, , from the top of which projects her head, and she is provided with human arms, hands, and feet; sometimes she appears in the form which is usually identified as that of Hathor, that is as a woman standing in a sycamore tree and pouring out water from a vase, , for the souls of the dead who come to her. The "sycamore tree of Nut," , is mentioned in Chapter lix. of the *Book of the Dead*, and in the vignette we see the goddess standing in it.



On a mummy-case at Turin the goddess appears in the form of a woman standing on the

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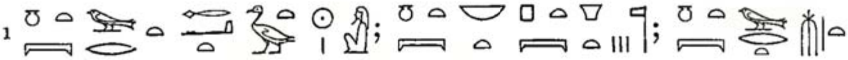
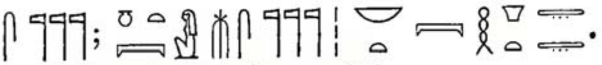
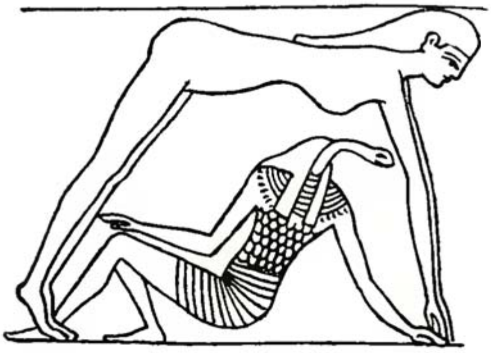
[1]  

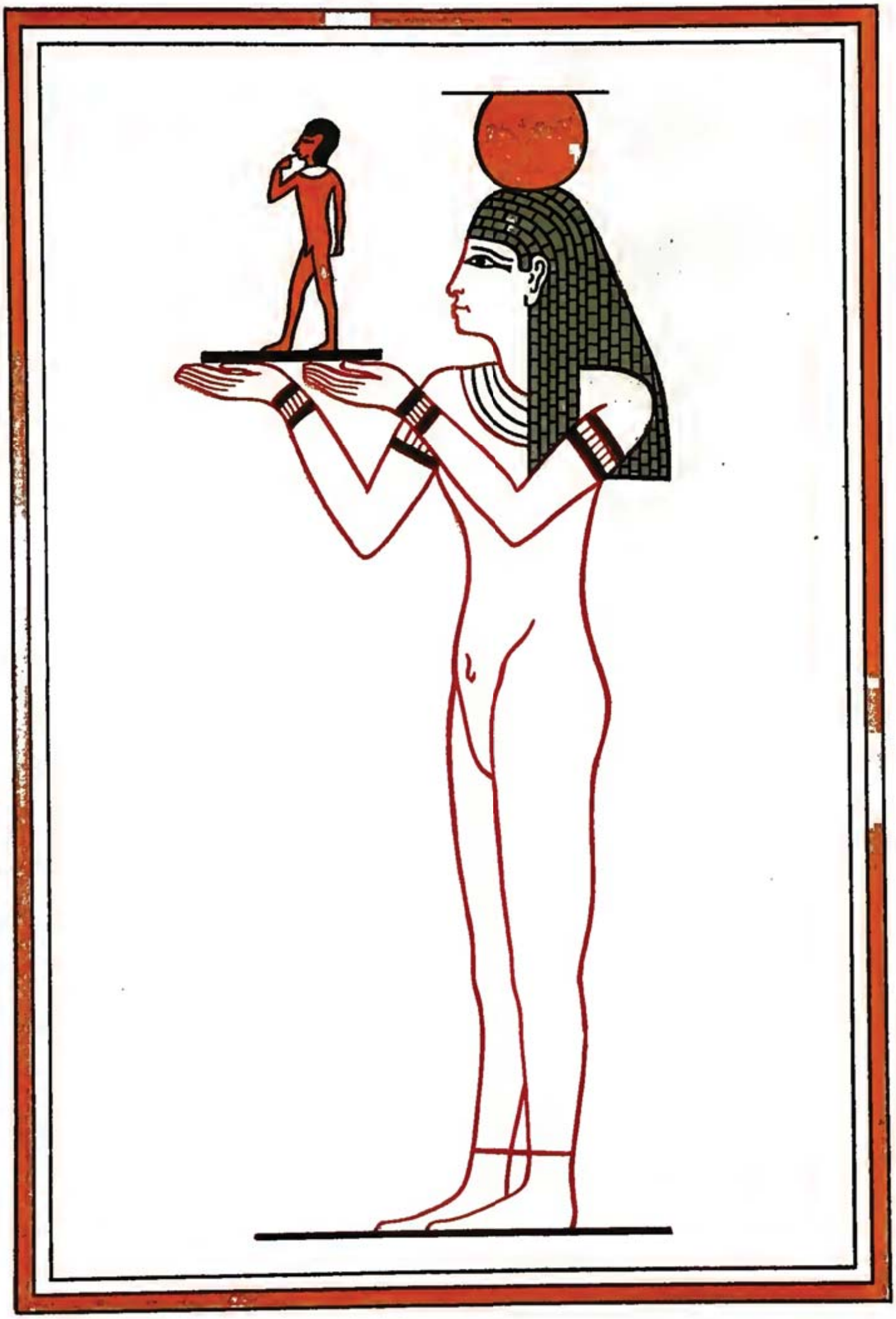
[2] Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 366.

[3] For a good collection of figures of the goddess see Lanzone, *op. cit.*, pl. 150 ff.

emblem of gold, 𓋞. Above her head is the solar disk with uraei, and she is accompanied by the symbols of Nekhebet, Uatchet, and Hathor as goddess of the West; by her feet stand two snake-headed goddesses of the sky, each of whom wears the feather 𓆄 on her head. The goddess herself wears the vulture crown with uraei, and above are the uraei of the South and North and the hawk of Horus wearing the white crown. Below her is the sycamore tree, her emblem, and in it sits the great Cat of Rā who is cutting off the head of Āpep, the god of darkness and evil. In the form in which she appears in this picture Nut has absorbed the attributes of all the great goddesses, and she is the type of the great mother of the gods and of the world.


Seb and Nut.

On coffins and in many papyri we find her depicted in the form of a woman whose body is bent round in such a way as to form a semi-circle; in this attitude she represents the sky or heaven, and her legs and arms represent the four pillars on which the sky was supposed to rest and mark the position of the cardinal points. She is supported in her position by Shu, the son of Rā, who is supposed to have lifted her up from the embrace of Seb, and this last-named god is seen lying on the ground, with one hand raised to heaven and the other touching the earth. On each side of Shu is a hawk; the one represents the rising and the other the setting sun. According to one myth Nut gave birth to her son the Sun-god daily, and passing over her body he arrived at her mouth, into which he disappeared, and passing through her body he was re-born the following morning. Another myth declared that the sun sailed up the legs and over the back of the goddess in the Āṭet, or Māṭet Boat until noon, when he entered the Sektet boat and continued his journey until sunset. In the accompanying



THE GODDESS NUT HOLDING A TABLET ON WHICH STANDS HARPOCRATES.

picture we see Rā in his boat with Shu and Tefnut (?) sailing up through the watery abyss behind the legs of Nut, in the Āṭet Boat, and sailing down the arms of the goddess in the Sektet Boat into the Ṭuat or Underworld; the whole of the body and limbs of the goddess are bespangled with stars. In another remarkable picture we see a second body of a woman, which is also bent round in such a way as to form a semi-circle, within that of Nut, and within this second body is the body of a man which is bent round in such a way as to form an almost complete circle. Some explain this scene by saying that the outer body of a woman is the heaven over which Rā travels, and that the inner body is the heaven over which the Moon makes her way at night, whilst the male body within them is the almost circular valley of the Ṭuat; others, however, say that the two women are merely personifications of the Day and Night skies, and this view is, no doubt, the correct one. The raising up of Nut from the embrace of Seb represented, as we have before said, the first act of creation, and the great creative power which brought it about having separated the earth from the waters which were above it, and set the sun between the earth and the sky, was now able to make the gods, and human beings, animals, etc. The Egyptians were very fond of representations of this scene, and they had many variants of it, as may be seen from the collection of reproductions given by Lanzone.[1] In some of these we find Shu holding up the Boat of Rā under the body of Nut, in others we see the two boats of Rā placed side by side on her back, the god in one boat being Kheperȧ, and the god in the other being Osiris. Shu is sometimes accompanied by Thoth, and sometimes by Khnemu; in one instance Seb has a serpent's head, and in another the goose, which is his symbol, is seen standing near his feet with its beak open in the act of cackling. The Egyptian artists were not always consistent in some of their details of the scene, for at one time the region wherein is the head of Nut is described as the east, 𓋁, and at another as the west, 𓋀; at one time Seb lies with his head to the east, and at another to the west. Finally, the goddess once appears holding up in her hands a tablet, on which stands a youthful male figure who is probably intended to represent Harpocrates, or one of the many Horus gods; in this example she is regarded as the Sky-mother who has produced her son, the Sun-god. According to another myth Nut was transformed into a huge cow, the legs of which were held in position by the Four Children of Horus, whilst her body was supported by Shu, as the body of Nut when in the form of a woman was borne up by this god.

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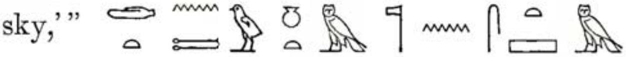
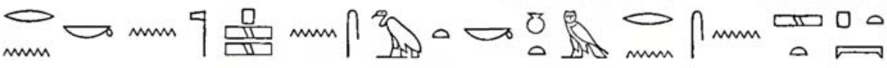
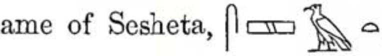
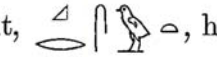
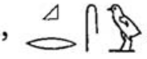
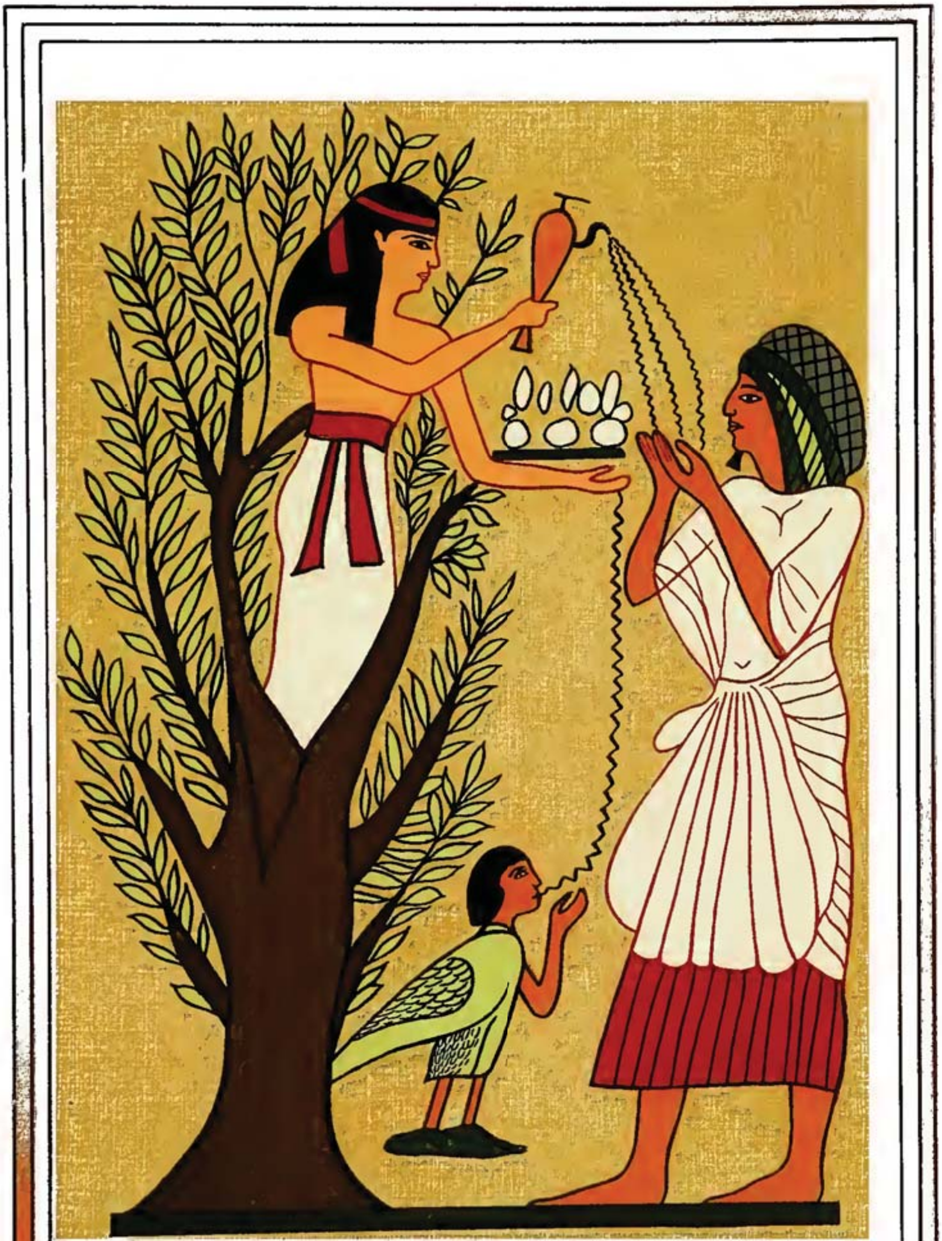
[1] Op. cit., pll. 150 ff.

From a large number of passages found in texts of all periods we learn that, from first to last, Nut was always regarded as a friend and protector of the dead, and the deceased appealed to her for food, and help, and protection just as a son appeals to his mother. In the text of Teta (line 175), it is said to the deceased, "Nut hath set thee as a god to Set in thy name of 'god,' and thy "mother Nut hath spread herself out over thee in her name of "'Coverer of the sky,'"  ; and in line 268 we have, "Nephthys hath united again for thee "thy members in her name of Sesheta, , the lady "of the buildings through which thou hast passed, and thy mother "Nut in her name of Qersut, , hath granted that she "shall embrace thee in her name Qersu, , and that she "shall introduce thee in her name of 'Door.'" In the text of Pepi I. (line 256) it is said, "Pepi hath come forth from Pe with "the spirits of Pe, and he is arrayed in the apparel of Horus, and "in the dress of Thoth, and Isis is before him and Nephthys is "behind him; Åp-uat hath opened unto him a way, and Shu "lifteth him up, and the souls of Ånnu make him ascend the "steps and set him before Nut who stretcheth out her hand to "him." In the *Book of the Dead* are several allusions to Nut and to the meat and drink which she provides for the deceased, and a chapter (lix.) is found which was specially composed to enable him to "snuff the air, and to have dominion over the waters in the



THE GODDESS MUT POURING OUT WATER FROM THE SYCAMORE TREE OVER THE DECEASED AND HIS SOUL.

" Underworld." The text reads :—" Hail, thou sycamore of the "goddess Nut! Grant thou to me of the water and of the air "which dwell in thee. I embrace the throne which is in Unnu "(Hermopolis), and I watch and guard the egg of the Great "Cackler.[1] It groweth, I grow; it liveth, I live; it snuffeth the "air, I snuff the air." To make sure that the recital of these words should have the proper result they were accompanied by a vignette, in which the goddess is seen standing in a tree, out of which she reaches to the deceased with one hand a table covered with bread and other articles of food; with the other she sprinkles water upon him from a libation vase as he kneels at the foot of a tree.

The sycamore of Nut was situated at Heliopolis, and is often mentioned in mythological texts. According to the *Book of the Dead* (cix. 4) there were *two* turquoise-coloured sycamores at Heliopolis, and the Sun-god passed out between them each morning when he began his journey across the sky, and " strode forward "over the supports of Shu (i.e., the four pillars, , which bore "up the sky) towards the gate of the East through which Rā "rose." The sycamore of Nut was probably one of these, but in any case Āpep, the personification of darkness and evil, was slain at its foot by the Great Cat Rā, and the branches of this tree became a place of refuge for weary souls during the fiery heats of noonday in the summer time. Here they were refreshed with that food whereon the goddess herself lived, and here they participated in the life of the divine beings who were her offspring and associates. Since the mythological tree of Nut stood at Heliopolis and was a sycamore it may well have served as the archetype of the sycamore tree under which tradition asserts that the Virgin Mary sat and rested during her flight to Egypt, and there seems to be little doubt that many of the details about her wanderings in the Delta, which are recorded in the Apocryphal Gospels and in writings of a similar class, are borrowed from the old mythology of Egypt. Associated with the sycamore of Nut were the plants among which the Great Cackler Seb laid the Egg of the Sun, and these may well be identified with the famous balsam trees, from which was expressed the oil which was so highly prized by the Christians of Egypt and Abyssinia, and which was used by them in their ceremony of baptism; these trees were always watered with water drawn from the famous 'Ain Shems (a name really meaning the "Eye of the Sun"), i.e., the well of water which is fed by a spring in the immediate neighbourhood, and is commonly called the "Fountain of the Sun." We may note in passing another legend, which was popular among the Copts, to the effect that the Virgin Mary once hid herself and her Son from their enemies in the trunk of the sycamore at Heliopolis, and that it is based upon an ancient Egyptian myth recorded by Plutarch which declared that Isis hid the body of Osiris in a tree trunk.

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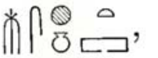
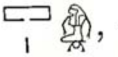
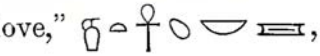
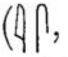
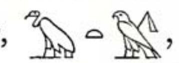
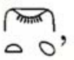
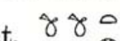
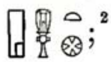
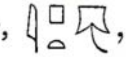
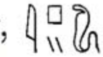
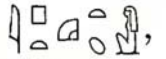
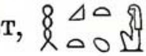
[1] I.e., the Egg out of which sprang the Sun, which was produced by Seb and Nut.

In the later times of Egyptian history the priests of Dendera asserted that the home of Nut was in their city, and in an inscription on their temple[1] they recorded that it was the birthplace, , of Isis, and that it contained the birth-chamber, , wherein Nut brought forth the goddess in the form of a dark-skinned child, whom she called "Khnemet-ānkhet, the lady of love," , on the fourth of the five epagomenal days. When Nut saw her child, she exclaimed, "Ȧs (, i.e., behold), I have become thy mother," and this was the origin of the name Ȧst, or Isis. In Thebes Nut was identified with Isis, the god-mother, , the lady of Dendera, the dweller in Ȧnt, the goddess Nubt, , who was born in Per-Nubt, and gave birth to her brother Osiris in Thebes, and to her son Horus (the Elder) in Qesqeset, , and to her sister Nephthys in Ḥet-Seshesh, ;[2] and in the same city she was regarded as a form of the goddess Àpet, , or Àpi, , i.e., the hippopotamus goddess Ta-urt, , and also of the local city goddess Àpet, , and so she became a form of Hathor. The identification of Nut with Àpi the hippopotamus goddess is very ancient, for in the text of Unàs (line 487 ff.) we read, "Come Shu, come Shu, come Shu, for "Unàs is born on the thighs of Isis, and he hath sunk down "on the thighs of Nephthys, having been brought forth. O "Temu, thou father of Unàs, grant that Unàs himself may be "set among the number of the gods who are perfect, and "have understanding, and are indestructible;[1] O Àpi, mother "of Unàs,[2] give thou thy breast to this Unàs in order that he "may convey it to his mouth, and that he may suck milk there-"from." Another form of Nut was Ḥeqet, , a goddess who was, strictly speaking, the female counterpart of Sebek-Rā of Kom Ombo.

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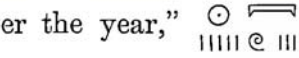
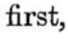
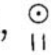
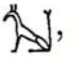
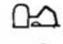
[1] Brugsch, *Astronomische und Astrologische Inschriften Altaegyptischer Denkmäler*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 101.

[2] Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 865.

As the children of Nut were not all brought forth in one place so they were not all born on the same day; her five children, i.e., Osiris, Horus, Set, Isis, and Nephthys, were born on the five epagomenal days of the year, or as they are called in Egyptian, "the five days over the year," [3] On the first, , took place the birth of Osiris, , on the second, , was born Ḥeru-ur, , on the third, , was born Set, , on the fourth, , was born Isis, , and on the fifth, , was born Nephthys, . The first, third, and fifth of the epagomenal days were unlucky, , the second is not described as either lucky or unlucky, but the fourth is said to be a "beautiful festival of heaven and earth,"

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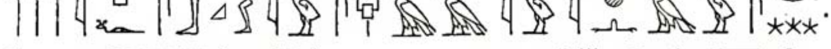
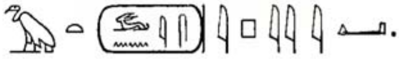
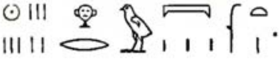
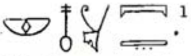
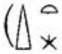
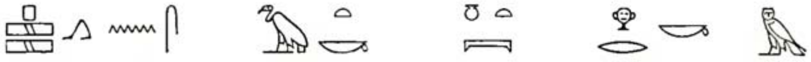
[1] 

[2] 

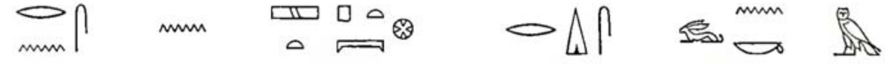
[3] Or 

[1] The part which Nut played in the Egyptian Underworld was a very prominent one, and from numerous passages in the *Book of the Dead* we can see that without her favour life would be impossible for those who have left this world, and have begun their journey through the Ṭuat. The care and protection which Nut exhibited towards her son Osiris caused her to be regarded as a tender and pitiful mother, and every pious Egyptian prayed that she might do for him even as she had done for Osiris, and hoped that through her he might shine in heaven like the star Sepṭ (, Sothis), when it shines in the sky just before sunrise.

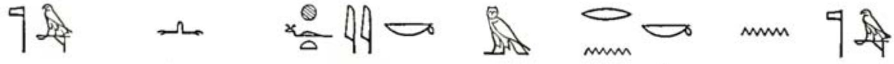
The favour of Nut gave the deceased the power to rise in a renewed body, even as Rā rose from the Egg which was produced by Seb and Nut, and it enabled him to journey with the Sun-god each day from sunrise to sunset, and to pass through the dreary habitations of the Ṭuat in safety. So far back as the time of Men-kau-Rā (Mycerinus) the Egyptians delighted to inscribe on the cover of the coffins of their dead a portion of the following extract:—



peshesh-nes	*mut-k*	*Nut*	*ḥer-k*	*em*
Spreadeth herself	thy mother	Nut	over thee	in



ren-s	*en*	*shet-pet*	*erṭā-s*	*un-nek*	*em*
her name	of	coverer of heaven,	she maketh	thee to be	as



neter	*ȧn*	*khefti-k*	*em*	*ren-k*	*en*	*neter*
a god	without	thine enemy	in	thy name	of	god,

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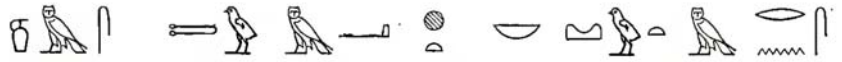
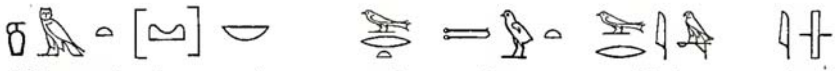
[1] Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 481.



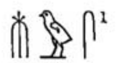
khnem-s thu mā khet neb ṭut em ren-s

she withdraweth thee from thing every evil in her name



Khnemet ṭu neb urt thut Urȧ ȧm

of "Defender from every evil, great lady; and from Urȧ whom

[1]

mesu-s

she hath brought forth;"

and whenever it was possible they painted on them figures of the goddess, who was represented with her protecting wings stretched out over the deceased, and with the emblems of celestial water and air in her hands. They believed that the dead were safely under the protection of the goddess when a picture of her was painted on the cover of the coffin above them, and they rarely forgot to suggest her presence in one form or the other.

The following passages from the text of Pepi I. (line 100 ff.) illustrate other aspects of the goddess:—"Hail, Nut, in whose "head appear the Two Eyes (i.e., Sun and Moon), thou hast taken "possession of Horus and art his Urt-ḥekau (i.e., mighty one of "words of power), thou hast taken possession of Set and art his "Urt-ḥekau. Behold, O Nut, who didst decree that thou shouldst "be born in thy name of Pet-Ȧnnu (i.e., Sky of Heliopolis), decree "thou that this Pepi shall live, and that he may not perish. "O Nut, who hast risen as a queen that thou mayest take posses-"sion of the gods and of their doubles, and their flesh and their "divine food, and of everything whatsoever which they have, grant "thou that he may be without opposition, and that he may live, "and let thy life, O Nut, be the life of Pepi. Thy mother cometh "to thee and thou movest not. Nut cometh to thee and thou "movest not. The Great Protectress cometh to thee and thou

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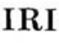
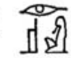
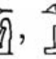
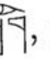
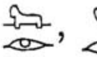
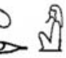
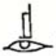
[1] See text of Tetȧ, ll. 175, 279; Pepi I., ll. 60, 103.

"movest not, but as soon as she hath bestowed her protection upon "thee thou dost move, for she hath given thee thy head, she hath "brought to thee thy bones, she hath collected thy flesh, she hath "brought thee thy heart in thy body, thou livest according to thy "precepts, thou speakest to those who are before thee, thou "protectest thy children from grief, thou purifiest thyself with the "purifications of all the gods, and they come to thee with their "doubles."

CHAPTER VI

OSIRIS, , ȦS-ȦR, OR , , , , [1]

FROM the hieroglyphic texts of all periods of the dynastic history of Egypt we learn that the god of the dead, *par excellence*, was the god, whom the Egyptians called by a name which may be tentatively transcribed Ȧs-Ȧr, or Us-Ȧr, who is commonly known to us as "Osiris." The oldest and simplest form of the name is , that is to say, it is written by means of two hieroglyphics, the first of which represents a "throne" and the other an "eye," but the exact meaning attached to the combination of the two pictures by those who first used them to express the name of the god, and the signification of the name in the minds of those who invented it cannot be said. In the late dynastic period the first syllable of the name appears to have been pronounced *Ȧus* or *Us*, and by punning it was made to have the meaning of the word *usr*, "strength, might, power," and the like, and there is little doubt that the Egyptians at that time supposed the name of the god to mean something like the "strength of the Eye," i.e., the strength of the Sun-god Rā. This meaning may very well have suited their conception of the god Osiris, but it cannot be accepted as the correct signification of the name. For similar reasons the suggestion that the name Ȧs-Ȧr is connected with the Egyptian word for "prince," or "chief," *ser*, cannot be entertained. It is probable that the second hieroglyphic in the name Ȧs-Ȧr is to

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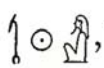
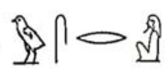
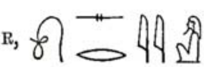
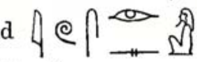
[1] Other forms are , Usr-Rā, , User, , Uasri, and , Ȧusȧres.

be understood as referring to the great Eye of heaven, i.e., Rā, but the connexion of the first with it is not clear, and as we have no means of knowing what attributes were assigned to the god by his earliest worshippers the difficulty is hardly likely to be cleared up. The throne or seat, 𓊨, is the first sign in the name of Ȧs-t, 𓊨𓏏, who is the female counterpart of Osiris, and it is very probable that originally the same conception underlay both names. It is useless to argue[1] that, because the dynastic Egyptians at a late period of their history substituted the disk of Rā, ⊙, for the eye, 𓁹, in the name Ȧs-ȧr, and because they addressed to the god hymns in which they identified him as the source of light and as Rā, therefore Ȧs-ȧr was originally a solar god, especially when we remember the childish plays upon words which the priests resorted to whenever they attempted to find etymologies for the names of their gods.

In comparatively late times Osiris was called Un-nefer, 𓃹𓈖𓄤𓀭, in religious and mythological texts, and the priests (like modern Egyptologists) tried to explain the name. The writer of a hymn quoted by Dr. Brugsch derived the word from *un*, 𓃹𓈖𓉿, "to open, to appear, to make manifest," and *neferu*, 𓄤𓆑𓂋𓅱𓏛𓏥, "good things," and when he wrote, "Thy beauty (or goodness) "maketh itself manifest in thy person to rouse the gods to life in "thy name Un-nefer," it is clear that he was only making a play of words on the name "Un-nefer"; and again when he wrote, "Thou comest as the strength (*usr*) of Rā in thy name of Ȧs-ȧr," his object was rather to play with words on the name Ȧs-ȧr than to afford a trustworthy derivation of the name of Osiris. We may note in passing that modern derivations and explanations of the name Un-nefer are equally unsatisfactory.[2] The truth of the matter seems to be that the ancient Egyptians knew just as little

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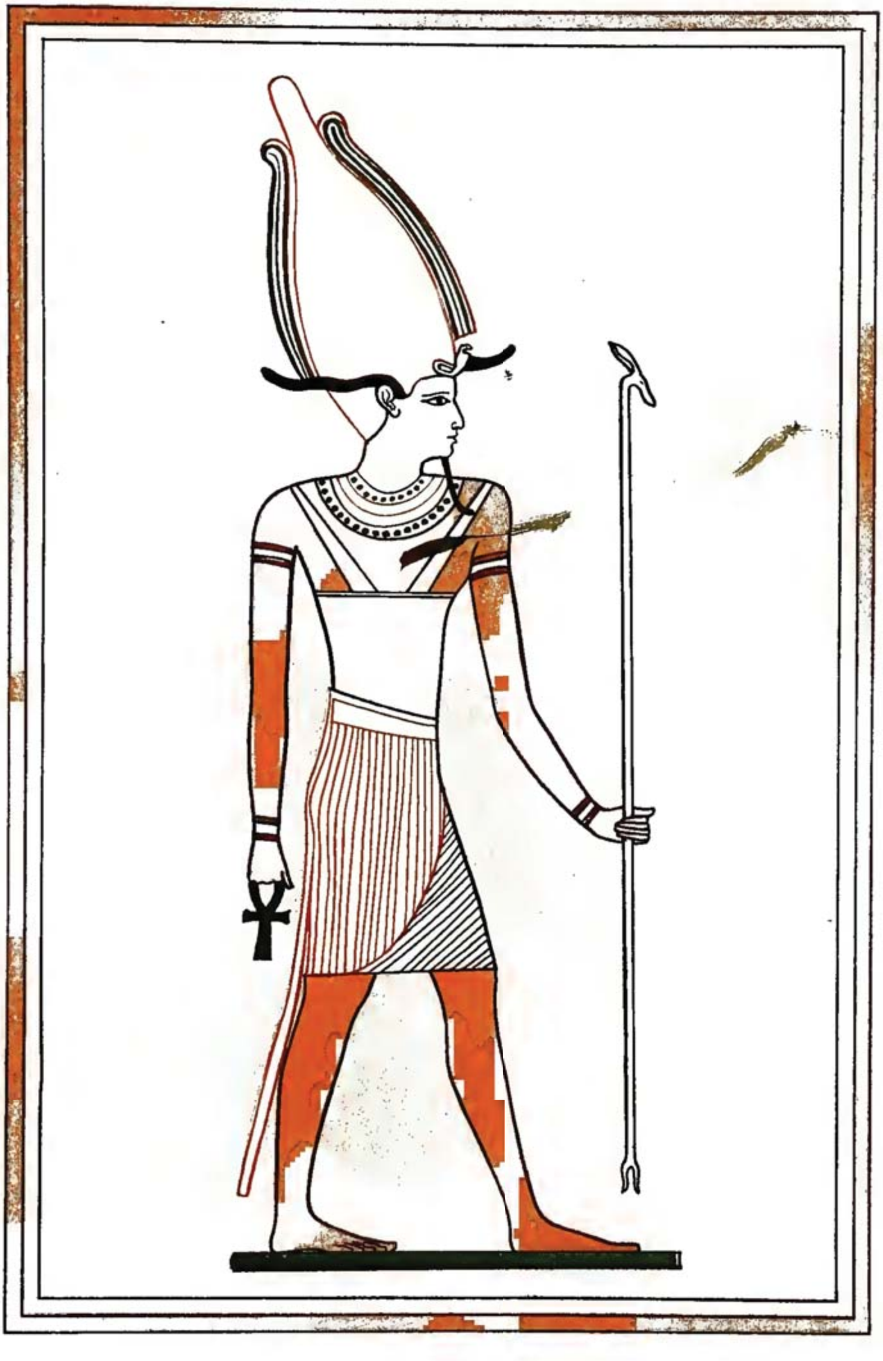
[1] See Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 81.

[2] According to one writer the name means "beautiful hare," and according to another the "Good Being"; in one case *un* is connected with the verb *un*, "to be," and in the other with the god Un, 𓃹𓈖𓀭, or Unti, 𓃹𓈖𓏏𓏭𓀭, who is mentioned in the *Book of the Dead*, Chapters xv. (Litany), 1; cxxxvi.A 7.



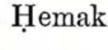
OSIRIS – UNNEFER.

about the original meaning of the name Ȧs-ȧr as we do, and that they had no better means of obtaining information about it than we have.

Passing now to the consideration of the original characteristics and attributes of Osiris we find that the oldest religious texts known to us refer to him as the great god of the dead, and throughout them it is tacitly assumed that the reader will understand that he once possessed human form and lived upon earth, and that by means of some unusual power or powers he was able to bestow upon himself after his death a new life which he lived in a new body in a region over which he ruled as king, and into which he was believed to be willing to admit all such as had lived a good and correct life upon earth, and had been buried with appropriate ceremonies under the protection of certain amulets, and with the proper recital of certain "divine words" and words of power. The worship of Osiris is, however, very much older than these views, which, it is clear, could only belong to a people who had advanced to a comparatively high state of civilization and of mental development.

The oldest authorities for the religious views of the ancient Egyptians are the "Pyramid Texts," which are known to us from copies made in the IVth, Vth and VIth Dynasties, that is to say, in the period of their highest development; even at this remote time the priests of Ȧnnu had composed a system of theology which was supported by the authority of the king and his high officials, and there is no doubt that it was based upon older systems of religious thought and belief. What these may have been it is useless to speculate, and all that is certain about the Heliopolitan system is that, whilst proclaiming the supremacy of their local god Tem or Rā-Tem, its priests took care to include in it as many of the ancient provincial gods as possible, and to adopt wherever they were able to do so the ancient beliefs and traditions concerning them. Among such gods Osiris held a very prominent place, in fact he was in respect of the dead and of the Underworld what Rā, or Rā-Tem was to the living and to this world, and in some passages he is referred to simply as "god," 𓊹, without the addition of any name. No other god of the Egyptians was ever mentioned or alluded to in this manner, and no other god at any time in Egypt ever occupied exactly the same exalted position in their minds, or was thought to possess his peculiar attributes.

Up to the present no evidence has been deduced from the hieroglyphic texts which enables us to say specifically when Osiris began to be worshipped, or in what town or city his cult was first established, but the general information which we possess on this subject indicates that this god was adored as the great god of the dead by the dynastic Egyptians from first to last, and that the earliest dynastic centres of his worship were situated at Abydos in the South and at Ṭeṭṭu (Mendes) in the North; in proof of these statements the following considerations are submitted. In a Rubric to one of the versions of the lxivth Chapter of the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* it is said that the Chapter was "found" during the reign of Semti,[1] that is to say, the Chapter was revised, or edited, or re-written, or received some kind of literary treatment, during the reign of the fifth king of the Ist Dynasty. If we look at the version of the Chapter to which this Rubric is appended we find this sentence:—"I am Yesterday, "and I am To-day; and I have the power to be born a second time. "I the hidden Soul create the gods, and I give sepulchral meals to "the divine beings in Àmenti and in heaven." Osiris is mentioned by name in connexion with "his city," and Tem, Kheperà, Shu, the Urti goddesses, i.e., Isis and Nephthys, the goddess Àuḳert, the Chief of Re-stau, Ḥeḥi, the Bennu, and the 4,601,200 spirits, who are twelve cubits high, are referred to, and we see that the whole of the religious and mythological systems of the Egyptians as made known to us by texts of later periods were in a well-developed state even in the Ist Dynasty.

Confirmation of this fact is afforded by a small wooden plaque, in the British Museum, which was made for a "royal chancellor" called Ḥemaka, , who flourished in the reign of Semti, the king in whose reign the lxivth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* was "found." On the right-hand side of the plaque is a scene in which the king is represented in the act of dancing before a deity, who wears the crown of the South and is seated within a shrine set upon the top of some steps; from various texts and scenes inscribed upon papyri and coffins, etc., of the New Empire we know that Osiris was called the "god on the top of the steps," and that he was depicted as a being seated in a shrine set on the top of a flight of steps, and there is no doubt that the god before whom Semti danced was Osiris. Immediately below the scene on the plaque described above is a representation of a ceremonial boat, and if we compare it with certain vignettes in the *Book of the Dead* and elsewhere we cannot fail to identify it as the well-known Ḥennu Boat of the god Seker (Socharis). Now, in the Rubric of the Chapter already referred to, we are told that the Chapter was found "in the foundations of the shrine of Ḥennu," and thus the Chapter and the god Ḥennu, i.e., the god of the Ḥennu Boat, were in existence in the Ist Dynasty, and they were in some way specially connected with king Semti—if we are to believe an Egyptian tradition which was current under the XVIIIth Dynasty, about B.C. 1600. Moreover, if the gods whom the Egyptians under the IVth and Vth Dynasties declared to belong to the company of Osiris existed under the Ist Dynasty, Osiris also must have existed, and the mention of the Underworld by the name of Ȧmenti, or Ȧmentet, presupposes the existence of its god and king, one of whose chief titles was Khenti-Ȧmenti. It is important to note also that on the plaque of Ḥemaka Osiris wears the White Crown, or Crown of the South, a fact which suggests that at the time when it was made he was regarded as a god of the South, and to note that although in later times his cult was general throughout Egypt he was always represented with the White Crown on his head, and that it was one of his most characteristic attributes.

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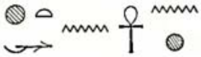
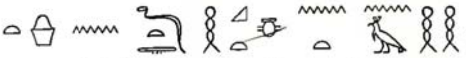
[1] His name was formerly read Ḥesepti.

The plaque of Ḥemaka proves that a centre of the Osiris cult existed at Abydos under the Ist Dynasty, but we are not justified in assuming that the god was first worshipped there, and when we remember the frequent allusions in the Pyramid Texts to Pe and Ṭep, the two divisions of the city of Per-Uatchet in the Delta, it is difficult not to think that even under the Ist Dynasty shrines had been built in honour of Osiris at several places in Egypt. Dynastic tradition asserted that the head of Osiris was buried at

Abydos, and for this reason that city became of the first importance to worshippers of the god, but we know that the local god of the nome was ȦN-ḤER, and that his cult was thrust out by that of Osiris, who was adored under the title of "Osiris Khent-Ȧmenti;" there must then have been a time when Osiris was brought to Abydos, and it is probable that he was introduced into that city from the North, for the following reasons. In the Pyramid Texts, which are the oldest exponents of the religious system which made Osiris the supreme god of the dead, we have frequent allusions to the food and drink which the deceased enjoys, and to the apparel wherein he is arrayed in the Underworld. We find that he wears white linen garments and sandals, that he sits by a lake in the Field of Peace with the gods, and partakes with them of the tree of life, , and that he eats figs and grapes, and drinks oil and wine, and that he lives on the "bread of eternity," and the "beer of everlastingness," [1]. His bread was made of the wheat which Horus ate, and the four children of Horus, Mesthȧ, Ḥāpi, Ṭuamutef, and Qebḥsennuf "appeased the hunger of his belly, and the thirst of his lips." He abhorred the hunger which he could not satisfy, and he loathed the thirst which he could not slake, and one of the greatest delights of his existence was the knowledge that he was "delivered from the power of those who would steal away his food."

Another source of great joy was the power which he possessed of washing himself clean, and he and his double are represented as sitting down to eat bread together, each having washed himself clean; yet another source of enjoyment was his journeying by water in a boat which was rowed by the mariners of the Sun-god Rā. All these and similar statements point clearly to the fact that the reward which Osiris bestowed after death upon his follower was a life which he led in a region where corn, and wine, and oil, and water were abundant, and where circumstances permitted him to wear white linen robes and white sandals, and where he was not required to do work of any kind, and where he was able to perform his ablutions at will, and to repose whensoever it pleased him to do so. He possessed his own estate, or homestead, where he abode with his parents, and presumably with a wife, or wives, and family, and his heavenly life was to all intents and purposes nothing but a duplicate of his life upon earth. In several passages in the Pyramid Texts we also have allusions to a life in which his enjoyments and delights were of a more spiritual character, but it is evident that these represent the beliefs and doctrines of the priests of Rā, who declared that the blessed fed upon light, and were arrayed in light and became beings of light, and that the place wherein they lived was the boat of the Sun-god Rā, wherein they passed over heaven, and wherefrom their souls flew down to earth to visit the scenes of their former life. Thus, as far back as the period of the Vth Dynasty texts belonging to two distinct cults, i.e., the cult of Osiris and the cult of Rā, existed side by side, and no attempt appears to have been made to suppress either that of Osiris or that of Rā; in other words, the priests of Heliopolis had the good sense to allow the beliefs which were connected with the cult of Osiris to find expression in the great Recension of religious texts which they promulgated about B.C. 3500. The cult of Osiris was very ancient, and was universal, and they saw that the cult of Rā would not take its place in the minds of the Egyptians for a very considerable time, if ever.

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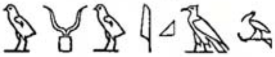
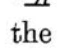
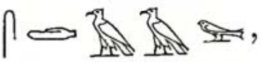
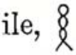
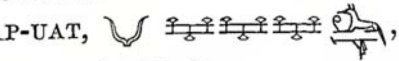
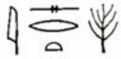
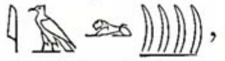
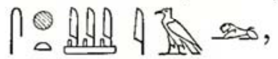
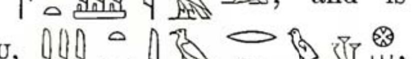
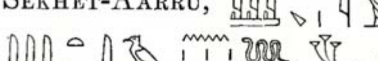
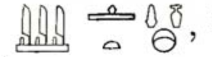
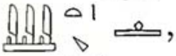
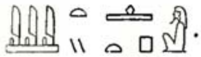
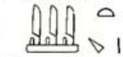
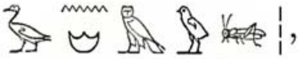
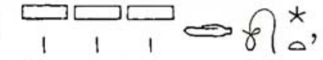
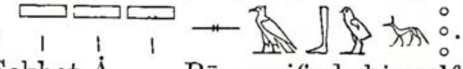
[1] See the Chapter "*Doctrine of Eternal Life*" in my *Papyrus of Ani*, London, 1894, pp. lxxv.–lxxvii.

From what has been said above it is quite clear that the followers of Osiris believed in a material heaven, and we have now to consider where that heaven was situated. In a passage in the text of Unȧs (line 191 ff.) the Angels of Thoth, , and the Ancient Ones, , and the Great Terrifier, , who cometh forth from the Nile, , Ḥāp, and Ȧp-uat, , who cometh forth from the tree Ȧsert, , are called upon to witness that the mouth of the king is pure, because he eats and drinks nothing except that upon which the gods live. The text says, "Ye have taken Unȧs "with you, and he eateth what ye eat, he drinketh that which ye "drink, he liveth as ye live, he dwelleth as ye dwell, he is powerful "as ye are powerful, and he saileth about as ye sail about"; thus the heaven where Unȧs lived after death was in some place where there were waters whereon he could sail in a boat. The text continues, "Unȧs hath netted [fowl and fish] with the net in "Ȧaru, Unȧs hath possession over the waters in Sekhet-ḥetep, "and his offerings of meat and drink are among the gods. The "water of Unȧs is as wine, even as it is for Rā, and Unȧs goeth "about heaven like Rā, and he traverseth heaven like Thoth." From this extract we see that the region where the heaven of Unȧs was situated is called Ȧaru, , the name having as a determinative a sign which is intended to represent a mass of waving reeds; in another place (line 412) the region is called Sekhet-Ȧar, , and is identical with the Sekhet-Ȧarru, , and Sekhet-Ȧanru, , of the later Recensions of the *Book of the Dead*. From a number of other passages we find that Ȧaru or Sekhet-Ȧaru was divided into a number of districts, the chief of which was called Sekhet-ḥetepet, , i.e., "Field of Offerings," or Sekhet-ḥetep, , i.e., "Field of Peace," and was presided over by the god Sekhti-ḥetep, . To the south of this region lay Sekhet-Sanehemu,  , i.e., "Field of the Grasshoppers,"[1] and in it were the Lakes of the Ṭuat, , and the Lakes of the Jackals, . In the waters of Ȧaru, or Sekhet-Ȧaru, Rā purified himself (Pepi I., line 234), and it was here that the deceased also purified himself before he began his heavenly life; here also dwelt the three classes of beings who are called Ȧkhemu-seku, Ȧkhemu-Beṭesh, and Ȧkhemu-Sesh-emȧu,[2] that is to say, three classes of celestial bodies

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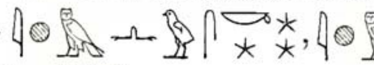
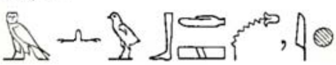
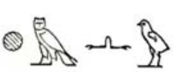
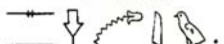
[1] See *Book of the Dead*, cxxv. Pt. iii., l. 19.

[2] , ,  .

THE SEKHET-HETEPU

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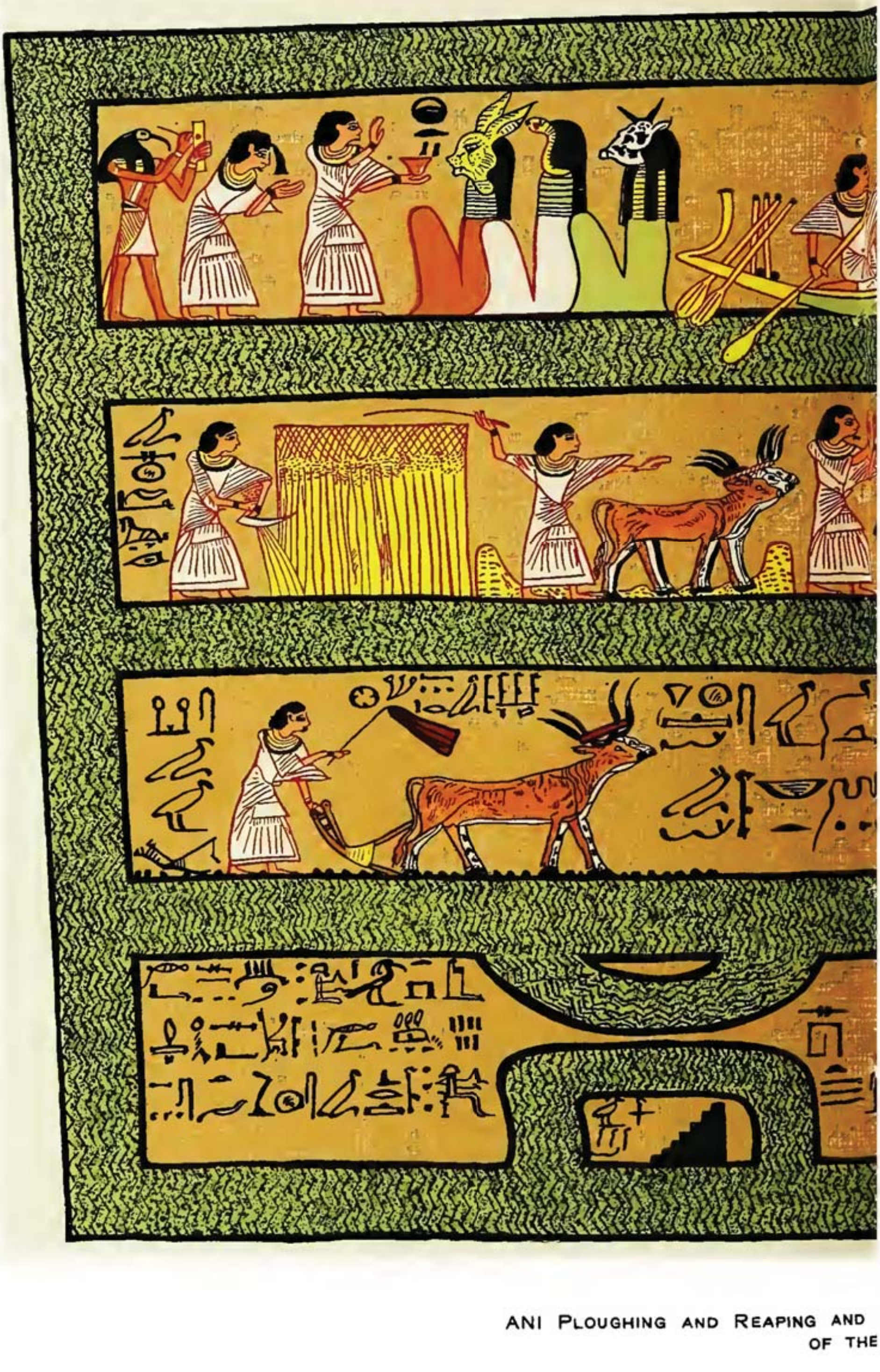

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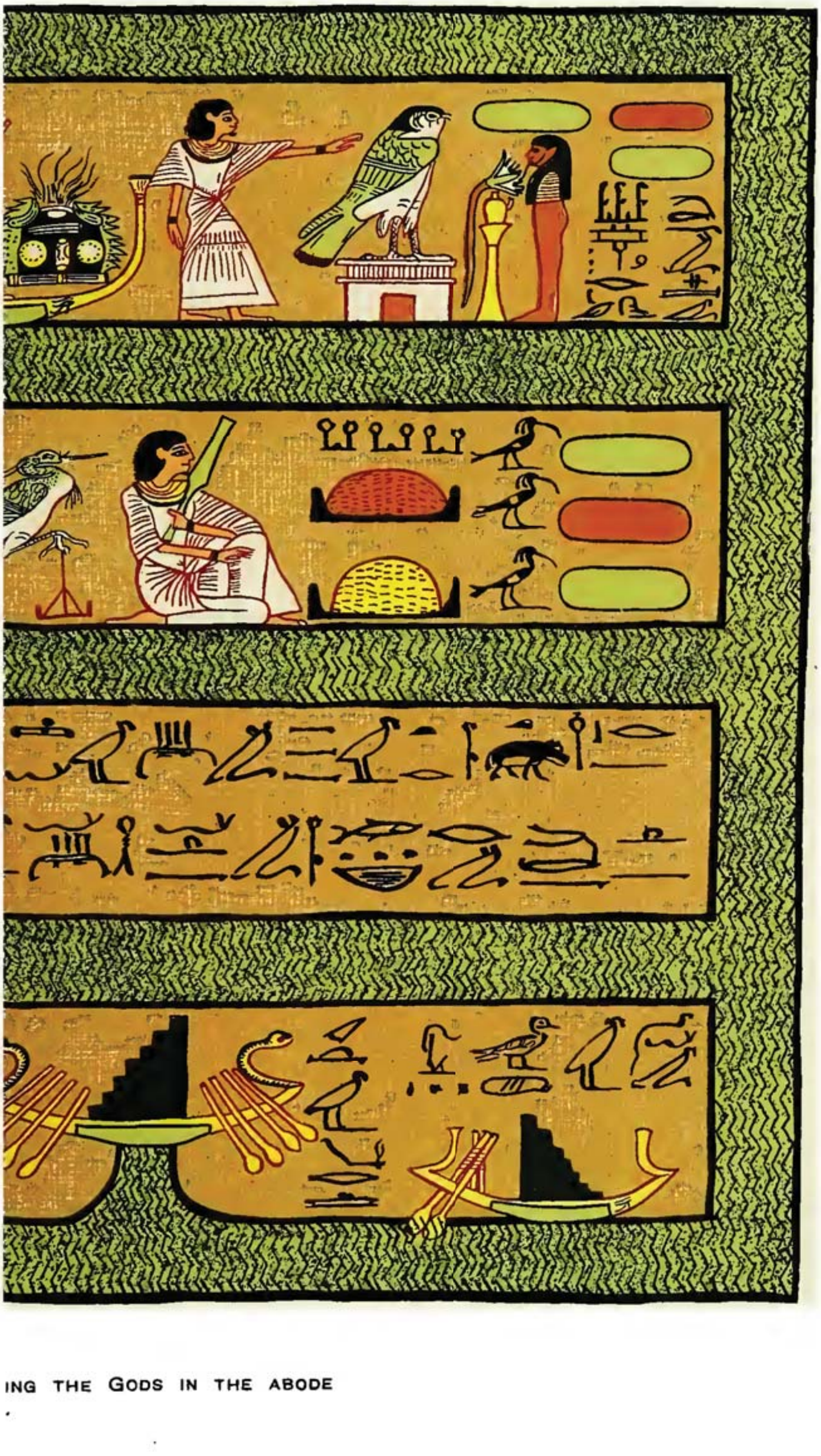

ING THE GODS IN THE ABODE

or beings who were thought never to diminish, or melt away, or decay.

All the evidence as to the position of the region Åaru shows that originally it was thought to be in the sky, but, on the other hand, there are indications that it was entered from certain places in the Delta, and among such was the region which contained the double city, Pe-Ṭep and Ṭeṭṭu, or Ṭāṭāu. Thus in a passage in the text of Pepi I. (line 255) it is said, "Pepi hath gone forth from "Pe, and from being with the Souls of Pe, and as he is arrayed in "the apparel of Horus, and in the garment of Thoth, and as Isis is "before him and Nephthys is behind him, Åpuat openeth a way "for him, and Shu beareth him up, and the Souls of Ånnu make "him to mount the steps that they may present him to Nut "who stretcheth out her hands to him, even as they did for "Osiris when he arrived in the other world. O ḤRÅ-F-ḤA-F "( ),[1] Pepi hath journeyed on to Sekhet-Åar, "( ), he hath come forth from Uart, "( ), and since he is the body which hath come forth "from God, and the uraeus which hath come forth from Rā, he "hath sailed on to Sekhet-Åar, having the four Spirits of Horus, "Ḥāp, Åmset, Ṭuamutef, and Qebḥsennuf, with him, two on each "side." This view of the position of Sekhet-Åaru is supported by several passages in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, and the pictures of the district, with its lakes and canals which form the vignettes to the cxth Chapter, indicate that it was situated to the north of Egypt. The name Sekhet-Åaru appears to mean "Field of Reeds" or "Field of Plants," and the idea conveyed by it was that of some very fertile region where farming operations could be carried on with ease and success, and where it would be possible to possess a large, well-kept, and well-stocked homestead, situated at no great distance from the Nile, or from one of its main branches. In the text the deceased prays, "Let "me have the power to order my own fields in Ṭeṭṭu, and my own "growing crops in Ånnu. Let me live upon bread made of white

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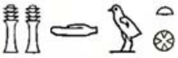
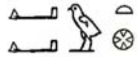
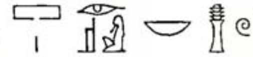
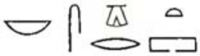
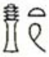
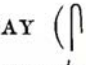
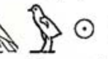
[1] I.e., "He whose face is behind him."

"grain, and let my beer be made from red grain, and may the "persons of my father and mother be given unto me as guardians "of my door, and for the ordering of my homestead. Let me be "sound and strong, and let me have much room wherein to move, "and let me be able to sit wheresoever I please" (Chapter lii.).

In the neighbourhood of Ṭeṭṭu, then, the original Sekhet-Åaru was thought to be located, and in Ṭeṭṭu the reconstruction of the dismembered body of Osiris took place, and it was here that the solemn ceremony of setting up his backbone was performed each year. The city of Ṭeṭṭu, , or Ṭāṭāu, , here referred to was the capital of the ninth nome of Lower Egypt called Per-Åsår-neb-Ṭeṭṭu, , by the Egyptians, and Busiris by the Greeks. In a portion of it called Neb-seḳert, , was preserved, according to one tradition, the backbone, , of Osiris; according to another his jaws were there preserved.[1]

From what has been said above it is clear that the cult of Osiris is certainly as old as the period of the Ist Dynasty, and that the oldest centre of his worship was situated in the Delta. Everything which the texts of all periods record concerning him goes to show that he was an indigenous god of North-east Africa, and that his home and origin were possibly Libyan. We have no means of finding out what were the earliest conceptions about Osiris, but it seems that he was originally a water spirit, or the god of some arm of the Nile, or portion of the main body of the Nile, and that he developed later into a great water-god; Dr. Brugsch[2] and M. Maspero[3] both regarded him as a water-god, and rightly consider that he represented the creative and nutritive powers of the Nile stream in general and of the Inundation in particular.

The natural opponent of Osiris was Set, who typified death and destruction, and who was the god *par excellence* of the desert; and in various forms and told in different ways we have the narrative of the contest between the powers of life and death, and light and darkness, and decay and regeneration, which appears in the religious texts of every period. In fact, Set was the opponent in every way of Osiris who, in the words of Dr. Brugsch, typified the "unbroken rejuvenescence of immortal Nature according to "the Divine Will and according to eternal laws."[1] In the xviith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* the deceased says, "I am "YESTERDAY ( *sef*); I know TO-DAY (★  ⊙ *ṭuau*)," and in answer to the question which follows, "Who then is this?" it is said, "Yesterday is Osiris, and To-day is Rā, on the day when "he shall destroy the enemies of Neb-er-tcher, and when he shall "establish as prince and ruler his son Horus" (lines 15-18). This passage proves that although Osiris was the type of that which is gone, or dead, or the past, he possessed a power of regeneration which expressed itself in the young Horus. In his aspect of a water-god Osiris was the personification of the falling Nile, or the Nile in winter, and of the night sun, and of the winter sun, but he was, nevertheless, the cause of the fertility of Egypt, which was personified as Isis, and was the father of the young Horus, who in due course grew into an Osiris, and produced by means of Isis a young Horus to take his place, becoming thus the "father of his father."[2]

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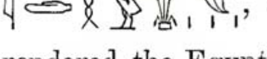
[1] See de Rougé, *Géog. Ancienne*, p. 59.

[2] *Religion*, pp. 190, 197.

[3] *Histoire Ancienne*, tom. i., p. 172.

Among a people like the Egyptians it would not be very long before the annual rise, and inundation, and fall of the Nile would be compared to the chief periods in the lives of men, and before the renewed rise of the Nile in the following year would be compared to man's immortality, which in Egypt was taken for granted from the earliest times; and that this is exactly what happened the hieroglyphic texts supply abundant proof. Unfortunately, however, we find nowhere in Egyptian works a connected narrative of the life, acts and deeds, and sufferings and death, and resurrection of Osiris, the man-god, but we possess a tolerably accurate account of them in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*.[3] The mythological history of Isis and Osiris by this writer is so important that an English rendering of it by Mr. Squire is given at the end of this chapter, but it will be necessary here to summarize the main facts in it in order that they may be compared with the hieroglyphic texts which refer to the subject. According to these Osiris was the son of Rhea, the Egyptian Nut, the wife of Helios, the Egyptian Rā, by Kronos, the Egyptian Seb; when Helios found that his wife was with child by Seb he declared that she should not be delivered of her child in any month or in any year. By a stratagem Hermes, the Egyptian Thoth, played at tables with Selene, and won from her the seventieth part of each day of the year, i.e., in all five days, which he added to the year. On the first of these five days Osiris was born, and a voice was heard to proclaim that the lord of creation was born. In due course he became king of Egypt and taught men husbandry, and established a code of laws, and made men worship the gods; when Egypt had become peaceful and prosperous he set out to instruct the other nations of the world, and Isis ruled Egypt during his absence. On his return Typhon, the Egyptian Set, and his seventy-two comrades, made Osiris to lie down in a chest, which was immediately closed by them, and cast into the Nile, which carried it down to its Tanaitic mouths. When Isis heard what had befallen her husband she cut off a lock of her hair as a sign of grief, and then set out to find his dead body. At length she traced it to Byblos, whither it had been carried by the sea, and she found that the waves had gently laid it among the branches of a tamarisk tree, which had grown to a magnificent size, and had enclosed the chest within its trunk. The Byblos here referred to is not Byblos in Phoenicia, but the papyrus swamps of Egypt, which are called in Egyptian ȦṬḤU, , a name meaning "papyrus plants;" the Greeks rendered the Egyptian word for "papyrus" by *Βύβλος*, and some copyist of the Greek text misunderstood the signification of the word in this passage, and rendered it by the name of the city of Phoenicia.

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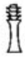
[1] "Die ununterbrochene Verjüngung der unsterblichen Natur nach gottlichem Willen und nach ewigen Gesetzen," *Religion*, p. 611.

[2] Brugsch, *Religion*, pp. 612, 613.

[3] Ed. Didot (*Scripta Moralia*, tom. iii., pp. 427–469), § xii. ff.

The king of the country, admiring the tree, had it cut down and made a pillar for the roof of his house; it is this tree trunk which is referred to by the hieroglyphic sign , *ṭeṭ*, and which is continually used in the texts with reference to Osiris. It has been said to represent a mason's table, but the four cross-bars have nothing to do with such a thing, for they are intended to indicate the four branches of a roof-tree of a house which were turned to the four cardinal points. When Isis heard that the tree had been cut down, she went to the palace of the king, and through the good offices of the royal maidens she was made nurse to one of the king's sons. Instead of nursing the child in the ordinary way, Isis gave him her finger to suck, and each night she put him into the fire to consume his mortal parts, changing herself the while into a swallow and bemoaning her fate. On one occasion the queen saw her son in the flames, and cried out, and thus deprived him of immortality. Then Isis told the queen her story, and begged for the pillar which supported the roof. This she cut open, and took out the chest and her husband's body, and departed with them to Egypt; having arrived there she hid the chest and set out in quest of her son Horus.

One night, however, Typhon was out hunting by the light of the moon, and he found the chest, and recognizing the body, tore it into fourteen pieces, which he scattered up and down throughout the land. When Isis heard of this she took a boat made of papyrus[1]—a plant abhorred by crocodiles—and sailing about she gathered together the fragments of Osiris's body. Wheresoever she found one, she buried it and built a tomb over it. Meanwhile Horus had grown up, and being encouraged in the use of arms by Osiris, who returned from the other world, he went out to do battle with Typhon the murderer of his father. The fight lasted some days, and Typhon was made captive, and was given over to the custody of Isis who, however, set him free. Horus in his rage tore from her head the royal diadem, but Thoth gave her a helmet in the shape of a cow's head. In two other battles fought between

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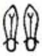
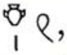
[1] Moses was laid in an ark of bulrushes, and was therefore believed to be safe from the attacks of crocodiles.

Horus and Typhon Horus was the victor. The great battle between Horus and Typhon took place, we are told in the IVth Sallier Papyrus, on the 26th day of the month Thoth; they first of all fought in the form of two men, but they afterwards changed themselves into two bears, and they passed three days and three nights in this form.

From the above summary it is clear that in Plutarch's time the Egyptians believed that Osiris was the son of a god, that he lived a good life upon earth and ruled as a wise and just king, that he was slain by the malice of evil men, that his body was mutilated, and that his wife Isis collected his limbs which had been scattered throughout Egypt by Set, or Typhon, and that Osiris by some means obtained a new life in the next world, where he reigned as god and king. The hieroglyphic texts contain abundant testimony that the statements of Plutarch are substantially correct, and from first to last Osiris was to the Egyptians the god-man who suffered, and died, and rose again, and reigned eternally in heaven. They believed that they would inherit eternal life, just as he had done, provided that what was done for him by the gods was done for them, and they made use of amulets, and magical texts of all kind, and performed ceremonies connected with sympathetic magic in order that they might compel Osiris and the gods who had brought about his resurrection (i.e., Thoth, the "lord of divine words, the scribe of the gods," and Isis, who made use of the words with which Thoth supplied her, and Horus and his companion gods who performed the symbolic ceremonies which were effectual in producing the reconstitution of the body of Osiris and its revivification) to act on their behalf even as they had acted for the god. The species of the amulets used were constant, and they appear to have been sixteen in number, viz., four figures of the children of Horus each with his characteristic head, four lapis-lazuli Ṭeṭ pillars, two bulls, a figure of Horus, a figure of Thoth, two carnelian Ṭeṭ pillars, and two lapis-lazuli *utchats*, .

According to Plutarch the number of portions into which Set tore the body of Osiris was fourteen, but the hieroglyphic texts give at times fourteen and at others sixteen; the cities and sanctuaries wherein these were buried are :—1. Ȧment in Koptos. 2. Ȧa-āb in Elephantine. 3. Ȧn-rut̩-f in Herakleopolis Magna. 4. Kusae. 5. Heliopolis. 6. Āt-Ȧment in Sma-beḥut̩et (Diospolis of Lower Egypt). 7. Letopolis. 8. Pa-Thuḥen in Saïs. 9. Meḥ-ta-f in Hermopolis of Lower Egypt. 10. Athribis. 11. Āq (Schedia). 12. Āb, in the Libyan Nome. 13. Ḥet-serȧ in the city of Netert. 14. Apis.[1] In the late period of Egyptian history, i.e., in Graeco-Roman times, the sanctuaries of Osiris were forty-two in number; in other words, each nome possessed its central shrine of Osiris, which was called a "Serapeum," or the place where Serapis was worshipped, but this happened because Osiris Khent Ȧmenti was identified with Serapis, who was not the god Osiris himself, but only a dead Ȧpis bull which had become an Osiris. It has already been said that in some lists the sanctuaries of Osiris are stated to be sixteen in number, but it is tolerably certain that the true number is fourteen, because in the inscriptions at Dendera which refer to the "mysteries" of Osiris, the statue of Seker-Osiris, which played such a prominent part in the ceremonies performed there, was made up of fourteen pieces,[2] although sixteen pieces are sometimes enumerated.[3] The sixteen members of the body of Osiris are :—his head, , the soles of his feet, , his bones, , his arms, , his heart, , his interior, , his tongue, , his eye, , his fist, , his fingers, , his back, , his ears, , his loins, , his body, ,

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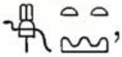
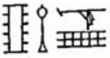
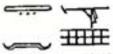
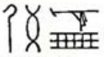
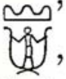
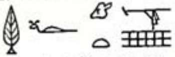
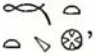
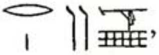
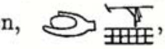
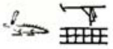
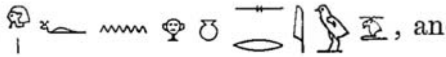
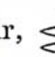
[1] See Brugsch, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 79 ff. Another list of the sixteen sanctuaries is given by M. Loret in *Recueil*, tom. v., p. 85, where they are enumerated in the following order:—T̩et̩u, , Abydos, , Memphis, , Nubia, , Herakleopolis, , Kusae, , Ȧtef-khent, , Saïs, , Meḥtet, , Amu, , Sma-Beḥut̩et, , Re-āqiu, , Ḥen, , Netrȧt, , Bāḥet, , Ka-qem, , Dendera, .

[2] They are enumerated by Brugsch, *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1881, p. 90 ff.

[3] *Recueil*, tom. iii., p. 56; tom. iv., p. 23.

his head with the face of a ram, , and his hair, .[1]

All the evidence on the subject now available goes to prove, as the paragraphs above show, that the early Egyptians believed that Osiris was a man-god who was murdered and whose body was mutilated, and that the various members of his body were reconstituted; and we know from a very interesting text at Dendera[2] that during the month of Khoiak a number of festivals were celebrated at all the chief sanctuaries of Osiris in Egypt, and that elaborate ceremonies were performed in them in commemoration of every event which took place in the life, death, and resurrection of the god. In this text the uses of the various sanctuaries are described, and detailed instructions are given for the making of the funeral chest, and of the model of the god which was to be buried in the coffin, and of the incense, and of the amulets, and of the fourteen divine members, and of all the materials, etc., which were employed in the ceremonies. On the xiith day of Khoiak the Festival of the Ploughing of the Earth and the Festival of the TENÀ, , were celebrated; on the xivth day the great

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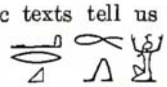
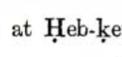
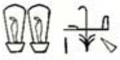
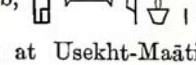
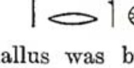
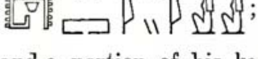
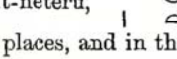
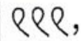
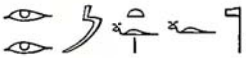
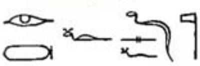
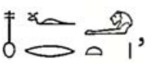
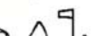
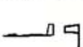
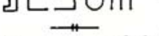
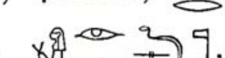
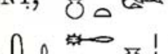
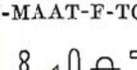
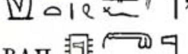
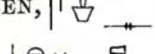
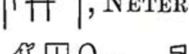
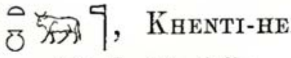
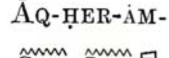
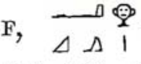
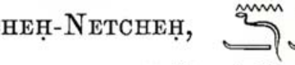
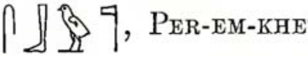
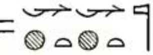
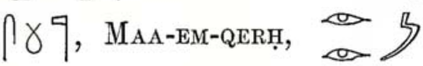
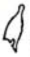
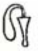
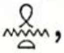
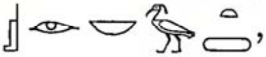
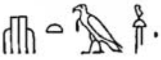
[1] The hieroglyphic texts tell us that the head of Osiris was buried in the sanctuary of Ārq-ḥeḥ, , in Abydos; his left eye was buried in Ḥet-Maākheru, , in Lower Egypt; his eyebrows were buried in Ām, (Pelusium); his jaw-bones were buried at Fāket in Upper Egypt; certain portions of his head were buried at Ḥeb-ḳert, , in the Delta; his neck was buried in the Delta; an arm and his right leg were buried at Aterui qemā, ; his left leg was buried at Meḥet, ; a bone of his back (*os coccyx*) was buried at Heliopolis, and his thighs at Ḥet-ḥer-àteb, ; a foot was buried at Netert, , and his heart at Usekht-Maāti, ; his phallus was buried at Ḥet-Bennu, , and a portion of his backbone at Pa-paut-neteru, . Various other parts of his body were buried at different places, and in the case of a few members the honour of possessing them was claimed by more than one city.

[2] See Brugsch, *Recueil*, i., 15, 16; Dümichen, *Résultats*, iv. 1–27; Mariette, *Dendérah*, tom. iv., pll. 35–39.

Festival of Pert; on the xvith day the Festival of Osiris Khent Āmenti; on the xxivth day the model of the god of the preceding year was taken out from its place and buried suitably, and the new Osiris was embalmed in the sanctuary; on the last day of the month the Ṭeṭ, , was set up in Ṭeṭṭu, because on this day the divine members of Osiris, , were brought. The new Osiris remained without burial for seven days because of the tradition which declared that the god had remained for seven days in the womb of his mother Nut when she was with child.

In connexion with the ceremonies in the great sanctuaries, e.g., Dendera, thirty-four papyrus boats were employed, and these were lit up with 365 lights, or lamps, . The gods of Mendes, with Anubis, occupied one boat, and Isis, Nephthys, Horus, and Thoth, each had a boat; the remaining twenty-nine boats were dedicated to the following gods:—MESTHÀ, ḤĀPI, ṬUAMUTEF, QEBḤ-SENNUF, SĀḤ-ḤEQ, , ÀRMĀUAI, , MAA-TEF-F, , ÀR-REN-F-TCHESEF, , ÀM-ṬET, , NEFER-ḤĀT, , ÀST-SEN-ÀRI-TCHER, , SEM, , ḤER-Ā-F, , SENṬ, , ÀRI-MAAT-F-TCHESEF, , SEBAKHSEN, , ḤEQES, , NETER-BAḤ, , QETET, , KHENTI-HEH-F, , ĀQ-ḤER-ÀM-UNNUT-F, , NETCHEḤ-NETCHEḤ, , ÀSBU, , PER-EM-KHET-KHET, , ERTĀ-NEF-NEBT, , ṬESHER-MAATI, , KHENT-ḤET-ÀNES, , MAA-EM-QERḤ, ÀN-F-EM-HRU-SEKSEK, . The above facts prove that in the Ptolemaïc period the views which were held generally about Osiris were substantially the same as those which were in vogue in the times when the Pyramid Texts were composed, and it is clear that the cult of Osiris was widespread even in the Vth Dynasty, or about B.C. 3500.

From the Pyramid Texts we learn that the dead kings were already identified with Osiris, and that Osiris was identified with the dead Sun-god, but we have no means of knowing when he was merged in Seker, the god of the Memphite Underworld. The Heliopolitan priests declared that he was the son of Seb and Nut, but it is much to be regretted that they did not preserve for us the genealogy of the god according to the priests of the predynastic period. The festivals which were celebrated in the month of Khoiak were, no doubt, founded upon very ancient tradition, but the elaboration of detail given in the text at Dendera, to which reference has already been made, does not suggest a primitive antiquity, although it shows how deeply seated was the cult of Osiris in the hearts of the people. The numerous aspects under which the god was worshipped also show that some of the original conceptions of the attributes of the god were forgotten in comparatively early days, both by foreigners and Egyptians, and it is this fact which explains how he came to be identified with the Greek god Dionysos. The aspects of Osiris were nearly as numerous as those of Rā, hence we find him identified with the sun and moon, and with the great creative and regenerative powers of Nature, and he was at once the symbol of rejuvenescence, resurrection, and of life of every sort and kind which has the power of renewing itself.

We must now consider the various forms in which Osiris is represented on the monuments, and in papyri, etc. The common form of the god is that of a mummy, who wears a beard, and has the White Crown, , on his head, and a *menȧt*, , hanging from the back of his neck. In a scene reproduced by Lanzone[1] he appears in a group with the Hawk-god Seker, the Beetle-god Kheprer, and the goddess SHENT, , and has two forms, i.e., Osiris, lord of Khut, and Khent Ȧmenti, , and . In another scene[2] he appears in the form of the Ṭeṭ

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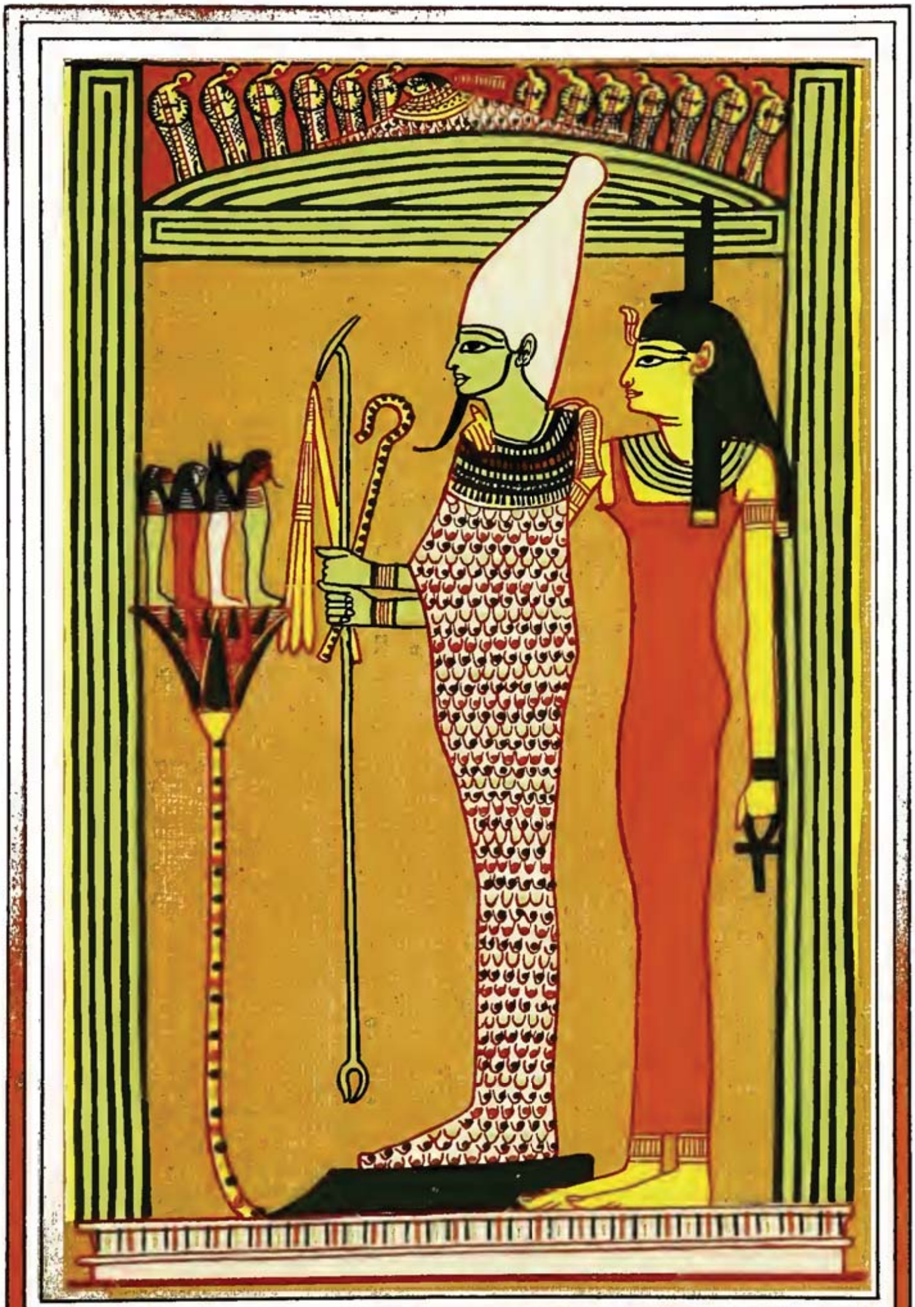
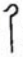
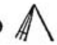
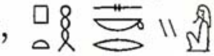
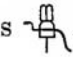
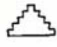
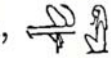
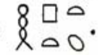
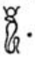
[1] *Dizionario*, plate 15.

[2] *Ibid.*, pl. 17.



OSIRIS WEARING THE WHITE CROWN AND MENȦT AND HOLDING THE SCEPTRE, CROOK, AND FLAIL. BEFORE HIM ARE THE FOUR CHILDREN OF HORUS, AND BEHIND HIM IS HIS WIFE ISIS.

pillar, and is called "Osiris Ṭeṭ," and stands at the head of a bier, on which lies the god Seker in mummied form. On a stele at Turin[1] Osiris appears in mummied form, seated, and holding in his hands the sceptre , and the flail or whip ; on his head is the White Crown with plumes, to which the name *Atef* is usually given. His titles are "Osiris Khenti-Ȧmentet, Un-nefer, lord of Tatcheser, the great god, king of the living." Behind him are seated PTAḤ-SEKRI, , "lord of the hidden chest," ȦNPU, "dweller in the city of embalmment," Horus, son of Isis, and Hathor. As a form of Khnemu-Rā he has the head of a ram, the horns of which are surmounted by a solar disk and by four knives.[2] A common symbol of the god is , i.e., the box which contained the head and hair of Osiris and which was preserved at Abydos, where these relics were buried. Elsewhere we see the body of the god bent round backwards in such a way as to form the region of the Ṭuat or Underworld (see vol. i., p. 229). Sometimes the god is seated on a throne, which is supported on the back of a monster serpent that rests on the top of the mythological flight of steps, , at Ḥenen-Su; he is accompanied by Maāt, Horus, son of Isis, Thoth, ḤEKA, , who holds a serpent in each hand, and the snake-headed goddess ḤEPTET, . The exact part which this last-named deity played in connexion with Osiris is unknown, but it is certain that it was of considerable importance, and that the goddess assisted in bringing about his resurrection. Ḥeptet has the body of a woman with the head of a bearded snake; on her head is a pair of horns which are surmounted by a solar disk, and Atef Crown, and uraei with disks and horns, . In each hand she holds a knife.[3]

On the walls of the temple of Dendera[4] is preserved a very interesting group of scenes connected with the story of the death and resurrection of the god, which may be briefly described thus:—

1. Osiris lying on his stomach on his bier, beneath which are his four crowns; he is called, "Osiris, beloved of his father, the

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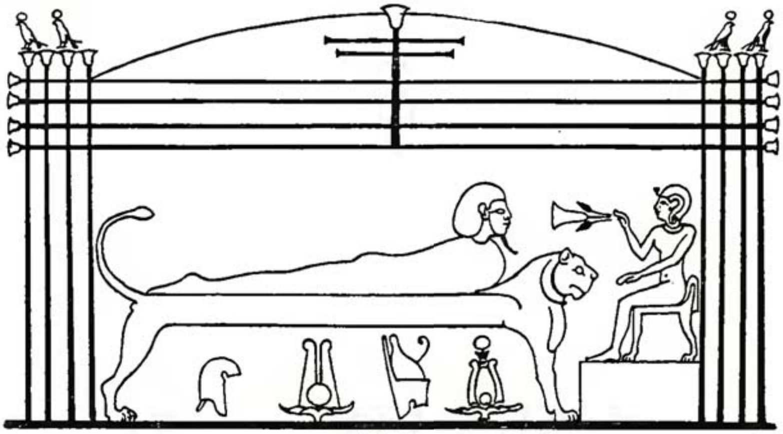
[1] Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 96. [2] *Ibid.*, pl. 143. [3] *Ibid.*, pl. 211.

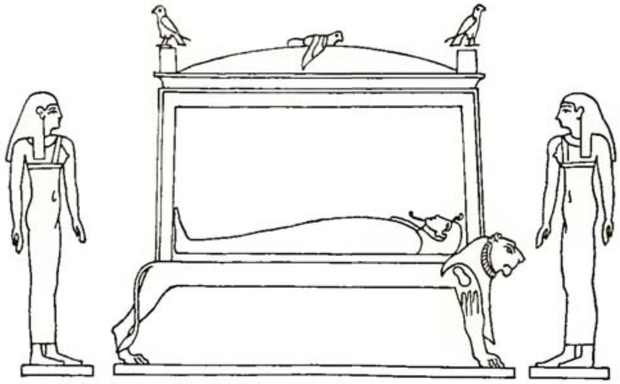
[4] See Mariette, *Dendérah*, tom. iv., pl. 65 ff., Paris, 1873.

king of the gods, the lord of life, Osiris." In front of Osiris is Horus who presents to him a lotus flower.

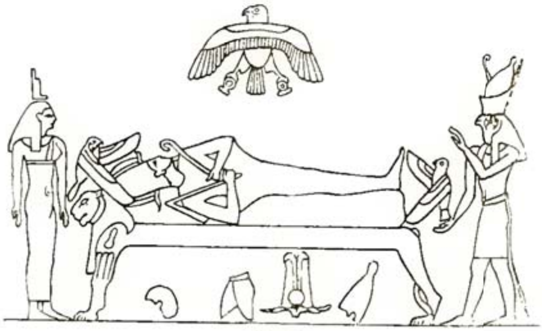


No. 1.

2. Osiris lying on his funeral bier; at the head stands Nephthys, and at the foot Isis.

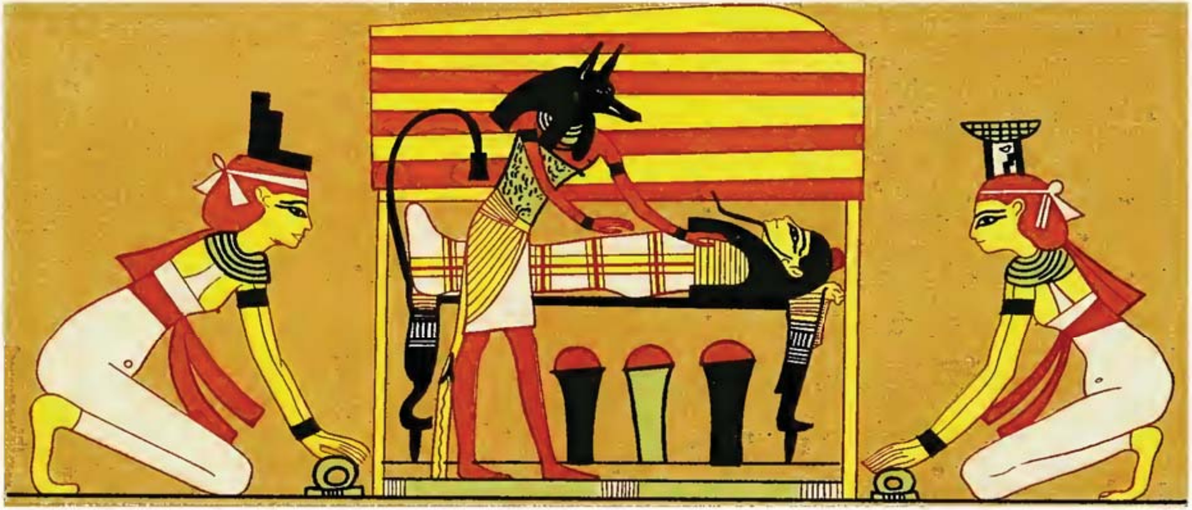


No. 2.



No. 3.

3. Osiris, ithyphallic, and wearing the Atef Crown, lying on his bier. On the head of the bier is a hawk with outstretched wings, and behind it stands Isis; on the foot is a similar hawk, and behind it stands Horus,

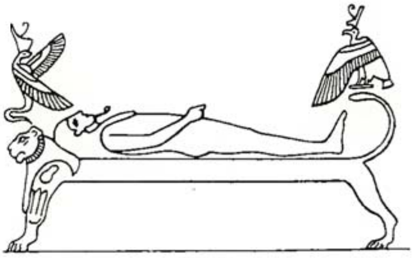


ANUBIS Ministering to OSIRIS on his Bier; at the Head Kneels NEPHTHYS son of Isis. Above is the soul of Osiris. Below the bier are two crowns, a tunic, and a cap.

4. Osiris, naked and beardless, lying on his bier, at the head of which is a statue of Isis, and at the foot a statue of Nephthys.

5. Osiris, naked and beardless, lying on his bier, at the head of which stands Isis who is addressing the god; beneath the bier are figures of the four children of Horus, Mesthȧ, Ḥāpi, Ṭuamutef, and Qebḥsennuf, who, besides representing the gods of the four cardinal points, may here be considered as personifications of the four large, internal organs of the body.

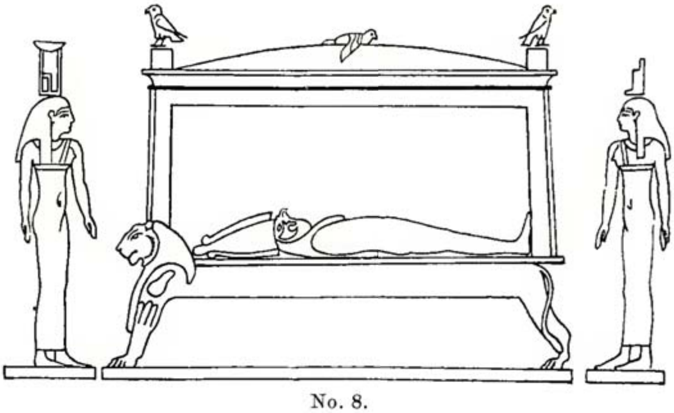
6. Osiris, naked, lying upon his bier, over the foot of which is the vulture goddess Uatchet, and over the head the uraeus goddess Nekhebet.



No. 6.

7. Osiris, in mummied form, lying on his bier beneath a funeral chest, over which a hawk stretches out its wings.

8. Osiris, 𓌀𓂀𓊹, of Beḥuṭet (Edfû) lying on his bier, with Nephthys at his head and Isis at his feet.



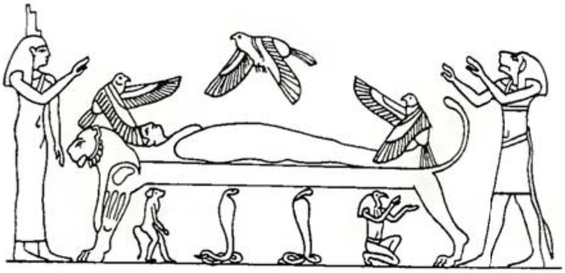
No. 8.

9. Osiris of Ta-khent lying on his bier, with a Hawk-goddess at the head and a Vulture-goddess at the foot.

10. Osiris of Ḥāp, 𓉐𓃒𓊖, wearing the Atef Crown, lying face downwards on his bier, beneath which are a number of crowns and caps of the god.

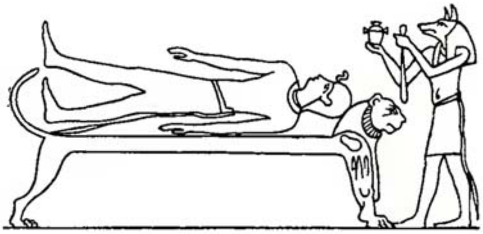
11. Osiris lying on his bier in the Meskhen chamber with the four funeral vases beneath.

12. Osiris, ithyphallic, mummied, and beardless, lying on his bier; he is watched over by three hawks, and by Isis, who stands at the head, and by a frog-headed form of the god Horus. Beneath the bier are the ape-headed god ÅURT, , and two snake-goddesses, one of which is called ḤER-ṬEPT, , and an ibis-headed god.



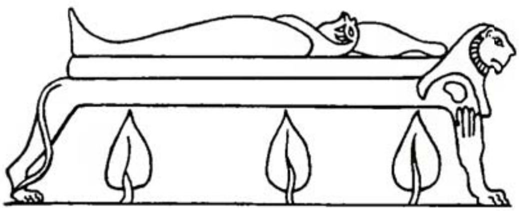
No. 12.

13. Seker-Osiris of Mendes, beardless, lying upon a bier, with Anubis in attendance, holding in his hands a vase of unguent, and an instrument used in embalming.



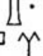
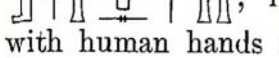
No. 13.

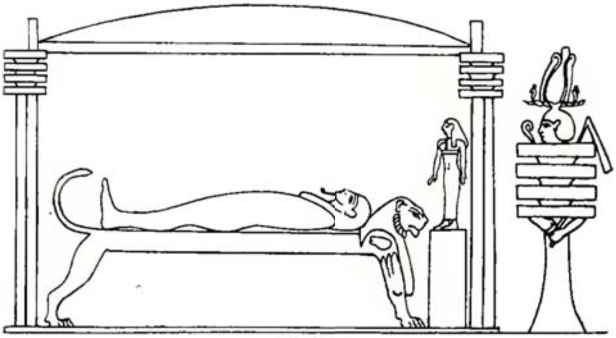
14. Seker-Osiris of Mendes, in the form of a hawk-headed mummy, lying upon his bier, beneath which grow three small trees.



No. 14.

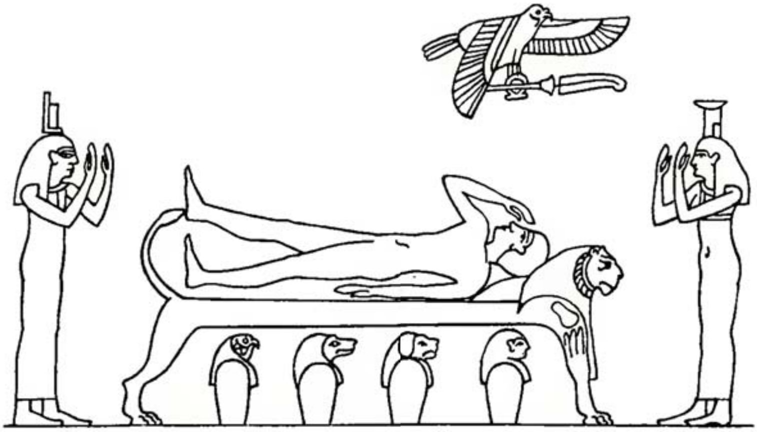
15. Seker-Osiris, naked, and bearded, and wearing the Atef Crown, lying upon his bier, beneath which grow three trees.

16. Ptaḥ-Seker-Åsår of Memphis, in mummied form and bearded, lying upon his bier, at the head of which, on a pedestal, stands a figure of Isis. The bier is placed within a funeral chest, the pillars of which are in the form of *Ṭet*, . On the right is "Åsår Ṭeṭ, the holy one in Ṭeṭṭu, ," in the form of a Ṭeṭ pillar, which is provided with human hands and arms;

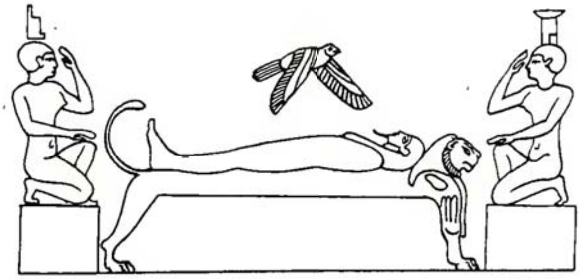


No. 16.

above it appear the head of Osiris and the sceptre and flail, or whip.

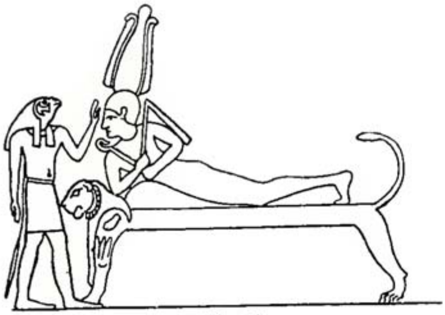


Osiris on his bier; beneath are the Canopic jars.



The mummy of Osiris on its bier with the hawk of Horus above; at the head is Nephthys, and at the foot Isis.

17. Osiris, beardless, and wearing the White Crown and plumes, in the act of raising himself from his bier at the command of Ḥeru-netch-tef-f.



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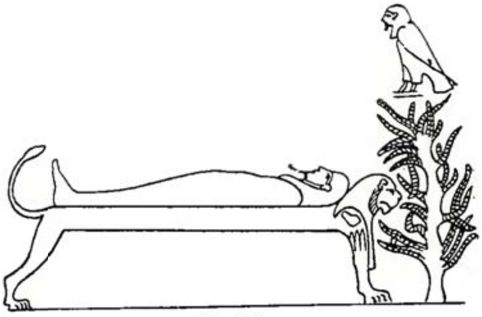
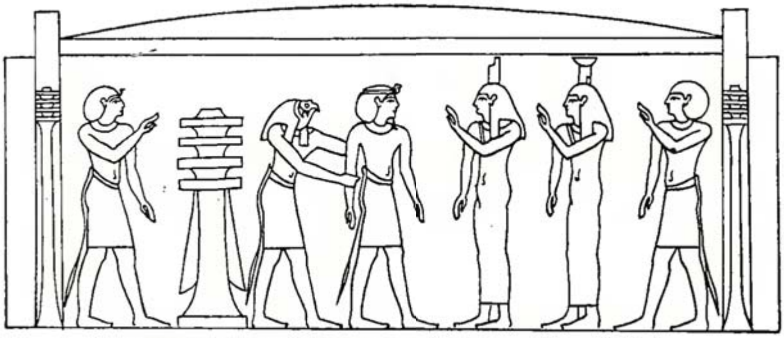


No. 18.

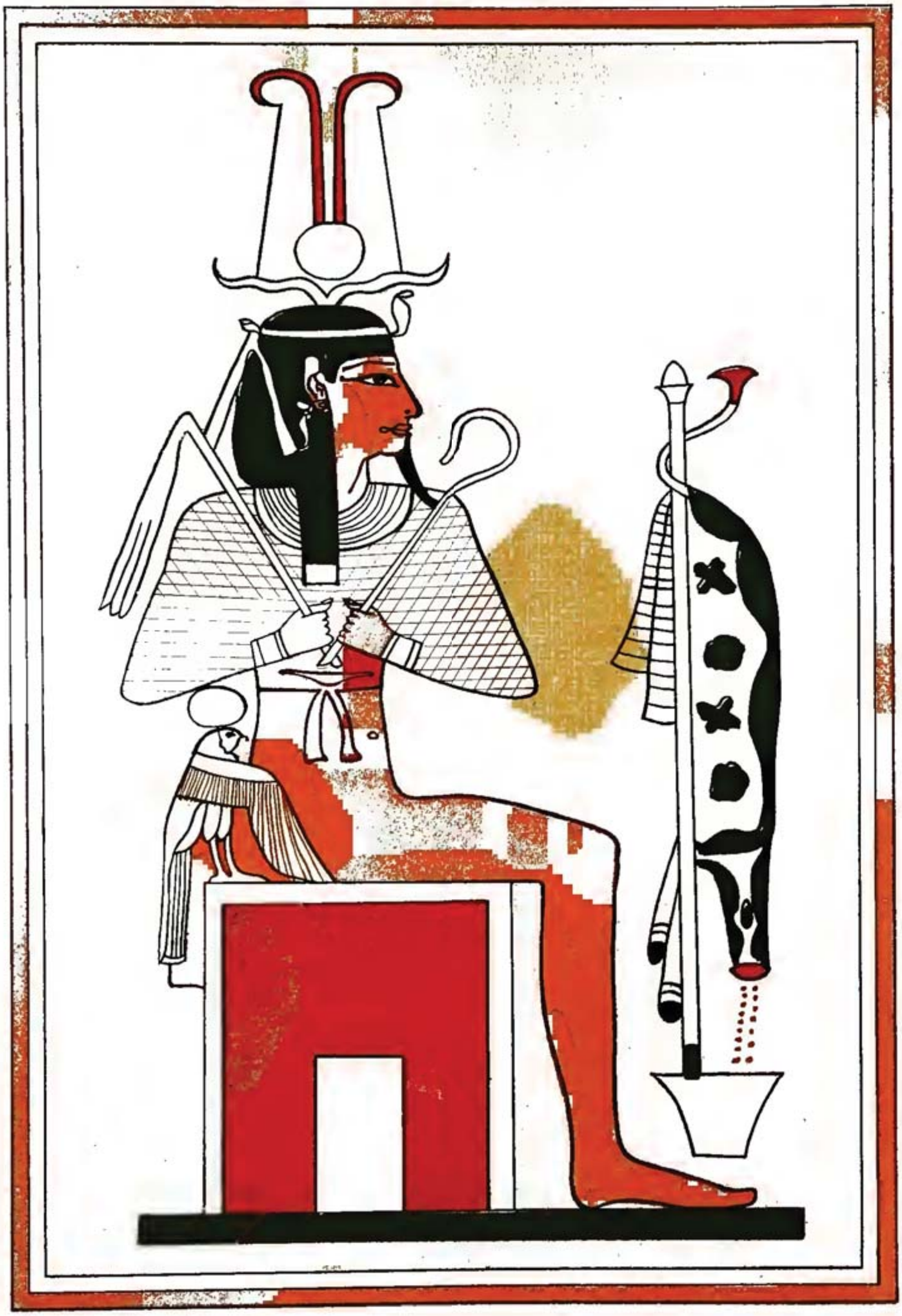
18. Osiris Un-nefer, in mummied form, lying on his bier, at the head of which grows the Persea tree, *Ȧsheṭ* 𓇋𓈙𓂧𓆭; above the upper branches stands a soul in the form of a man-headed hawk.

19. Osiris, bearded, lying on his bier, which rests within an elaborately ornamented funeral chest; beneath the bier are a number of helmets, caps, etc., belonging to the god. Through one end of the chest Ḥeru-netch-tef-f thrusts his lance, and touches the face of Osiris with it, with the view, presumably, of effecting the "opening of the mouth."



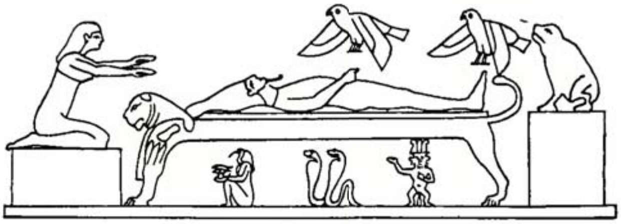
Ceremonial scene connected with the resurrection of Osiris.

20. Osiris, ithyphallic and bearded, in mummied form, lying upon his bier; over his feet and his body hover two hawks. At the head kneels Hathor, "Mistress of Ȧmentet, who weepeth for "her brother," and at the foot is a frog, symbol of the goddess Ḥeqet, 𓎛𓈎𓏏𓆏𓁐; beneath the bier are an ibis-headed god holding the *Utchat*, two serpents, and the god Bes. It is interesting to note that the frog-headed goddess Ḥeqet, who was a form of



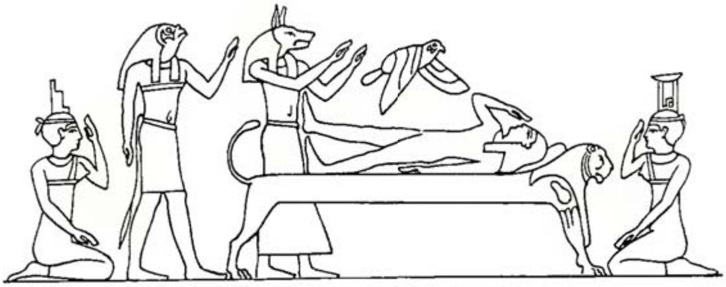
PTAḤ-SEKER-ÀUSÀR, THE TRIUNE GOD OF THE RESURRECTION.

Hathor, was connected by the Christians with the Christian Resurrection; in proof of this may be cited the lamp described by Signor Lanzone,[1] whereon, he tells us, is a figure of a frog, and the legend *’Εγω εἶμι ’Αναστάσις*, "I am the resurrection."



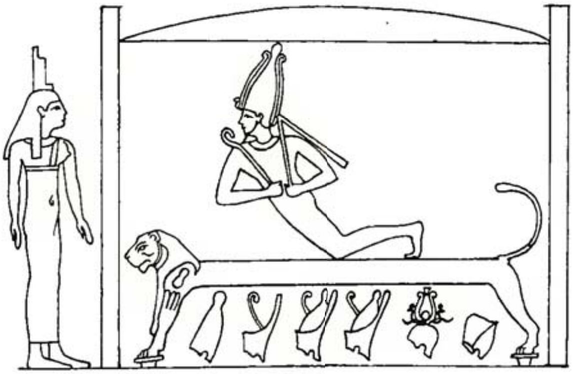
No. 20.

21. Osiris, bearded, ithyphallic, in mummied form, and wearing the White Crown, lying on his bier, by the side of which stand Anubis, jackal-headed, and Ḥeqet, frog-headed. At the head stands Ḥeru-netch-tef-f in the form of a hawk, and Nephthys kneels; at the foot kneels Isis.



Annbis addressing Osiris on his bier.

22. Osiris, bearded, wearing the White Crown with plumes,



No. 22.

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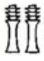
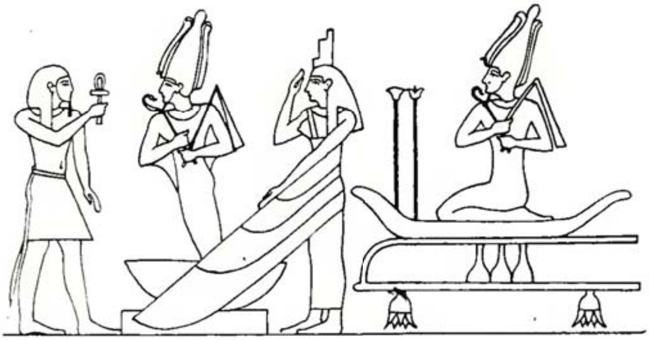
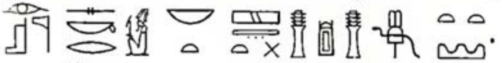
[1] *Dizionario*, p. 853.

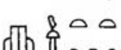
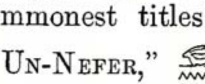
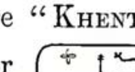
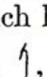
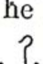
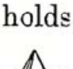
and holding in his hands the sceptre and flail, or whip, raising himself up on his knees from his bier, which is enclosed within the funeral chest. Beneath the bier are most of the crowns of the god. Beside it stands Isis.

23. Osiris rising up out of a basket (?), which rests upon a pedestal; behind him stands Isis with her wings stretched out on both sides of him, and before him is a bearded god who presents to him "life." On the right is a second scene in which the god is seen kneeling within the boat of the double Ṭeṭ, , wherein are



No. 23.

a papyrus plant and a lotus plant, the emblems of the South and North respectively. The boat rests upon a sledge, the supports of which are made in the form of inverted lotus flowers, which are well known types of the dawn and of renewed life. The title of the god here is "Osiris Seker, lord of the funeral chest [at] Abydos," .

The two commonest titles of Osiris are "KHENT-ÅMENTI," , and "UN-NEFER," , or , and as such he holds in his hands one or two sceptres and the whip, or flail, , , , and wears the White Crown. Sometimes he appears as a man, with a large mouth and eyes and nose, and with a Ṭeṭ surmounted by a disk, plumes, horns, uraei, etc., issuing from his head.[1] He once appears in the form of Ptaḥ pouring out[2] water from a libation vase for a deceased person who kneels before him, and once he appears with the head of the Bennu.[3] In

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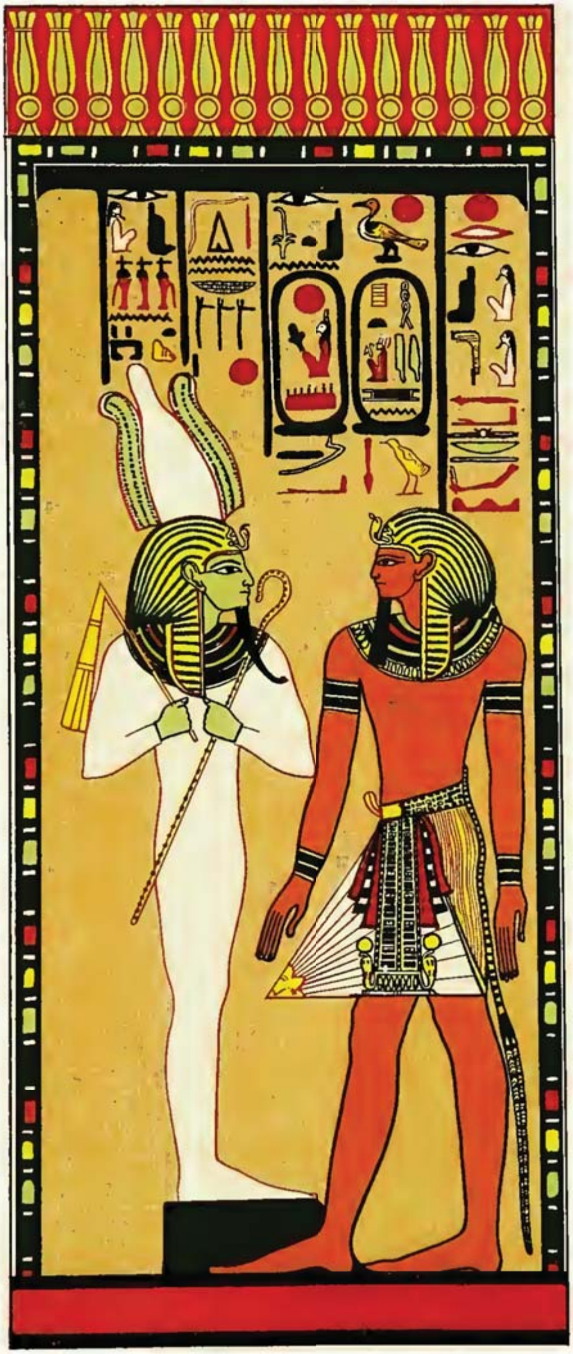
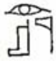
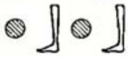
[1] Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pl. 293. [2] *Ibid.*, pl. 294. [3] *Ibid.*, pl. 295.



King SETI I. Addressing OSIRIS Khent-Amentet.

some scenes Osiris appears as a god of vegetation, and in one instance the god is represented in mummied form, and wearing the Atef Crown, and from his body a row of plants is seen growing; in another he is represented by a small mound of earth, which is called "Osiris," , and from which four trees grow. Above the mound is a large serpent with the White Crown upon its head, and two small serpents growing out from its body; on the right are:—1. A ram-headed god, holding a serpent, and 2. the serpent KHEBKHEB, ; on the left are a ram-headed god holding a serpent, and a feather. The Osiris ceremonies varied in different places, according as the god was identified with local gods, but in all great religious centres Osiris, under one name or another, possessed his own sanctuary. Thus, as Dr. Brugsch has pointed out,[1] in Northern Nubia Osiris was known as Khnemu, in Apollinopolis and Dendera as Ȧn, in Thebes as Khnemu-ut-em-ānkh, in Coptos as Ȧmsu-Ḥeru-ka-nekht, in Diospolis Parva as Sekhem, in Lycopolis as Sekhem-taui, in Antaeopolis as Maui, in Cusae as Urṭ-ȧb, in Memphis as Seker, in Cynopolis and Oxyrhynchus as Anubis, in Herakleopolis as Ka-ḥetep and Ḥeru-shefi, in the Libyan Nome as Khent-Ȧmenti, in Heroopolis as Ānkh and Tem, in Busiris as Ṭeṭ or Ṭeṭṭu, in Heliopolis as Ser-ȧa, and in other places in the Delta as Fenṭet-ānkh, Ḥeru-ȧp-shata. In the cxlist and cxliind Chapters of the *Book of the Dead* we have a complete list of the forms and shrines of Osiris, and as they are of great importance for forming a right idea of the universality of the cult of Osiris in Egypt, it will be found, in two versions, at the end of this section on the great gods of Heliopolis.

We have now traced the history of Osiris from the time when he was a river or water god, and of only quite local importance, up to the period when his worship reached from the north of the Delta to the Nubian Nome at Elephantine, and he had become in every sense of the word the national god of Egypt. We have now to consider Osiris in his character of god and judge of the dead, and as the symbol of the resurrection, and the best source upon which we can draw for information on this subject is the *Book of the Dead.* In this work Osiris is held to be the greatest of the gods, and it is he who is the judge of men after death, and he is the arbiter of their future destiny. He attained this exalted position because he was believed to have been once a human being who had died and had been dismembered; but his limbs had been reconstituted and he had become immortal. The most remarkable thing about him was that his body had never decayed like the bodies of ordinary men, and neither putrefaction nor worms ever acquired power over it, or caused it to diminish in the least degree. It is true that it was embalmed by Horus, and Anubis, and Isis, who carried out with the greatest care and exactitude all the prescriptions which had been ordered by Thoth, and who performed their work so thoroughly well that the material body which Osiris possessed on this earth served as the body for the god in the world beyond the grave, though only after it had undergone some mysterious change, which was brought about by the words of power which these gods said and by the ceremonies which they performed. A very ancient tradition declared that the god Thoth himself had acted the part of priest for Osiris, and although the Egyptians believed that it was his words which brought the dead god back to life, they were never able wholly to free themselves from the idea that the series of magical ceremonies which they performed in connexion with the embalmment and burial of the dead produced most beneficial results for their deceased friends.

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[1] *Religion*, p. 618.

The compositions which form the chapters of the *Book of the Dead* are declared to have been written by Thoth, and they were assumed to be identical with those which this god pronounced on behalf of Osiris; the ceremonies which were performed by the priests at the recital of such compositions were held to be identical with those which Horus and Anubis performed for the "lord of life," and if the words were said by duly appointed and properly qualified priests, in a suitable tone of voice, whilst the ministrants and libationers performed the sacred ceremonies according to the Rubrics, it was held to be impossible for Osiris to refuse to grant the deceased eternal life, and to admit him into his kingdom. It may be argued that the words and the ceremonies were the all-important factors of the resurrection of man and of his eternal life, but this was not the case, for the Egyptians only regarded them as means to be used with care and diligence; it was Osiris, the god-man himself, who had risen from the dead and was living in a body perfect in all its members, who was the cause of the resurrection. Osiris could give life after death because he had attained to it, and he could give eternal life to the souls of men in their transformed bodies because he had made himself incorruptible and immortal. Moreover, he was himself "Eternity and Everlastingness," and it was he who "made men and women to be born again," ; the new birth was the birth into the new life of the world which is beyond the grave and is everlasting. Osiris could give life because he was life, he could make man to rise from the dead because he was the resurrection; but the priesthood taught in all periods of Egyptian history that it was necessary to endeavour to obtain the favour of the god by means of magical and religious words and ceremonies. From the earliest times the belief in the immortality of Osiris existed, and the existence of the dead after death was bound up with that of the god. Thus in the text of Unȧs (line 240) it is said of the king to Tem, "O Tem, this is thy son Osiris. Thou hast given "him his sustenance and he liveth; he liveth and Unȧs liveth; he "dieth not, and this Unȧs dieth not; he is not destroyed, and this "Unȧs shall not be destroyed; if he begetteth not this Unȧs shall "not beget; if he begetteth this Unȧs shall beget." In a text nearly two thousand years later the deceased Ani is made to ask Tem, the head of the company of the gods of Heliopolis, "How "long have I to live?" and he replies, "Thou shalt exist for "millions of millions of years, a period of millions of years";[1] now Tem was identified with Rā, and Rā, at the time when this text was written, was held to be the father of Osiris, and to all intents and purposes the question of the scribe Ani was addressed to Osiris.

It has already been said that the great source of information

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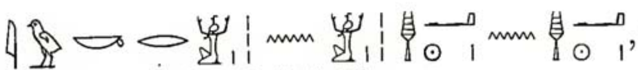
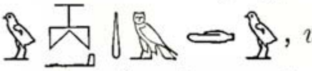
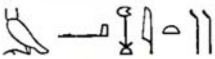
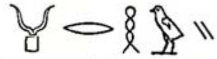
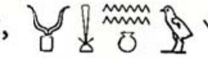
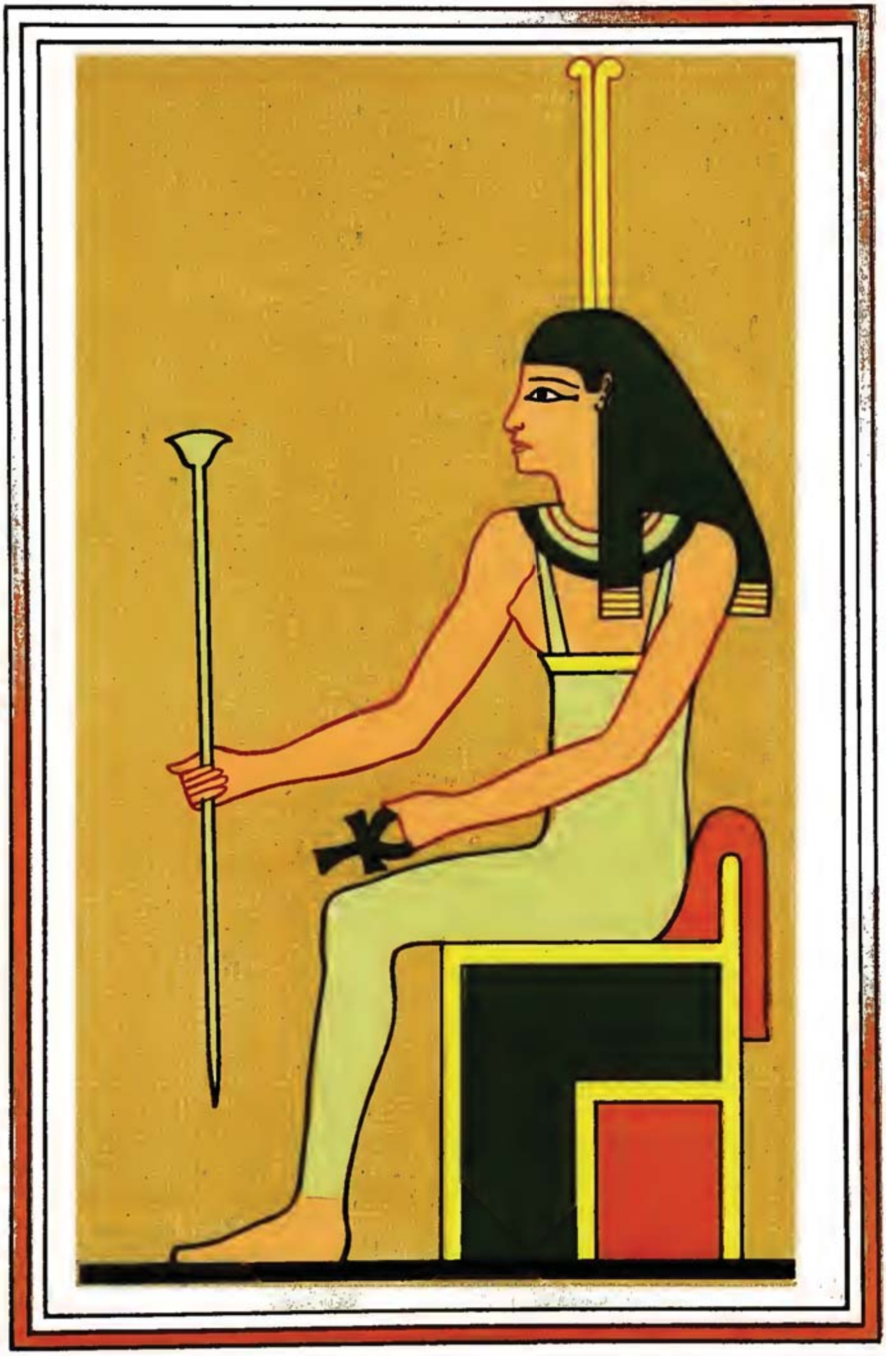
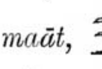
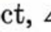
[1] , Chapter clxxv. of the *Book of the Dead* (Ani, pl. 19, l. 16).

about Osiris and his cult is contained in the *Book of the Dead*, which may be termed the Gospel of Osiris, wherein the god is made to point out to man the necessity for leading a pure and good life upon earth, and to instruct him in the words and deeds which will enable him to attain eternal life, and we must now briefly describe the relations which were believed to exist between this god of truth and life and the deceased. In the accompanying plate, which contains the famous "Judgment Scene" of the *Book of the Dead*, as contained in the Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum, we have a representation of Osiris in his capacity as the Judge of the dead, and a description of it will explain the views of the ancient Egyptians on the judgment of the souls of the dead. From certain passages and allusions in the Pyramid Texts it is clear that the ancient Egyptians believed that the souls of the dead, and perhaps also their bodies, were judged, and the place of their judgment seems to have been situated in the sky; no details of the manner in which it was performed are given, but it seems as if the judgment consisted in the "weighing of words," , *utcḥā meṭu*, that is to say, the weighing of actions, for the word *meṭu* means "deed, action," as much as "word" (like the Hebrew *dâbhâr*, דָּבָר). The "weighing of words" (or actions) was carried out by means of a pair of scales, Mākhaȧt, , which were presided over by Thoth, who from very remote days was known as ȦP-REḤUI, , i.e., "Judge of the two combatant gods," that is to say, "Judge of Horus and Set," and as ȦP-SENUI, , "Judge of the Two Brothers." Thoth, however, only watched the Balance when "words" were being tried in it on behalf of Osiris—at least this was the view in later times.

The Egyptians, having once conceived the existence of a Balance in the Underworld, proceeded to represent it pictorially, and as a result we have in the vignette of the Judgment Scene a pair of scales similar to those with which they were acquainted in daily life. They were too logical to think that words, or even actions, could be weighed in a material balance, and they therefore



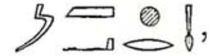
THE GODDESS MESKHENET.

represented the weighing of the material heart, from which they declared all thoughts and actions proceeded, and sometimes the whole body of the man who is to be judged was placed by the artist in one pan of the Scales. They had, moreover, in very early times arrived at the conception of "right, truth, law, and "rectitude," all of which they expressed by the word *maāt*, , and it was against the emblem of *Maāt*, the feather, , that they weighed either the heart or the whole body. Why the feather was chosen as the symbol of *maāt* instead of the usual object, , it is impossible to say, and this fact suggests that all the views which the Egyptians held about the weighing of the heart have not yet been understood. As the Judgment Scene stands it represents a mixture of different views and opinions which belong to different periods, but it seems impossible to doubt that at some remote time they believed in the actual weighing of a portion of the physical body of a man as a part of the ceremony of judgment. The judgment of each individual seems to have taken place soon after death, and annihilation or everlasting life and bliss to have been decreed at once for the souls of the dead; there are no sufficient grounds for assuming that the Egyptians believed either in a general resurrection or in protracted punishment. How far they thought that the prayers of the living for the dead were efficacious in arresting or modifying the decree of doom cannot be said, but very considerable importance was attached by them to funeral prayers and ceremonies in all ages, and there is no doubt that they were the outcome of the firm belief that they would result in the salvation and well-being of the souls of the dead. The Judgment Scene as given in the Papyrus of Ani may be thus described :—

The scribe Ani and his wife Thuthu enter the Hall of Maāti, wherein the heart, symbolic of the conscience, is to be weighed in the Balance against the feather, emblematic of Right and Truth. In the upper register are the gods who sit in judgment, and who form the great company of the gods of Heliopolis, to whom are added Hathor, Ḥu, and Sa. On the standard of the Balance sits the dog-headed ape, the companion of Thoth, the scribe of the gods; and the god Anubis, jackal-headed, examines the pointer to make certain that the beam is exactly horizontal, and that the tongue of the Balance is in its proper place. On the left of the Balance are :—1. SHAI, , the god of luck, or destiny; 2. the MESKHEN, , or rectangular object with a human head which rests upon a pylon, and is commonly thought to be connected with the place of birth; 3. MESKHENET, , the goddess of the funeral chamber, and RENENET, , the goddess of nursing; 4. the soul of Ani in the form of a human-headed hawk standing upon a pylon. The lines of hieroglyphics which appear above the figures of Ani and his wife contain a version of Chapter XXX.B of the *Book of the Dead*, in which the deceased addresses his heart, and prays that the sovereign chiefs may not oppose his judgment, and that it may not be separated from him in the presence of the keeper of the Balance. The sovereign chiefs here referred to are Mesthȧ, Ḥāpi, Ṭuamutef, and Qebḥsennuf, the children of Horus. After the heart has been weighed, Thoth, being satisfied with the result, addresses the gods, saying, "The heart of Osiris Ani hath indeed been weighed, and "his soul hath borne witness concerning him (or it); it hath been "found true by trial in the Great Balance. No evil hath been "found in him, he hath not wasted the offerings in the temples, "he hath not done harm by his deeds, and he hath uttered no "evil report whilst he was upon earth." In answer to these words the gods ratify the sentence of Thoth, and they declare that he is holy and righteous, and that he hath not sinned against them; therefore the monster ĀMEMET, , or the "Eater of the dead," who is seen standing behind Thoth, shall not prevail over him, and they further decree that he shall have a homestead in Sekhet-ḥetepu for ever, and that offerings shall be made to him, and that he shall have the power to appear before Osiris at will.

In the second part of the scene Horus, the son of Isis, leads Ani by the hand into the presence of Osiris, who is enthroned within a shrine in the form of a funeral chest. Osiris has upon his head the Atef crown, and he holds his usual emblems of authority,

𓌀, 𓋾, 𓍱; from his neck hangs the *menȧt*, 𓏠𓈖𓇋𓏏𓋘, i.e., the amulet which was associated with joy and pleasure. The title of the god is "Osiris, lord of everlastingness." Behind him stand Isis and Nephthys; before him, standing on a lotus flower, are the four Children of Horus, i.e., the four gods of the cardinal points. The first, Mesthȧ, has the head of a man; the second, Ḥāpi, the head of an ape; the third, Ṭuamutef, the head of a jackal; and the fourth, Qebḥsennuf, the head of a hawk. In some papyri the lotus on which these gods stand is seen to have its roots in a lake, or stream, of water, which flows from under the throne of Osiris. Near the lotus hangs the skin of the pied bull which was sacrificed at the beginning of that portion of the funeral ceremony when two gazelles and a goose were also slain as sacrifices. The side of the throne of Osiris is painted to resemble that of a funeral chest. The roof of the shrine is supported on pillars with lotus capitals, and is surmounted by a figure of Horus Sepṭ or Horus Seker, and by rows of uraei. The pedestal on which the shrine rests is in the form of the hieroglyphic which is emblematic of Maāt, 𓐙, i.e., "Right and Truth." Before the shrine is a table of offerings, by the side of which, on a reed mat, kneels Ani with his right hand raised in adoration; in the left hand he holds the kherp sceptre. He wears on his head a whitened wig, and the so-called "cone," the signification of which is unknown. In his speech Horus, the son of Isis, says, "I have come to thee, O Un-nefer, and I have "brought unto thee the Osiris Ani. His heart is righteous, and it "hath come forth innocent from the Balance; it hath not sinned "against any god or any goddess. Thoth hath weighed it according to the decree pronounced unto him by the company of the "gods; and it is most true and righteous. Grant that cakes and "ale may be given unto him, and let him appear in the presence "of Osiris; and let him be like unto the followers of Horus for "ever and ever." The scribe Ani then makes his prayer to Osiris in the following words:—"Behold I am in thy presence, O lord of "Ȧmentet. There is no sin in my body. I have not spoken that "which is not true knowingly, nor have I done aught with a false "heart. Grant thou that I may be like unto those favoured ones "who are in thy following, and that I may be an Osiris greatly "favoured of the beautiful god, and beloved of the lord of the "world, [I] who am indeed a royal scribe, who loveth thee, "Ani MAĀ KHERU before the god Osiris." The reply of the god Osiris is not recorded, but we may assume that the petition of Ani was granted by him, and that he ratified the decision of the gods in respect of a habitation in the Sekhet-Åaru. Thus Ani was free to pass into all the various regions of the dominion of Osiris, and to enter into everlasting life and happiness.

In the description of the Judgment Scene given above, reference is made to the Eater of the Dead, and in connexion with him it must be observed that he was supposed to devour straightway the souls of all those who were condemned in the Judgment Hall of Osiris, and that from one point of view the punishment of the wicked consisted of annihilation. Above, too, it has been said that Ani became "MAĀ KHERU, , before Osiris," when once his heart had been weighed and had not been found wanting. Egyptologists have investigated the meaning of these words very carefully, but have not agreed as to their meaning; as a result MAĀ KHERU has been rendered "victorious, triumphant, "just, justified, truth-speaking, truthful, true of voice, mighty of "word or speech, etc." Their true meaning seems to be "he whose word is right and true," i.e., he whose word is held to be right and true by those to whom it is addressed, and therefore, whatsoever is ordered or commanded by the person who is declared in the Judgment Hall to be MAĀ KHERU is straightway performed by the beings or things who are commanded or ordered. Before a man who is MAĀ KHERU every door in the Underworld opened itself, and every hostile power, animate or inanimate, was made to remove itself from his path.

Passing now from the consideration of Osiris as the king and judge of the dead, we must briefly refer to the beautiful hymns to the god which are found in the *Book of the Dead* and elsewhere. First among these must be mentioned the very remarkable composition which is inscribed on a stele in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and which was first made known by Chabas. The text is in the form of a hymn addressed to Osiris, but it is of unique importance in that it contains a proof of the substantial accuracy of the account of the life and death of Osiris, and of the birth of Horus, given by Plutarch. After enumerating the various great shrines of Osiris in Egypt, and ascribing great praise to this god, and summarising his beneficent acts, an allusion is made to his death and to the search which Isis made for his body. This goddess, the sister and wife of Osiris, was a skilled worker of miracles, and she knew words of power and how to utter them in such a way that the greatest effect might result from them. In the form of a bird she sought her brother's body ceaselessly, and went round about over the face of the earth uttering cries and moans, and she did not desist from her quest until she found it. When she saw that he was dead she produced light with her feathers, and air by the beating of her wings, and then by means of the words of power which she had obtained from Thoth she roused Osiris from his state of helplessness and inactivity, and united herself to him, and became with child by him, and in due course brought forth her son Horus in a lonely place unknown to any. The hymn in which the passage occurs is so important that a rendering of it is here given; the hieroglyphic text, with interlinear transliteration and translation, will be found at the end of this section.

CHAPTER VII

HYMN TO OSIRIS

XVIIITH DYNASTY, ABOUT B.C. 1500

1. “HOMAGE to thee, O Osiris, the lord of eternity, the king of the gods, thou who hast many names, whose forms “of coming into being are holy, whose attributes are hidden in the “temples, whose Double is most august (or venerated). Thou art “the Chief of Ṭeṭṭu (or Busiris), the Great One who dwelleth 2. in “Sekhem (Letopolis), the lord to whom praises are offered in the “nome of Ȧthi,[1] the Chief of the divine food in Ȧnnu (On, or Helio-“polis), and the lord who is commemorated in the [Hall (or City) of] “two-fold Right and Truth. Thou art the Hidden Soul, the lord “of Qereret (Elephantine[2]), the holy one in the city of the White “Wall (Memphis), the Soul of Rā, and thou art of his own body. “Offerings and oblations are made to thy satisfaction in 3. Suten-“ḥenen (Herakleopolis), praise in abundance is bestowed upon “thee in Nārt,[3] and thy Soul hath been exalted as lord of the “Great House in Khemennu (Hermopolis). Thou art he who is “greatly feared in Shas-ḥetep, the lord of eternity, the Chief of “Ȧbṭu (Abydos), thy seat extendeth into the land of holiness “(Underworld), and thy name is firmly stablished in the mouth of “mankind. 4. Thou art the substance of [which were made] the “two lands (i.e., Egypt), thou art Tem, the divine food of the “doubles, thou art the chief of the company of the gods, thou art “the operative and beneficent Spirit among the spirits, thou drawest

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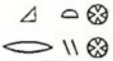
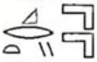
[1] I.e., the ninth nome of Lower Egypt, also read *Anetch*.

[2] *Qereret* = Qerti, , or , were the two caverns where the Nile was thought to rise at Elephantine.

[3] A sanctuary near Herakleopolis.

"thy waters from the abyss of heaven, thou bringest along the "north wind at eventide and air for thy nostrils to the satisfaction "of thy heart. 5. Thy heart germinateth, thou producest the light "for divine food, the height of heaven and the starry gods obey "thee, thou openest the great pylons [of heaven], and thou art he "unto whom praises are sung in the southern heaven, and to "whom adorations are performed in the northern heaven. The "stars which never set 6. are under the seat of thy face, and the "stars which never rest are thy habitations; and unto thee "offerings are made according to the decree of the god Seb.

"The company of the gods sing praises unto thee, and the "starry gods of the Underworld bow down with their faces to the "earth [before thee], the ends of the earth prostrate themselves "before thee, and the bounds of heaven make supplication unto "thee 7. when they see thee. Those who are among the holy "ones are in awe of thee, and the two lands in their length and "breadth ascribe praises unto thee when they meet thy majesty, "O thou glorious master, thou lord of masters, who art endowed "with divine rank and dignity, who art stablished in [thy] rule, "thou beautiful Sekhem of the company of the gods, who art "pleasant of face, 8. and art beloved by him that looketh upon "thee. Thou puttest thy fear in all the lands, and by reason of "love for thee all [men] proclaim thy name as being above that of "every name. All mankind make offerings unto thee, O thou lord "who art commemorated in heaven and in earth, and who art "greatly praised in the Uaḳ festival, and the two lands with one "consent 9. cry out unto thee with cries of joy̆, O thou great one, "thou chief of thy divine brethren, thou prince of the company of "the gods, thou stablisher of Maāt throughout the two lands, who "placest thy son upon the great throne of his father Seb, the "darling of his mother Nut.

"O thou great one of two-fold strength, thou hast cast down "Sebȧ, thou hast slain 10. thine enemy, and thou hast set thy "fear in thy foe. Thou bringest [together] remote boundaries, "thou art firm of heart, thy two feet are lifted up, thou art the "heir of Seb and of the sovereignty of the two lands, who hath "seen thy power and hath given command for thee to lead 11. the

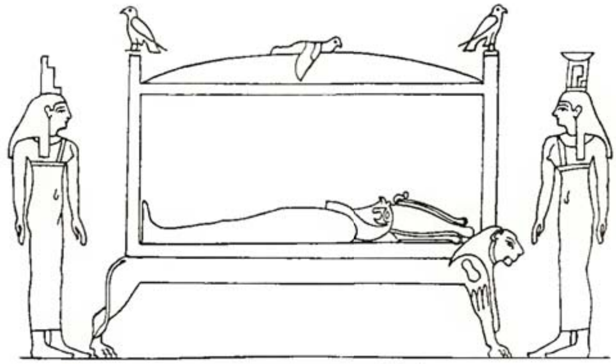
“two lands by thy hand until the end of time. Thou hast made
“the earth in thy hand, and its waters, and its air, and its green
“herb, and all its cattle, and all its birds, and all its fishes, and all
“its reptiles, and [all] its four-footed beasts. The desert is thine
“by right, O son of 12. Nut, and the two lands are content to
“make him to rise up upon the throne of his father like Rā.
“Thou risest in the horizon, thou givest light through the
“darkness, thou makest light to spread abroad from thy plumes,
“and thou floodest with light the two lands like the 13. Disk at
“the beginning of sunrise. Thy crown pierceth heaven, thou art
“a brother of the starry gods, and the guide of every god, and
“thou dost work by decree and word, O thou favoured one of the
“company of the gods, who art greatly beloved by the Lesser
“Company of the gods.

“Thy sister protected thee, and she drove away thy foes,
“14. and she warded off from thee evil hap, and uttered the
“words of power with all the skill of her mouth; her tongue was
“trained, and she committed no fault of utterance, and she made
“[her] decree and [her] words to have effect, Isis, the mighty one,
“the avenger of her brother. She sought thee without weariness,
“15. she went round about through this land in sorrow, and she
“set not to the ground her foot until she had found thee. She
“made light with her feathers, she made air to come into being
“with her wings, and she uttered cries of lamentation at the bier
“of her brother. 16. She stirred up from his state of inactivity
“him whose heart was still (i.e., Osiris), she drew from him his seed,
“she made an heir, she suckled the babe in solitariness, and the
“place wherein she reared him is unknown, and his hand is mighty
“within the house 17. of Seb. The company of the gods rejoice
“and are glad at the coming of Horus, the son of Osiris, whose
“heart is stablished, and whose word taketh effect, the son of Isis
“and the heir of Osiris. The assessors of Maāt gather together
“unto him, and with them are assembled the company of the gods,
“and Neb-er-tcher himself, and the lords of Maāt. 18. Verily
“those who repulse faults rejoice in the house of Seb to bestow
“the rank [of Osiris] upon its lord, to whom is by right all
“sovereignty. The voice of Horus hath found the power of *maāt*.

"The rank of his father hath been given unto him, and he hath "come forth crowned 19. by the command of Seb. He hath "received the sceptre of the two lands, and the White Crown is "stablished upon his head. He judgeth the earth according to "his plans, and heaven and earth are open before his face. He "layeth his commands upon men, and spirits, and upon the *pāt* "and *ḥen-memet* beings, and Egypt, and the Ḥa-nebu, and all the "region 20. wherein the Disk revolveth are under his plans, as "well as the north wind, and the river flood, and the celestial "waters, and the staff of life, and every flower. [He is] Neprȧ, "and he giveth his green herbs; he is the lord of *tchefau* food, he "leadeth on abundance, and he giveth it unto all lands.

"21. There is joy everywhere, [all] hearts are glad, [all] "hearts are glad, every face is happy, and every one adoreth his "beauties. His love is doubly sweet unto us, and his active "beneficence embraceth all hearts, and the love for him is great in "every body, and they do what is right 22. for the son of Isis. "His enemy hath fallen before his wrath, and he that worketh "evil hath fallen at the sound of his voice; when the son of Isis, "the avenger of his father, the son of Isis, cometh against him, he "shooteth forth his anger in his season. Holy and beneficent is his "name, and the awe of him abideth in its place. 23. His laws are "stablished everywhere, the path is cleared, the roads are opened, "and the two lands are content; wickedness departeth, evil goeth "away, the earth is at peace under [the rule of] its lord, and Maāt "is stablished by 24. its lord, and setteth its back against iniquity. "The heart of Un-nefer, the son of Isis, is glad, for he hath "received the White Crown, and the rank of his father is his by "right in the house of Seb; he is Rā when he speaketh and Thoth "when he writeth. 25. The assessors [of Osiris] are content; let "what hath been decreed for thee by thy father Seb be performed "according to his word.

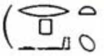
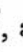
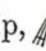
"May Osiris, Governor of Ȧmentet, lord of Abydos, give a "royal offering! May he give sepulchral meals of oxen, and fowl, "and bandages, and incense, and wax, and gifts of all kinds, and "the [power to] make transformations, and mastery over the Nile, "and [the power] to appear as a living soul, and to see the Disk "daily, and entrance into and exit from Re-stau; may [my] soul "not be repulsed in the Underworld, may it be among the favoured "ones before Un-nefer, may it receive cakes and appear before the "altar of the Great God, and snuff the sweet breath of the north "wind."

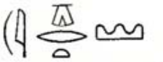


Osiris on his funeral bed.

CHAPTER VIII

HYMNS TO OSIRIS, AND OSIRIS UN-NEFER, FROM THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

1. "GLORY[1] BE TO THEE, OSIRIS UN-NEFER, the great god who dwellest within Ȧbṭu (Abydos), thou king of eternity, "thou lord of everlastingness, who passest through millions of "years in the course of thine existence. Thou art the eldest son "of the womb of Nut, and thou wast engendered by Seb, the "Ancestor ( *erpāt*); thou art the lord of the crowns of "the South and North, thou art the lord of the lofty white crown, "and as prince of gods and men thou hast received the crook, , and "the whip, , and the dignity of his divine fathers. Let thine "heart, O Osiris, who art in the Mountain of Ȧmentet, be content, "for thy son Horus is stablished upon thy throne. Thou art crowned lord of Ṭeṭṭu (Mendes), and ruler in Ȧbṭu (Abydos). "Through thee the world waxeth green in triumph before the "might of Neb-er-tcher. He leadeth in his train that which is, "and that which is not yet, in his name Ta-ḥer-sta-nef; he toweth "along the earth by Maāt in his name of 'Seker'; he is exceedingly "mighty and most terrible in his name 'Osiris'; he endureth for "ever and for ever in his name of 'Un-nefer.'

"Homage be to thee, O King of kings, Lord of lords, Ruler "of princes, who from the womb of Nut hast ruled the world and "the Underworld ( Ȧḳert). Thy members are [like] "bright and shining copper, thy head is blue [like] lapis-lazuli,

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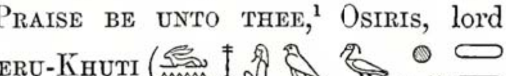
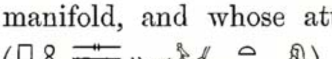
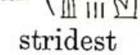
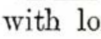
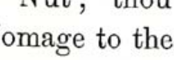
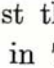
[1] From the Papyrus of Ani, sheet 2.

"and the greenness of the turquoise is on both sides of thee, O thou "god Ȧn ( ) of millions of years, whose form and whose beauty "of face are all-pervading in Ta-tchesert (i.e., the Underworld)."

II. "PRAISE BE UNTO THEE,[1] OSIRIS, lord of eternity, UN-"NEFER-ḤERU-KHUTI (), whose forms are "manifold, and whose attributes are majestic, PTAḤ-SEKER-TEM "() in Ȧnnu (Heliopolis), the lord of the "Hidden House, the creator of Ḥet-ka-Ptaḥ (Memphis) and of "the gods [therein], thou guide of the Underworld, whom [the gods] "glorify when thou settest in the night sky of Nut ( ). Isis "embraceth thee with content, and she driveth away the fiends "from the mouth of thy paths. Thou turnest thy face upon "Ȧmentet, and thou makest the earth to shine as with refined "copper. Those who have lain down (i.e., the dead) rise up to "look upon thee, they breathe the air and they look upon thy face "when the disk riseth on the horizon; their hearts are at peace "inasmuch as they behold thee, O thou who art Eternity and "Everlastingness."

III. "1. HOMAGE[1] TO THEE, KHABESU (i.e., Starry deities "( ), in Ȧnnu (Heliopolis) and ḤEMEMET ( ) "in Kher-āḥa, thou god Unti, who art more glorious than the gods "who are hidden in Ȧnnu. 2. Homage to thee, O ȦN () in "Ȧn-tes (), Great One, Ḥeru-khuti, thou stridest over "heaven with long strides, O Ḥeru-khuti. 3. Homage to thee, O "soul of eternity, thou god BAI (), who dwellest in "Ṭeṭṭu (Mendes), Un-nefer, son of Nut; thou art the lord of "Ȧkert (i.e., the Underworld). 4. Homage to thee in thy dominion "in Ṭeṭṭu; the Ureret crown () is stablished upon thy head; "thou art One and thou makest the strength which is thine own "protection, and thou dwellest in Ṭeṭṭu. 5. Homage to thee, O "lord of the Acacia Tree ( ), the Seker Boat is upon its

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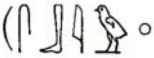
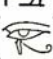
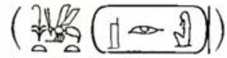
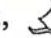
[1] From the Papyrus of Ani, sheet 19.

"sledge; thou drivest back the Fiend ( *Sebȧu*), the "worker of evil, and thou causest the Utchat (), to rest upon "its seat. 6. Homage to thee, thou who art mighty in thine hour, "thou great and mighty prince, who dwellest in Ȧn-ruṭ-f;[1] thou "art the lord of eternity and the creator of everlastingness, thou "art the lord of Suten-ḥenen (Herakleopolis Magna). 7. Homage "to thee, O thou who restest upon Maāt, thou art the lord of Ȧbṭu, "and thy limbs are joined unto Ta-tchesertet; what thou "abominatest is falsehood (or, deceit and guile). 8. Homage to "thee, O thou who art within thy boat, thou bringest along Ḥāpi "(Nile) from out of his source;[2] Shu shineth upon thy body, and "thou art he who dwelleth in Nekhen.[3] 9. Homage to thee, O "creator of the gods, king of the South and North, Osiris, "(), whose word is *maāt*, thou possessor of the two "lands in thy seasons of operative power; thou art the lord of the "Ȧṭebui (i.e., the two lands which lay one on each side of the "celestial Nile)." The above nine addresses form, in reality, a litany, and after each of them the deceased said to Osiris, "O "grant thou unto me a path whereon I may pass in peace, for I "am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I "done aught with deceit."

IV. "HOMAGE[4] TO THEE, O OSIRIS UN-NEFER, whose word is "*maāt*, thou son of Nut, thou first-born son of Seb, thou mighty "one who comest forth from Nut, thou king in the city of Nifu-ur, "thou Governor of Ȧmentet, thou lord of Ȧbṭu, thou lord of souls, "thou mighty one of strength, thou lord of the *Atef* crown, , "in Suten-ḥenen, thou lord of the divine form in the city of "Nifu-ur, thou lord of the tomb, thou mighty one of souls in "Ṭaṭṭu, thou lord of [sepulchral] offerings, whose festivals are "many in Ṭaṭṭu. The god Horus exalteth his father in every "place, and he uniteth himself unto the goddess Isis and unto her

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[1] A district of the Underworld.

[2] An allusion to the fact that Osiris was originally a Nile god.

[3] Nekhen was the sanctuary of the goddess Nekhebet of Nekhebet (Eileithyiapolis), whose male counterpart was Ȧn, a form of Osiris.

[4] *Book of the Dead*, Chap. cxxviii. (Saïte Recension).

"sister Nephthys; and the god Thoth reciteth for him the mighty glorifyings which are within him, and which come forth from his mouth, and the heart of Horus is stronger than that of all the gods. Rise up, then, O Horus, thou son of Isis, and avenge thy father Osiris. Hail, O Osiris, I have come unto thee; I am Horus and I have avenged thee, and I feed this day upon the sepulchral meals of oxen and feathered fowl, and upon all the beautiful things offered unto Osiris. Rise up, then, O Osiris, for I have struck down for thee all thine enemies, and I have taken vengeance upon them for thee. I am Horus upon this beautiful day of thy fair rising in thy Soul, which exalteth thee along with itself on this day before thy divine sovereign princes. Hail, O Osiris, thy double (*ka*) hath come unto thee and rests with thee, and thou restest therein in thy name of Ka-Ḥetep. It maketh thee glorious in thy name of Khu, and it maketh thee like unto the Morning Star in thy name of Peḥu, and it openeth for thee the ways in thy name of Åp-uat. Hail, O Osiris, I have come unto thee, and I have set thine enemies under thee in every place, and thy word is *maāt* in the presence of the gods and of the divine sovereign chiefs. Hail, O Osiris, thou hast received thy sceptre and the place whereon thou art to rest, and thy steps are under thee. Thou bringest food to the gods, and thou bringest sepulchral meals unto those who dwell in their tombs. Thou hast given thy might unto the gods, and thou hast created the Great God; thou hast thy existence with them in their spiritual bodies, thou gatherest thyself unto all the gods, and thou hearest the word of *maāt* on the day when offerings to this god are ordered on the festivals of Uḳa."

V. "HOMAGE TO THEE,[1] O GOVERNOR OF ÅMENTET, UN-NEFER, lord of Ta-tchesert, O thou who art diademed like Rā, verily I come to see thee and to rejoice at thy beauties. His disk is thy disk; his rays of light are thy rays of light; his *Ureret* crown is thy *Ureret* crown; his majesty is thy majesty; his risings are thy risings; his beauties are thy beauties; the terror which he inspireth is the terror which thou inspirest; his odour is thy

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[1] *Book of the Dead*, Chap. clxxi.

"odour; his hall is thy hall; his seat is thy seat; his throne is thy "throne; his heir is thy heir; his ornaments are thy ornaments; "his decree is thy decree; his hidden place is thy hidden place; "his things are thy things; his knowledge is thy knowledge; the "attributes of greatness which are his are thine; the power which "protecteth him protecteth thee; he dieth not and thou diest not; "he is not overcome by his enemies and thou art not overcome by "thine enemies; no evil thing whatsoever hath happened unto "him, and no evil thing whatsoever shall happen unto thee for "ever and ever.

"Homage to thee, O Osiris, son of Nut, lord of the two horns, "whose *Atef* crown is exalted, may the *Ureret* crown be given "unto thee, along with sovereignty before the company of the "gods. May the god Temu make awe of thee to exist in the "hearts of men, and women, and gods, and spirits, and the dead. "May dominion be given unto thee in Ȧnnu; mayest thou be "mighty of transformations in Ṭaṭṭu (Mendes); mayest thou be "the lord greatly feared in the Ȧati; mayest thou be mighty "in victory in Re-stau; mayest thou be the lord who is commemorated with gladness in the Great House; mayest thou have "manifold risings like the sun in Ȧbṭu; may triumph be given "unto thee in the presence of the company of the gods; mayest "thou gain the victory over the mighty Powers; may the fear of "thee be made to go [throughout] the earth; and may the princes "stand up upon their stations before the sovereign of the gods of "the Ṭuat, before thee the mighty Sekhem of heaven, the Prince "of the living ones, the king of those who are in [his train], and "the Glorifier of thousands in Kher-āḥa. The denizens of heaven "rejoice in thee, O thou who art the lord of the chosen offerings in "the mansions above; a meat offering is made unto thee in the city "of Ḥet-ka-Ptaḥ (Memphis); and the 'things of the night' are "prepared for him in Sekhem (Letopolis). Behold, O mighty god, "thou great one of two-fold strength, thy son Horus avengeth thee. "He doeth away with every evil thing whatsoever that belongeth "to thee, he bindeth up in order for thee thy person, he gathereth "together for thee thy members, he collecteth for thee thy bones, "and he bringeth to thee whatsoever belongeth to thee. Thus "thou art raised up, O Osiris, and I have given unto thee thy "hand, and I make thee to stand up a living being for ever and "ever."

VI. "HOMAGE TO THEE,[1] O GOVERNOR OF THOSE WHO ARE IN "ÅMENTI, who makest mortals to be born again, who renewest thy "youth, thou comest who dwellest in thy season, and who art more "beautiful than . . . . . , thy son Horus hath avenged thee; the "rank and dignity of Tem have been conferred upon thee, O Un-"nefer. Thou art raised up, O Bull of Åmentet, thou art stablished "in the body of Nut, who uniteth herself unto thee, and who "cometh forth with thee. Thy heart is stablished upon that which "supporteth it, and thy breast is as it was formerly; thy nose is "firmly fixed with life and power, thou livest, and thou art "renewed, and thou makest thyself young like Rā each and every "day. Mighty, mighty is Osiris in victory, and he is firmly "stablished with life."

VII. "THY HEART REJOICETH,[2] O lord of the gods, thy heart "rejoiceth greatly; the Black Land and the Red Land are at "peace, and they serve thee humbly under thy sovereign power. "The temples are stablished upon their own lands, cities and "nomes possess firmly the goods which are inscribed in their names, "and we will make to thee the divine offerings which we are "bound to make, and offer sacrifices in thy name for ever. "Acclamations are made in thy name, libations are poured out to "thy double. Sepulchral meals [are brought unto thee] by the "*khus* who are in their following, and water is sprinkled upon "the offerings (?) upon both sides of the souls of the dead in "this land; every plan which hath been decreed for thee according "to the commands of Rā in the beginning hath been perfected. "Now, therefore, O son of Nut, thou art diademed as Neb-er-tcher "is diademed at his rising. Thou livest, thou art stablished, thou "renewest thy youth, thou art true and perfect; thy father Rā "maketh strong thy members, and the company of the gods make "acclamations unto thee. The goddess Isis is with thee, and she "never leaveth thee; [thou art] not overthrown by thine enemies.

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[1] *Book of the Dead*, Chắp. clxxxii. (ll. 15-19).

[2] *Ibid.*, Chap. clxxxiii. (ll. 17 ff.).

"The lords of all lands praise thy beauties even as they praise Rā "when he riseth at the beginning of each day. Thou risest up "like an exalted one upon thy standard, thy beauties exalt the "face and make long the stride. I have given unto thee the sovereignty of thy father Seb, and the goddess Mut, thy mother, who "gave birth to the gods, brought thee forth as the first-born of "five gods, and created thy beauties, and fashioned thy members. "Thou art stablished as king, the white crown is upon thy head, "and thou hast grasped in thy hands the crook and the whip; "whilst thou wert in the womb, and hadst not as yet come forth "therefrom upon the earth, thou wert crowned lord of the two "lands, and the *Atef* crown of Rā was upon thy brow. The gods "come unto thee bowing low to the ground, and they hold thee in "fear; they retreat and depart when they see thee possessing the "terror of Rā, and the victory of thy Majesty is in their hearts. "Life is with thee, and offerings of meat and drink follow thee, "and that which is thy due is offered up before thy face."

VIII. "HOMAGE TO THEE,[1] O thou holy god, thou mighty and "beneficent being, thou Prince of eternity who dwellest in thy "abode in the Sektet Boat, thou whose risings are manifold in the "Ȧṭet Boat, to thee are praises rendered in heaven and upon "earth. Peoples and nations exalt thee, and the majesty of thy "terror is in the hearts of men, and spirits, and the dead. Thy "Soul is in Ṭaṭṭu (Mendes) and the terror of thee is in Suten-ḥenen "(Herakleopolis); thou settest the visible emblems of thyself in "Ȧnnu and the greatness of thy transformations in the double "place of purification."

IX. "HOMAGE TO THEE, O great God, thou Lord of Maāti, "I have come to thee, O my Lord, and I have brought myself "hither that I may behold thy beauties. I know thee, and I know "thy name, and I know the names of the Two and Forty gods who "exist with thee in the Hall of Maāti, who live as warders of "sinners and who feed upon their blood on the day when the lives "of men are taken into account in the presence of the god "Un-nefer; in truth thy name is 'Rekhti-merti-neb-Maāti.' In truth I have come to thee, and I have brought Maāt to thee, and I have destroyed wickedness for thee. I have not done evil to mankind. I have not oppressed the members of my family. I have not wrought evil in the place of Maāt. I have had no knowledge of worthless men. I have not wrought evil. I have not made to be the first [consideration] of each day that excessive labour should be performed for me. I have not brought forward my name for honours. I have not ill-treated servants. I have not thought scorn of God. I have not defrauded the oppressed one of his goods. I have not done that which is an abomination unto the gods. I have not caused harm to be done to the servant by his chief. I have not caused pain. I have made no man to suffer hunger. I have made no one to weep. I have done no murder. I have not given the order for murder to be done for me. I have not inflicted pain upon mankind. I have not defrauded the temples of their oblations. I have not purloined the cakes of the gods. I have not carried off the cakes offered to the spirits. I have not committed fornication. I have not entered the holy places of the god of my city in a polluted condition. I have not diminished from the bushel. I have neither added to nor filched away land. I have not encroached upon the fields [of others]. I have not added to the weights of the scales (i.e., cheated the seller). I have not misread the pointer of the scales (i.e., cheated the buyer). I have not carried away the milk from the mouths of children. I have not driven away the cattle from their pastures. I have not snared the feathered fowl of the preserves of the gods. I have not caught fish [with bait made of] fish of their kind. I have not turned back the water at the time [when it should flow]. I have not cut a cutting in a canal of running water. I have not extinguished a fire when it should burn. I have not violated the seasons of the chosen meat offerings. I have not driven off the cattle from the property of the gods. I have not repulsed God in his manifestations. I am pure. I am pure. I am pure. I am pure. My purity is the purity of that great Bennu which is in the city of Suten-ḥenen (Herakleopolis Magna), for, behold, I am the nose of the god of the winds who maketh all mankind to live on the day when the

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[1] *Book of the Dead*, Chap. clxxxv.

"Eye of Rā is full in Ȧnnu at the end of the second month of the "season Pert[1] in the presence of the divine lord of the earth. "I have seen the Eye of Rā when it was full in Ȧnnu, therefore let "not evil befall me in this land and in this Hall of Maāti, because "I, even I, know the names of these gods who are therein and who "are the followers of the great god."

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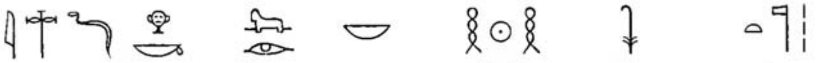
[1] I.e., the Season of Growing; the second month of Pert is the sixth month of the Egyptian year.

CHAPTER IX

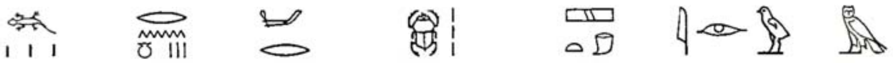
HYMN TO OSIRIS[1]

XVIIITH DYNASTY, ABOUT B.C. 1500

1. 

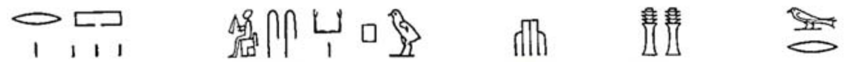
ȧnetch ḥrȧ-k Ȧsȧr neb ḥeḥ suten neteru

Homage to thee, Osiris, lord of eternity, king of the gods,



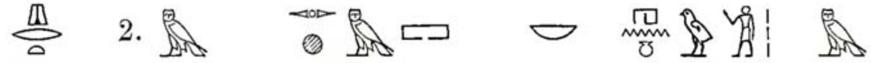
āsh rennu tcheser kheperu sheta ȧru em

many of names, holy of creations, hidden of forms in



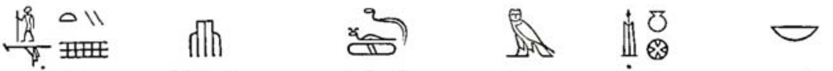
erperu shepses ka pu khent Ṭaṭṭu ur

the temples, whose *ka* is venerated, chief of Ṭaṭṭu, great one



khert em Sekhem neb hennu em

contained in the temple of Sekhem, lord of praises in



Ȧthi khent tchef em Ȧnnu neb

the nome Ȧthi, chief of the sacred food in Heliopolis, the lord

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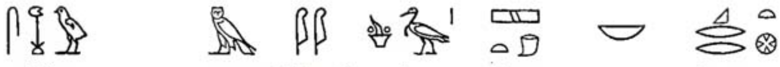
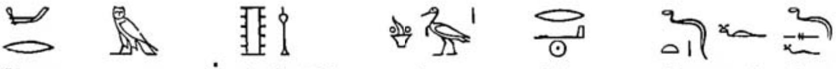
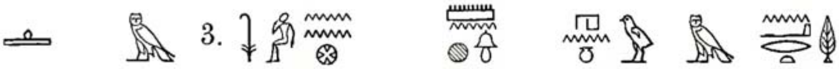
[1] The stele on which the following text is inscribed is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Its importance was first recognized by Chabas (see *Revue Archéologique*, 1857, p. 65), and a complete copy of it will be found in Ledrain, *Monuments Égyptiens*, pll. xxii. ff.



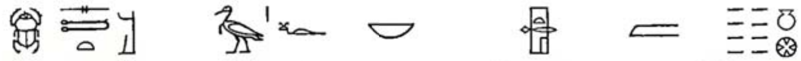
sekhau	*em*	*Maāti*	*ba*	*sheta*	*neb*	*Qerert*
who is commemorated	in	Maāti,	soul	hidden,	lord	of Qerert,



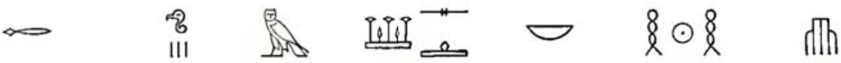
tcheser	*em*	*Ȧneb-ḥetch*	*ba*	*Rā*	*tchet - f tchesef*
holy one,	in	White Wall,	the soul	of Rā,	of his very body,



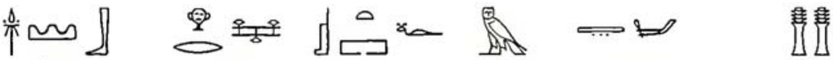
ḥetep	*em*	3. *Suten-ḥenen*	*menkh*	*hennu*	*em*	*Nārt*
satisfied with offerings	in	Ḥenen-suten,	abundant	of praise	in	Nārt,



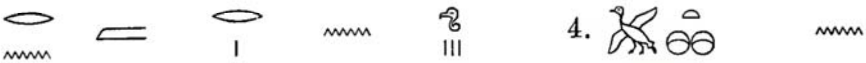
kheper setheset	*ba - f*	*neb*	*ḥet āa*	*em*	*Khemennu*
hath become exalted	his soul	[as] lord	of the Great House	in	Khemennu,



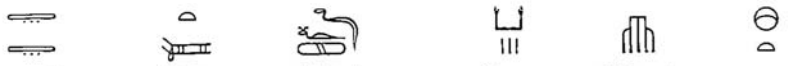
āa	*neru*	*em*	*Shas-ḥetep*	*neb*	*ḥeḥ*	*khent*
great one	of terror	in	Shas-ḥetep,	lord	of eternity,	chief



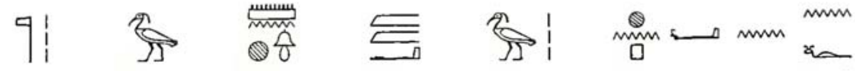
Ȧbṭu	*ḥer*	*ȧst - f*	*em*	*Ta-tcheser*	*ṭeṭṭeṭ*
of Abydos,	extendeth	his seat	in	the Land of holiness,	established



ren	*em*	*re*	*en*	*ret*	4. *pautti*	*en*
of name	in	the mouth	of	mankind,	the two-fold *paut*	of

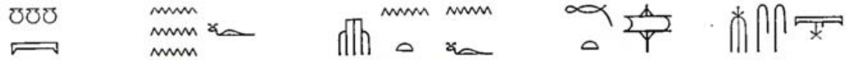


taui	*Tem*	*tchef*	*kau*	*khent*	*paut*
the two lands,	Tem	the divine god	of the *kas*,	chief	of the *paut*



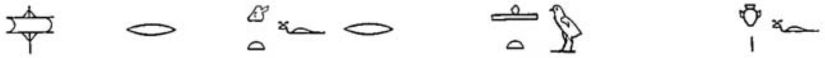
neteru khu menkh emmā khu khenp en nef

of the gods, spirit beneficent among the spirits, he draweth



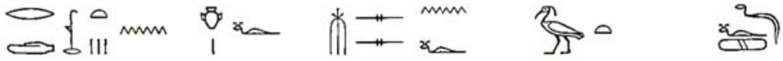
Nu mu - f khent-nef meḥt meses

[from] Nu his waters, he bringeth along the wind of eventide



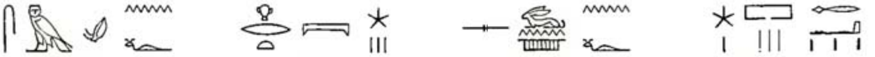
nef er fenṭet-f er ḥeteptu ȧb - f

[and] air to his nostrils to the satisfaction of his heart,

5. 

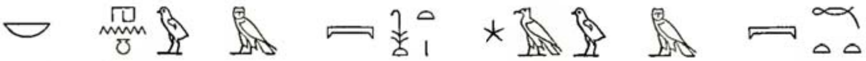
reṭet en ȧb - f meses-nef khut tchef

germinateth his heart, he produceth the light, the divine food,



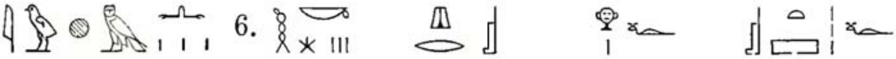
setem-nef ḥert sbau sun-nef sbau āāiu

obey him heaven and the star-gods, he maketh to be open the great gates,



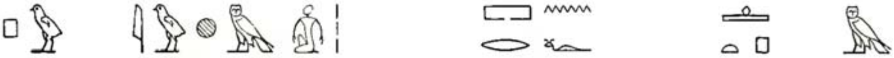
neb hennu em pet reset ṭuau em pet meḥtet

lord of praises in the southern heaven, adored in the northern heaven,



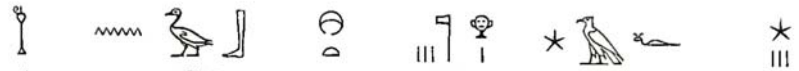
ȧukhemu - 6. *seku kher ȧst ḥrȧ-f ȧst - f*

the stars which never diminish [are] under the seat of his face, his seats



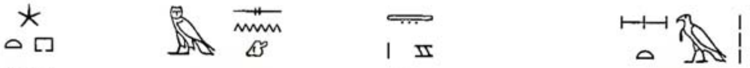
pu ȧukhemu-urṭu per-nef ḥetep em

are the stars which never rest, cometh to him an offering by



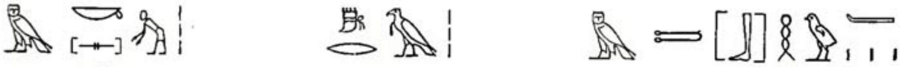
utu en Seb paut neteru ḥer ṭua - f sbau

the order of Seb, the *paut* of the gods praise him, the star gods



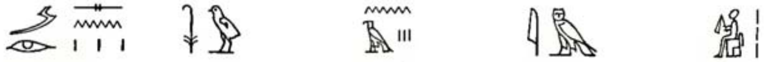
ṭuat em sen ta tchtchati

of the underworld smell the earth [before him], the boundaries [of earth]



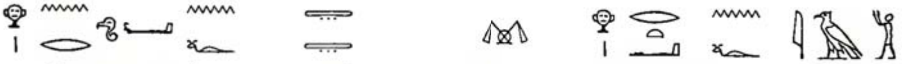
em kesu tcherti em thebḥu

bow the back, the limits of heaven make supplication

7. 

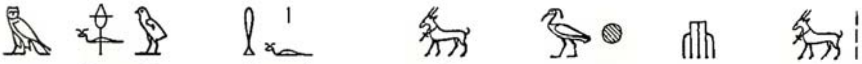
maa-sen su naiu ȧm shepsu

[when] they see him. Those who are among the holy ones



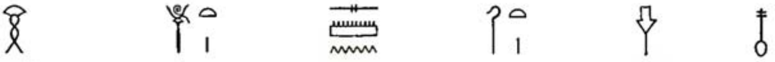
ḥer ner-nef taui ṭemt ḥer erṭā nef ȧaiu

fear him, the two lands, all [of them] give to him praises



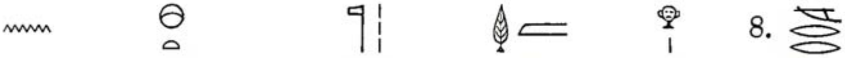
em khesefu ḥen-f sāḥu khu khent sāḥu

in meeting his majesty, the master glorious, chief of masters,



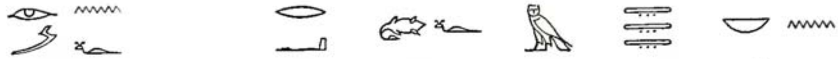
uaḥ ȧat smen ḥeqet sekhem nefer

endowed with divine rank, stablished of dominion. Form beautiful



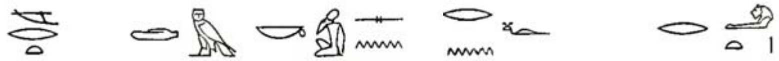
en paut neteru am ḥrȧ 8. *merer*

of the company of the gods, gracious of face, beloved by



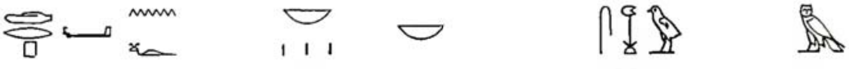
maa-nef *erṭā* *sent-f* *em* *taiu* *neb* *en*

him that seeth him. He putteth his fear in all lands, through



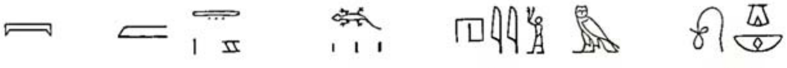
mert *ṭem* *ka-sen* *ren-f* *er* *ḥāt*

love [of him] they all proclaim his name before [every name].



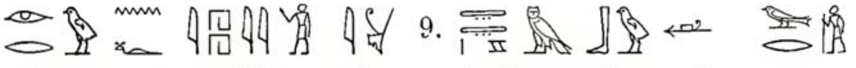
ṭerp-nef *nebu* *neb* *sekhau* *em*

Make offerings to him all men, the lord who is commemorated in



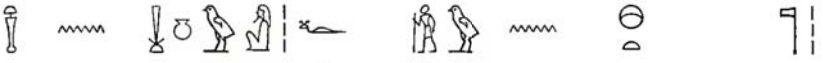
pet *em* *ta* *āsh* *hi* *em* *Uaḳ*

heaven [and] in earth, [he is] greatly praised in the Uaḳ festival;



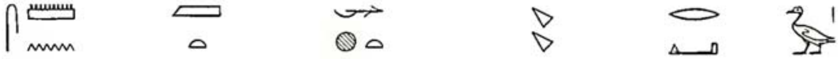
àru-nef *àhhi* *àn* 9. *taui* *em* *bu* *uā* *ur*

make to him cries to joy the two lands all together, the great one,



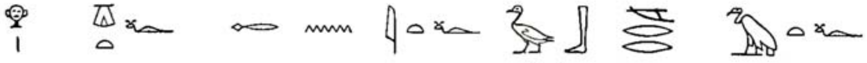
ṭep *en* *sennu-f* *seru* *en* *paut* *neteru*

first of his divine brethren, prince of the *paut* of the gods,



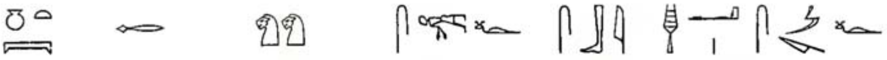
smen *maāt* *khet* *taui* *erṭā* *sa*

stablisher of right and truth throughout the two lands, placer of the son



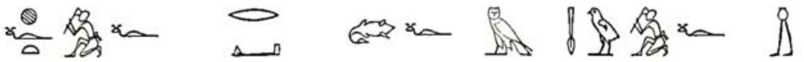
ḥer *nest-f* *āa* *en* *àt-f* *Seb* *merer* *mut-f*

upon his throne great of his father Seb, darling of his mother



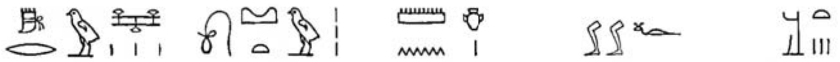
Nut āa peḥpeḥ sekher-f Sebȧ āḥā sma-f

Nut, great one of two-fold strength, he casts down Sebȧ, he hath slaughtered

10. 

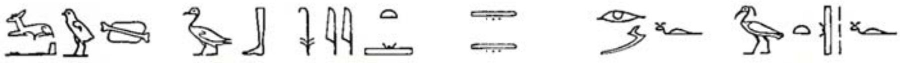
kheft-f erṭā senṭ-f em kheru-f ȧn

his enemy placing his fear in his foe. Bringer



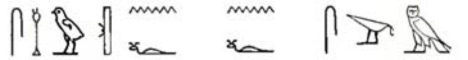
tcheru uaṭu men ȧb reṭui-f thest

of boundaries remote, firm of heart, his two feet are lifted up.



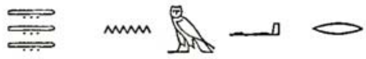
āuāu Seb sutenit taui maa-f khu-f

Heir of Seb and the sovereignty of the two lands. He hath seen his power,



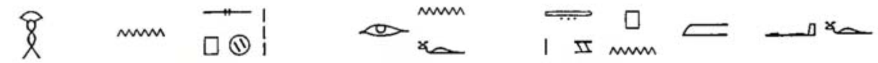
sutu-nef nef sem

he hath given to him to lead
command

11. 

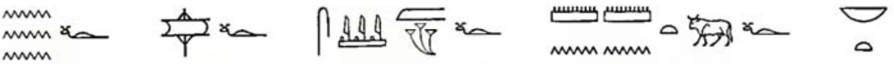
taiu en em ā er

the lands by [his] hand to



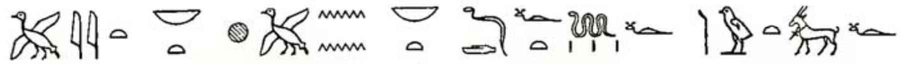
uaḥ en sep ȧri-nef ta pen em ā-f

the end of times. He hath made this earth in his hand,



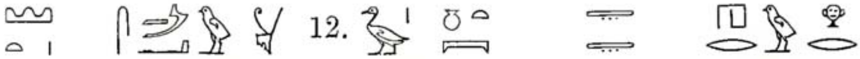
mu-f nef-f sem-f menment-f nebt

its waters, its air, its green herbs, its cattle all,

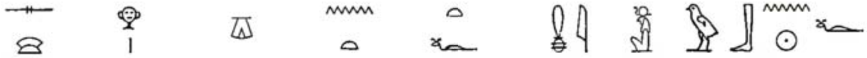


pait nebt khepanen nebt tchetfet-f āut-f

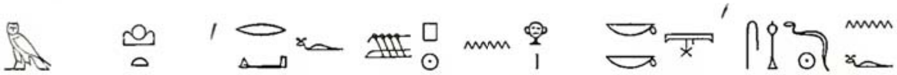
[its] birds all, [its] fishes all, its reptiles, its quadrupeds,



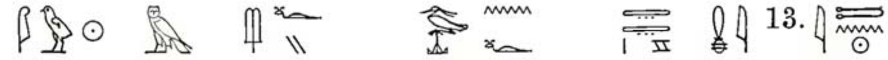
set smaāu en sa Nut taui heru ḥer
the desert is by right to the son of Nut, the two lands are content



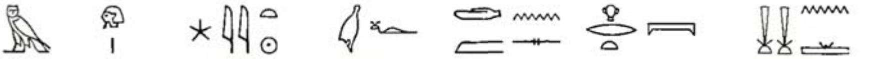
sekhā ḥer nest ent tef mȧ Rā uben - f
to crown [him] on the throne of the father like Rā. He riseth



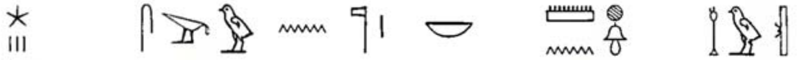
em khut erṭā - f shep en ḥer kek seḥetch-nef
on the horizon, he giveth light through the darkness, he shineth



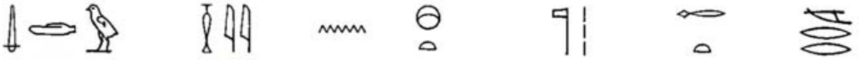
shu em shuti-f bāḥ-nef taui mȧ ȧthen
with light from his plumes, he floodeth with light the two lands like the Disk



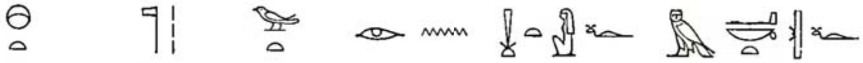
em ṭep ṭuait ḥetch-f ṭem-nes ḥert sensen
at the early sunrise. His crown pierceth heaven, he is a brother



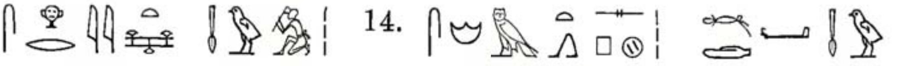
sbau semu en neter neb menkh utu
of the star gods, the guide of god every, operative by command



· meṭu ḥesi en paut neteru āat merer
and word, favoured one of the *paut* of the gods great, beloved of

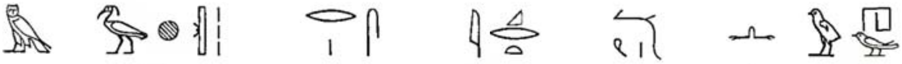


paut neteru netcheset ȧri en sent - f māket - f
the *paut* of the gods little. Hath made his sister his protection,



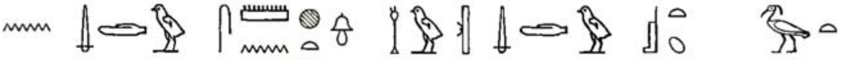
seḥerit kheru seḥemt sep sheṭ kheru

driving away foes, turning back evil hap, uttering the word



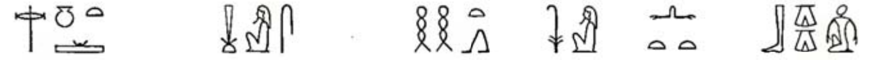
em khu re-s ȧqert nes ȧn uh

with the power of her mouth, perfect of tongue, not erring



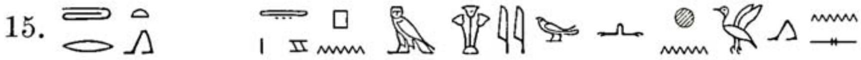
en meṭu semenkhet utu meṭu Ȧst khut

of speech, operating by decree and word Isis, the strong one,



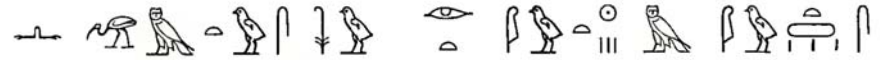
netchet sen-s ḥeḥet su ȧtet beḳeḳ

the avenger of her brother. She sought him without weariness,



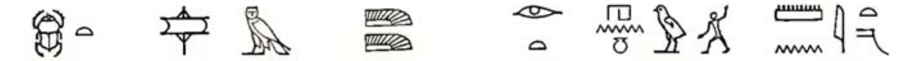
reret ta pen em ḥai ȧn khen - nes

she went round about this earth in sorrow, not alighted she



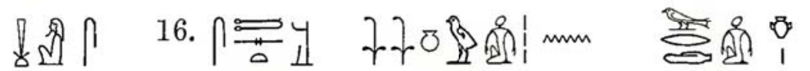
ȧn qemtu - s su ȧrit shut em shut - s

without finding him, she made light with her hair (or, feathers)



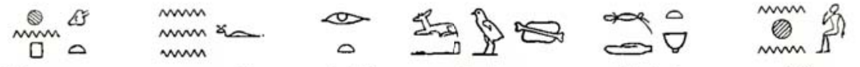
khepert -nef em ṭenḥui ȧrit hennu menȧṭ

making to become wind with [her] wings, she made cries at the bier

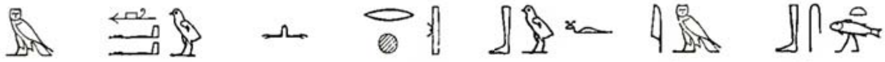


sen - s setheset enenu en urṭ - ȧb

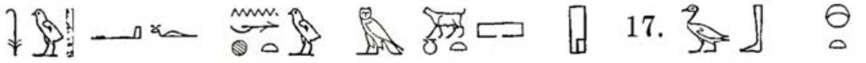
of her brother. She raised up [from] inactivity the one still of heart,



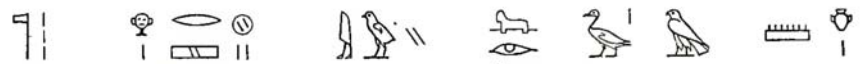
khenpet	*mu - f*	*ȧrit*	*āuāu*	*sheṭet*	*nekhen*
she extracted	his seed,	she made	the heir,	she suckled	the babe



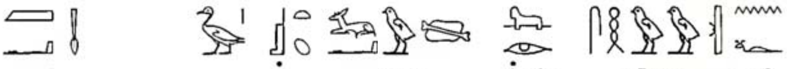
em	*uāāu*	*ȧn*	*rekh*	*bu - f*	*ȧm*	*beset*
in	solitariness,	not	known is	his place	wherein	she reared



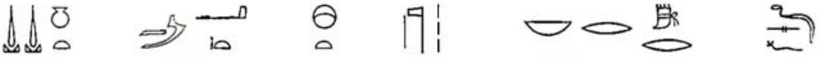
su	*ā - f*	*nekhtu*	*em*	*khent*	*ḥet*	17. *Seb*	*paut*
him,	his hand	is mighty		within	the house	of Seb.	The *paut*



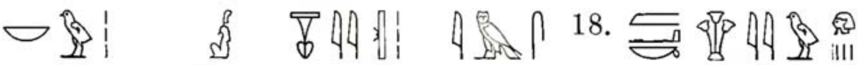
neteru	*ḥer resh sep sen*	*iui*	*Ȧsȧr*	*sa*	*Ḥeru*	*men ȧb*
of gods	rejoice, rejoice at	the coming	of Osiris'	son	Horus,	stablished of heart,



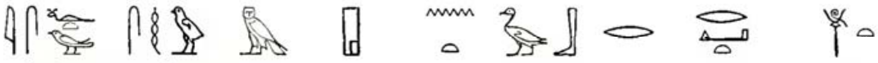
maā kheru	*sa*	*Ȧst*	*āuāu*	*Ȧsȧr*	*seḥuu - nef*
whose word is absolute,	son of Isis,		heir	of Osiris.	Gather to him



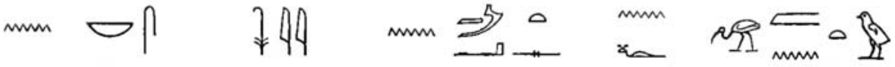
tchatchat	*maāt*	*paut*	*neteru*	*Neb-er-tcher*	*tchesef*
the sovereign princes	of Maāt,	the *paut*	of the gods	[and] Neb-er-tcher	himself



nebu	*Maāt*	*smaiu*	*ȧm - s*	18. *māk ḥaiu*
[and] the lords	of Maāt	assemble	therewith.	Verily those who repulse

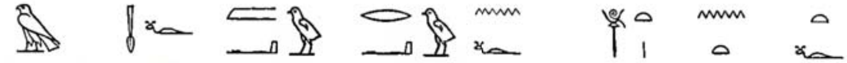


ȧsfet	*senetchemu*	*em*	*ḥet*	*ent*	*Seb*	*er*	*erṭāt*	*ȧat*
faults	rejoice	in	the house	of	Seb	to	bestow	the rank [of Osiris]



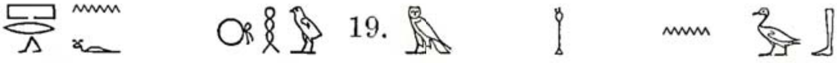
en neb-s suteni en maāt-s nef qemen-tu

upon its lord, the sovereignty of its right [is] to him. Hath found



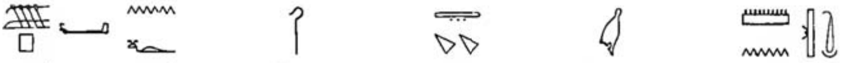
Ḥeru kheru-f māu erṭāu - nef àat ent tef

Horus his voice true. Hath been given to him the rank of his father.



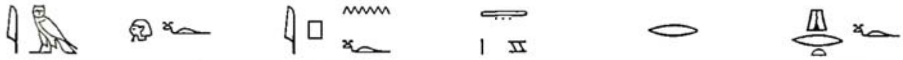
per-nef meḥu 19. *em utu en Seb*

He hath come forth crowned by the command of Seb.



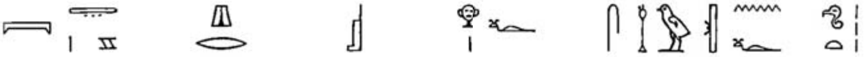
shep - nef ḥeq taui ḥetch men

He hath received the sceptre of the two lands, the White Crown is established



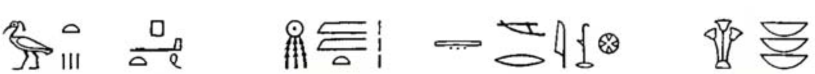
àm ṭep-f àp-nef ta er khert-f

upon his head. He judgeth the earth according to his plan.



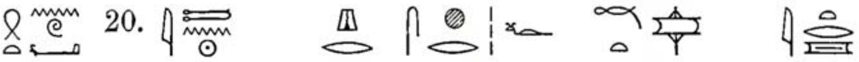
pet ta kher àst ḥrà-f s-utu-nef ret

Heaven and earth are under the seat of his face. He commandeth men,



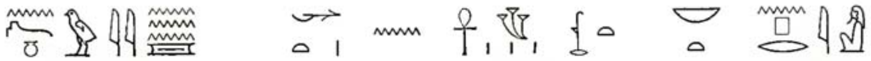
khu pāt ḥamemet Ta-merà Ḥa-nebu

spirits, the dead, the . . . ., and Egypt, the lords of the north,



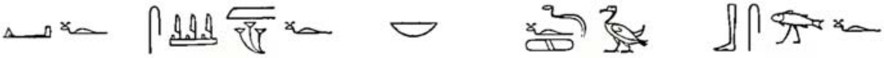
shentu 20. *àthen kher sekheru-f meḥt àter*

the circle of the Disk, are under his plans, and the north wind, the flood,



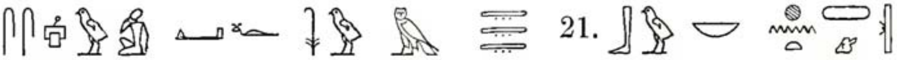
ennui *khet* *en* *ānkh* *renpet* *nebt* *Neprȧ*

the celestial waters, the staff of life, herb every. Neprȧ,



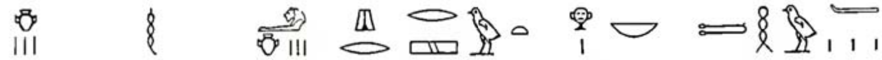
ṭā-f *sem-f* *neb* *tchefau* *bes-f*

he giveth his green herbs, the lord of tchefau food, he leadeth on



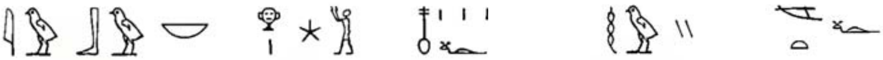
sesau *ṭā-f* *su* *em* *taiu* *bu* *neb* *khent*

abundance, he giveth it in [all] lands. Everywhere is joy,



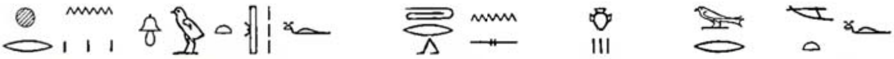
ȧbu *netchem* *ḥātu* *kher reshut* *hrȧ-neb* *theḥu*

hearts are glad, hearts rejoice, every face is happy.



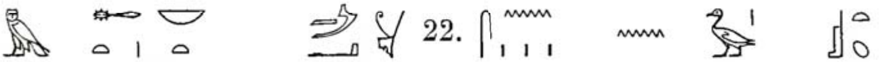
ȧu bu-neb *ḥer ṭua* *neferu-f* *netchemui* *mert-f*

Every place adoreth his beauties. Doubly sweet is his love



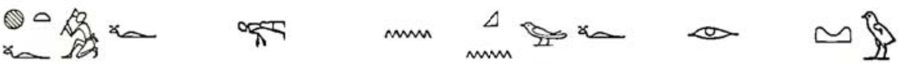
kher-n *menkhut-f* *rer-nes* *ȧbu* *ur* *mert-f*

to us, his active goodness goeth round hearts, great is his love



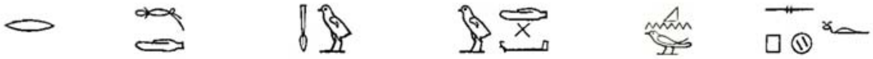
em *khat nebt* *maā en* *sen* *en* *sa* *Ȧst*

in every body, and they do what is right to the son of Isis.



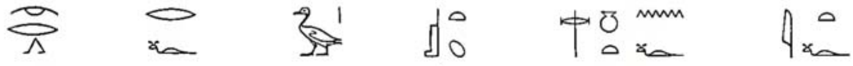
kheft-f *kher* *en* *qen-f* *ȧri* *ṭu*

His enemy hath fallen before his wrath, the maker of evil



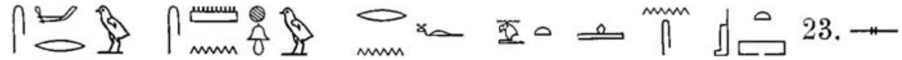
er shet kheru ut qen sep-f

at the utterance of the voice, shooting forth his wrath in his season,



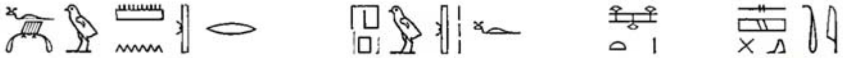
sper eref sa Ȧst netcht-nef ȧt-f

cometh unto him the son of Isis, the avenger of his father.



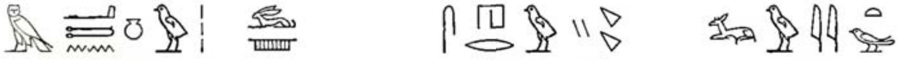
setcheseru semenkhu ren-f shefit ḥetep-nes ȧst-s

Holy and beneficent is his name; awe resteth in its seat,



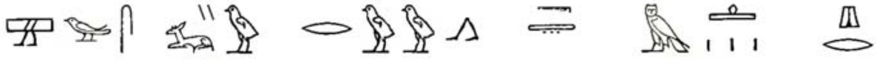
fu men er hepu-f uat sesh-thȧ

stablished everywhere are his laws, the path is opened,



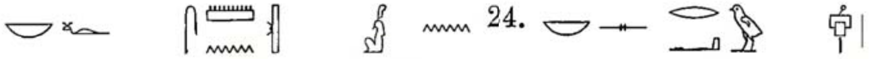
māthennu un seherui taui āuit

the roads are opened, content are the two lands, wickedness



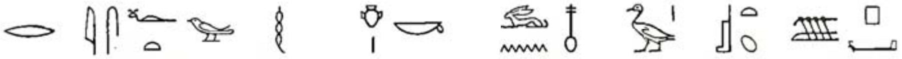
shems āui ruu ta em ḥetep kher

departeth, evil goeth away, the earth is at peace beneath



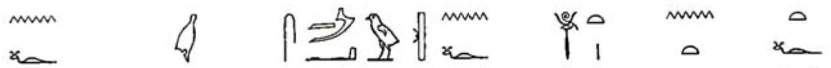
neb-f smen Maāt en neb-s erṭāu sa

its lord, established is Maāt by its lord, it giveth the back

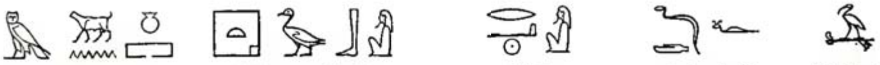


er ȧsfet netchem ȧb-k Un-nefer sa Ȧst shep

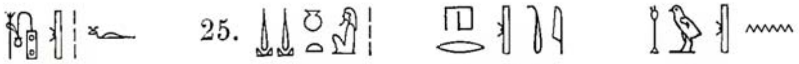
to iniquity. Glad is thy heart, Un-nefer, son of Isis, he hath



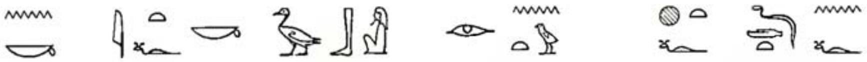
nef	*ḥetch*	*smaāu nef*	*ȧat*	*ent*	*tef*
received	the White Crown,	is his by right	the rank	of	his father



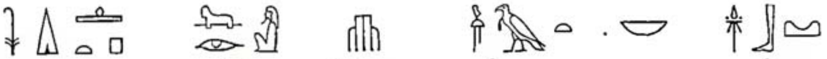
em khennu	*Ḥet - Seb*	*Rā*	*tcheṭ-f*	*Teḥuti*
within	the House of Seb,	[he is] Rā	[when] he speaketh,	Thoth



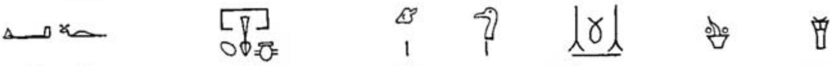
ān - f	25. *tchatchat*	*her-thȧ*	*utu en*
[when] he writeth.	The assessors	are content ;	what hath decreed



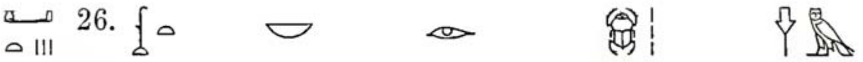
nek	*ȧtf-k*	*Seb*	*ȧri-entu*	*kheft*	*tcheṭet-nef*
for thee	thy father	Seb	let be performed	even as	he spake ;



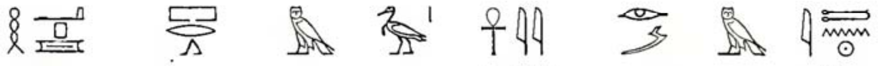
suten ṭā ḥetep	*Ȧsȧr*	*Khent*	*Ȧmenti*	*neb*	*Ȧbṭu*
may give a royal offering	Osiris,	governor	of Ȧmenti,	lord	of Abydos,



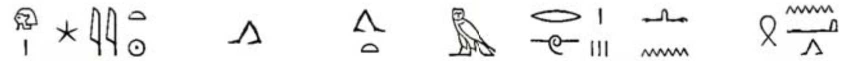
ṭā - f	*per kheru*	*ȧḥ*	*apṭ*	*shesa*	*sentra*	*merḥet*
may he give	sepulchral meals,	oxen,	fowl,	bandages,	incense,	wax,



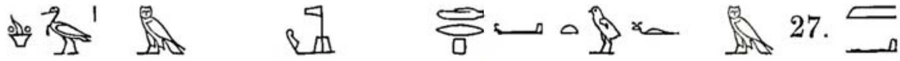
māt	26. *renpet*	*neb*	*ȧri*	*kheperu*	*sekhem*
gifts	of herbs	of all kinds,	the making	of transformations,	the mastery



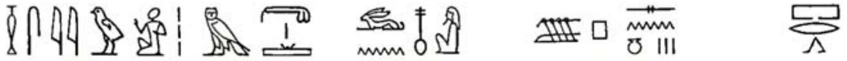
Ḥāp	*pert*	*em*	*ba*	*ānkhi*	*maa*	*em*	*ȧthen*
of Nile,	appearance	as	a soul	living,	the sight	of	the disk



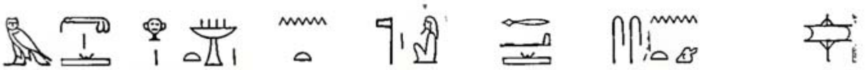
ṭep ṭuait	*āq*	*pert*	*em*	*Re-stau*	*ȧn*	*shenā*
at dawn daily,	entrance into	and exit	from	Re-stau,	not	being repulsed



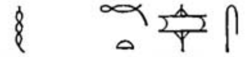
ba	*em*	*Neter-khert*	*ṭerp - tu - f*	*em - mā*
the soul	in	the Underworld,	reception	among



ḥesiu	*embaḥ*	*Un-nefer*	*shep sennu*	*per*
the favoured ones	before	Un-nefer,	receipt of cakes,	coming forth



em-baḥ	*ḥer khaut*	*ent*	*neter*	*āa*	*sesenet*	*nef*
before	the altar	of	the god	great,	the snuffing	of the wind

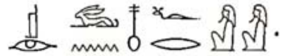
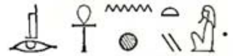
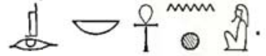
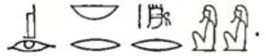
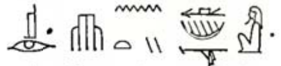
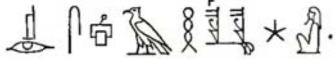
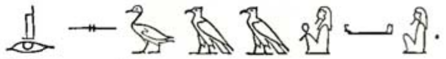
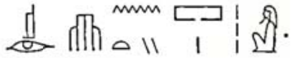
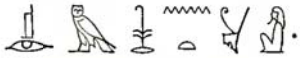
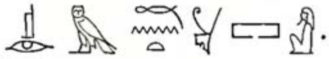
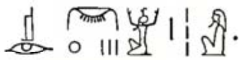
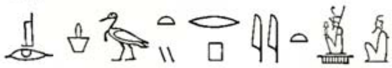
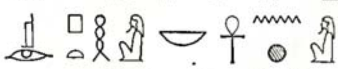
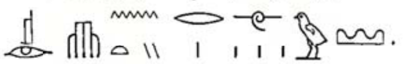
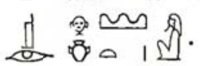
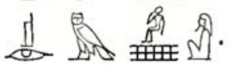


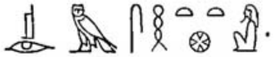
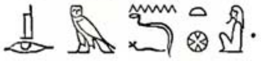
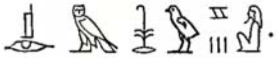
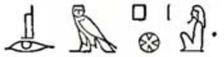
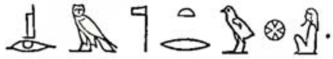
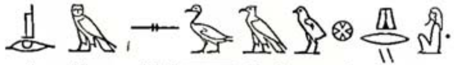
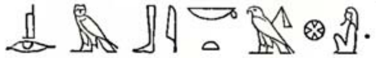
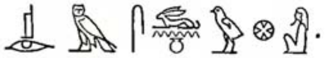
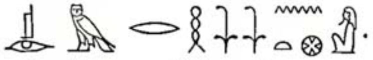
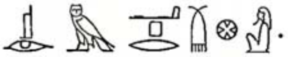
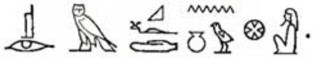
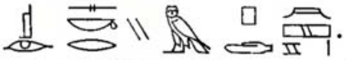
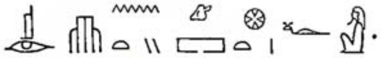
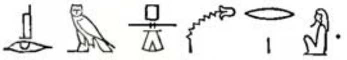
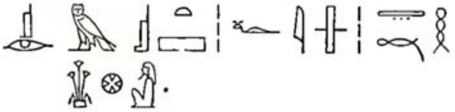
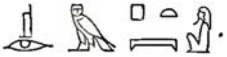
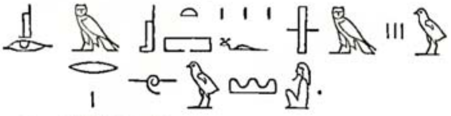
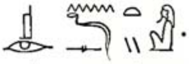
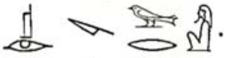
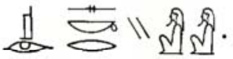
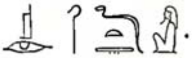
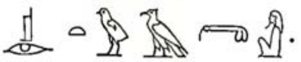
netchem	*meḥt-s*
sweet	of the north.

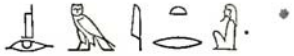
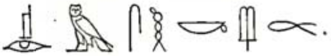
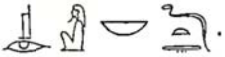
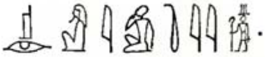
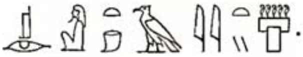
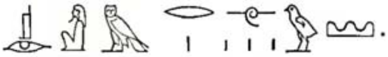
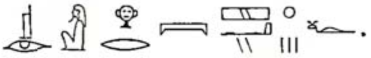
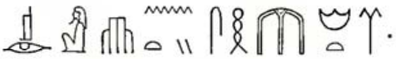
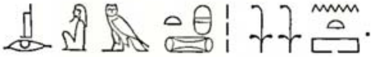
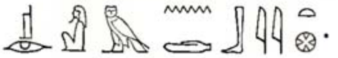
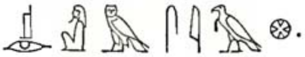
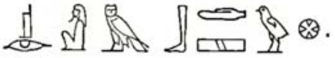
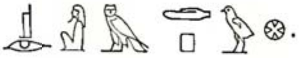
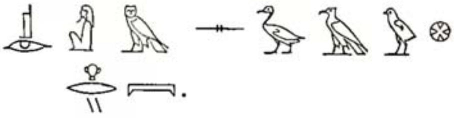
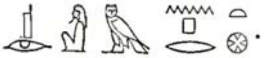
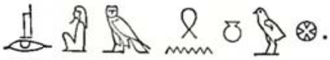
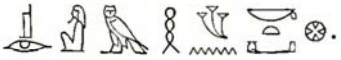
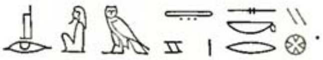
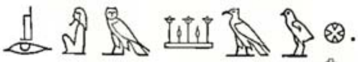
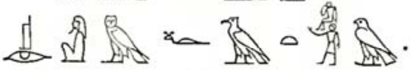
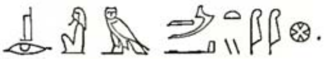
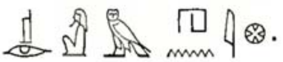
CHAPTER X

"THE NAMES OF OSIRIS IN EVERY SHRINE WHEREIN HE DWELLETH"

(THEBAN RECENSION, ABOUT B.C. 1600)

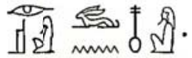
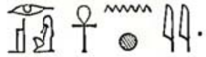
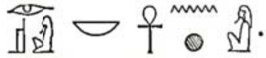
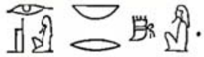
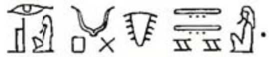
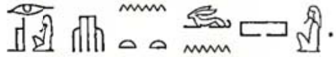
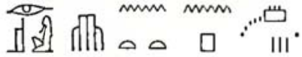
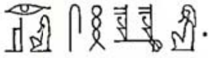
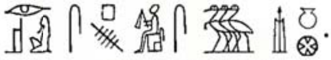
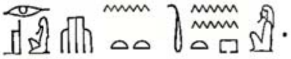
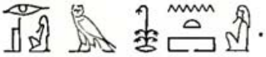
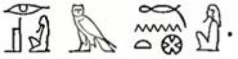
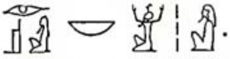
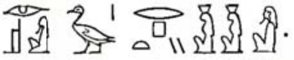
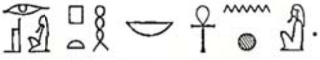
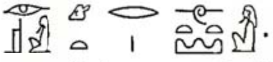
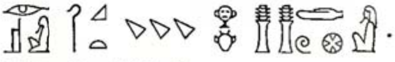
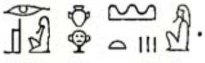
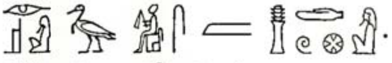
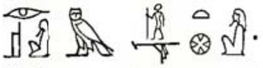
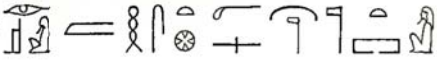
1. Åsår Un-nefer	
2. Åsår Ānkhti	
3. Åsår Neb-ānkh	
4. Åsår Neb-er-tcher	
5. Åsår Khenti-......	
6. Åsår Saḥ	
7. Åsår Saa	
8. Åsår Khenti-peru	
9. Åsår Em Resenet	
10. Åsår Em Meḥenet	
11. Åsår Nub-ḥeḥ	
12. Åsår Bati erpit	
13. Åsår Ptaḥ-neb-Ānkh	
14. Åsår Khenti Re-stau	
15. Åsår Ḥer-åb semt	
16. Åsår Em Åti (Ånetch)	

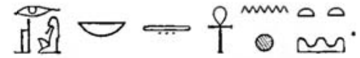
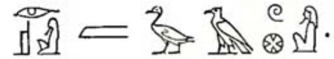
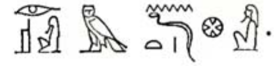
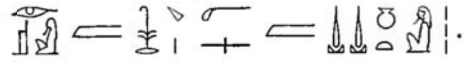
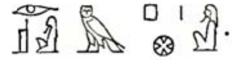
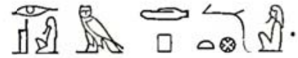
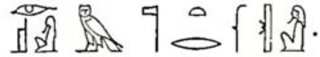
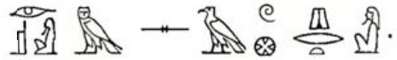
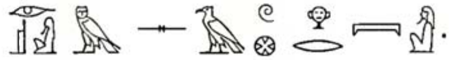
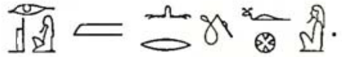
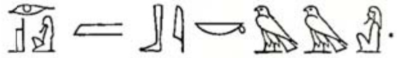
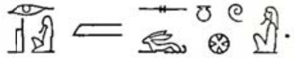
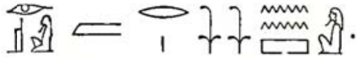
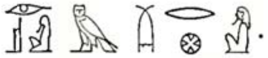
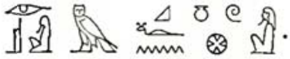
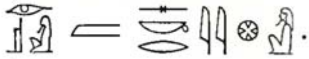
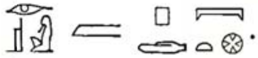
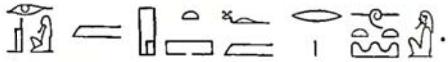
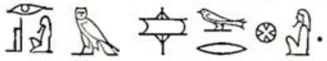
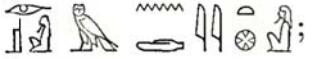
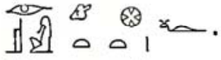
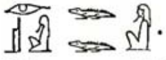
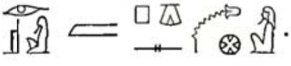
17. Ȧsȧr Em Seḥtet . .	
18. Ȧsȧr Em Netchefet . .	
19. Ȧsȧr Em Resu . . .	
20. Ȧsȧr Em Pe . . .	
21. Ȧsȧr Em Neteru . .	
22. Ȧsȧr Em Sau-kheri . .	
23. Ȧsȧr Em Bȧket . .	
24. Ȧsȧr Em Sunnu . .	
25. Ȧsȧr Em Reḥenenet . .	
26. Ȧsȧr Em Āper . . .	
27. Ȧsȧr Qefṭennu . . .	
28. Ȧsȧr Sekri Em Peṭ-she .	
29. Ȧsȧr Khenti Nut-f . .	
30. Ȧsȧr Em Peseḳ-re . .	
31. Ȧsȧr Em-ȧst-f-ȧmu-Ta-meḥ	
32. Ȧsȧr Em Pet . . .	
33. Ȧsȧr Em-ȧst-f-ȧmu-Re-stau	
34. Ȧsȧr Netchesti . . .	
35. Ȧsȧr Smam-ur . . .	
36. Ȧsȧr Sekri	
37. Ȧsȧr Ḥeq-tchetta . .	
38. Ȧsȧr Tua	

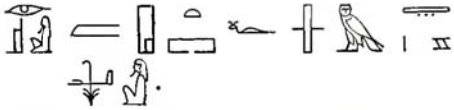
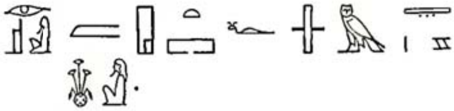
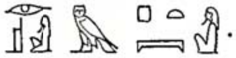
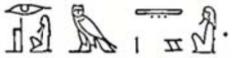
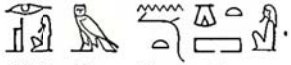
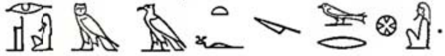
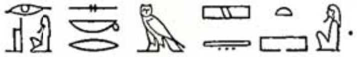
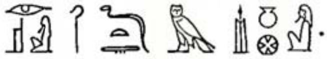
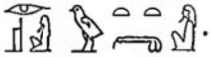
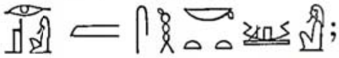
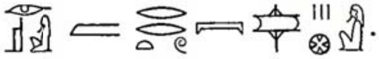
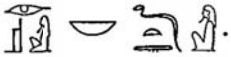
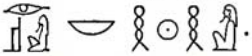
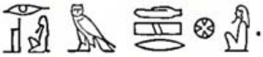
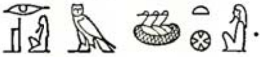
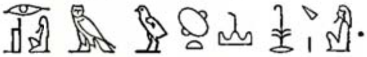
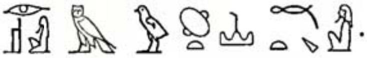
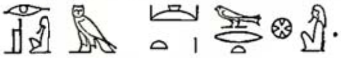
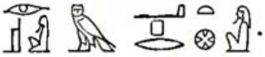
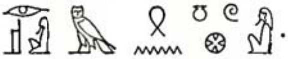
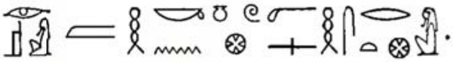
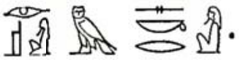
39. Åsår Em Åter . . .	
40. Åsår Em Sek . . .	
41. Åsår Neb-tchetta . .	
42. Åsår Åthi . . .	
43. Åsår Taiti . . .	
44. Åsår Em Re-stau . .	
45. Åsår Ḥer-shāi-f . .	
46. Åsår Khenti-seḥ-ḥemt .	
47. Åsår Em Tau-enenet .	
48. Åsår Em Neṭebit . .	
49. Åsår Em Såti . . .	
50. Åsår Em Beṭeshu . .	
51. Åsår Em Ṭepu . . .	
52. Åsår Em Sau-ḥeri . .	
53. Åsår Em Nepert . .	
54. Åsår Em Shennu . .	
55. Åsår Em Ḥenket . .	
56. Åsår Em Ta-Sekri . .	
57. Åsår Em Shau . . .	
58. Åsår Em Fat-Ḥeru . .	
59. Åsår em Maāti . . .	
60. Åsår Em Henå. . .	

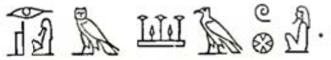
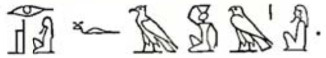
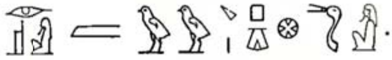
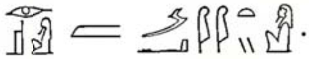
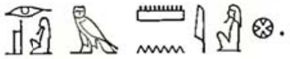
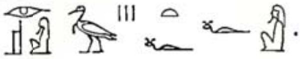
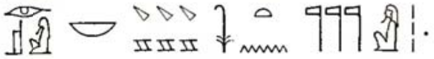
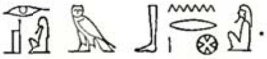
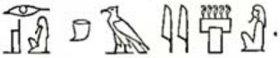
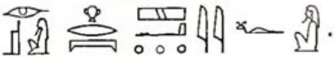
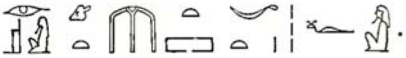
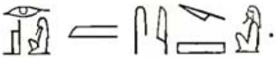
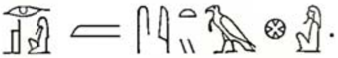
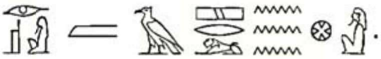
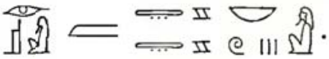
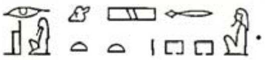
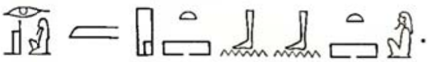
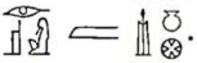
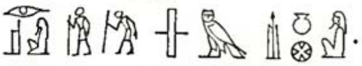
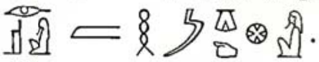
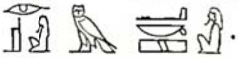
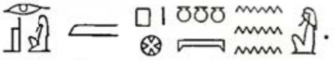
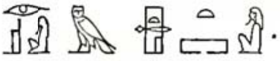
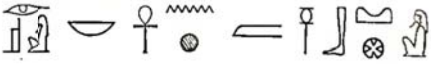
"THE NAMES OF OSIRIS IN EVERY SHRINE IN WHICH HE DWELLETH"

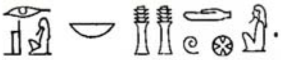
(SAÏTE RECENSION, ABOUT B.C. 300)

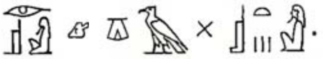
1. Ȧsȧr Un-nefer . . .	
2. Ȧsȧr Ānkhi . . .	
3. Ȧsȧr Neb Ānkh . .	
4. Ȧsȧr Neb-er-tcher . .	
5. Ȧsȧr Ȧp- . . . . taui . .	
6. Ȧsȧr Khentet Un . .	
7. Ȧsȧr Khentet Neprȧ . .	
8. Ȧsȧr Saḥ	
9. Ȧsȧr Seps-baiu-Ȧnnu .	
10. Ȧsȧr Khenti-Thenenet .	
11. Ȧsȧr Em Resenet . .	
12. Ȧsȧr Em Meḥenet . .	
13. Ȧsȧr Neb Ḥeḥ . . .	
14. Ȧsȧr Sa Erpeti . .	
15. Ȧsȧr Ptaḥ Neb Ānkh .	
16. Ȧsȧr Khent Re-stau . .	
17. Ȧsȧr Ḥeq taiu ḥer-ȧb Ṭaṭṭu	
18. Ȧsȧr Ḥer-ȧb set . .	
19. Ȧsȧr Ba sheps em Ṭaṭṭu .	
20. Ȧsȧr Em Ȧtet . . .	
21. Ȧsȧr Em Ḥest, or, Neter-seḥt	

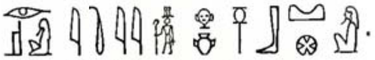
22. Ȧsȧr Neb ta ānkhtet.	
23. Ȧsȧr Em Sau	
24. Ȧsȧr Em Netchet	
25. Ȧsȧr Em Resu, or, em Tchatchat	
26. Ȧsȧr Em Pe	
27. Ȧsȧr Em Ṭept	
28. Ȧsȧr Em Netrȧ	
29. Ȧsȧr Em Sau Khert	
30. Ȧsȧr Em Sau ḥert	
31. Ȧsȧr Em Ȧn-ruṭ-f	
32. Ȧsȧr Em Bȧkui	
33. Ȧsȧr Em Sunnu	
34. Ȧsȧr Em Renen	
35. Ȧsȧr Em Āper	
36. Ȧsȧr Em Qefennu	
37. Ȧsȧr Em Sekri	
38. Ȧsȧr Em Peṭet	
39. Ȧsȧr Em Ḥet-f em Re-stau	
40. Ȧsȧr Em Nif-ur	
41. Ȧsȧr Em Neṭit	
42. Ȧsȧr Khenti nut-f	
43. Ȧsȧr Ḥenti	
44. Ȧsȧr Em Peḳes	

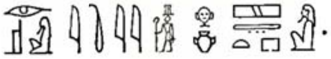
45. Ȧsȧr Em ḥet-f ȧm ta reset.	
46. Ȧsȧr Em ḥet-f ȧm ta meḥt	
47. Ȧsȧr Em pet	
48. Ȧsȧr Em ta	
49. Ȧsȧr Em nest	
50. Ȧsȧr Em Atef-ur	
51. Ȧsȧr Seker em sheṭat	
52. Ȧsȧr ḥeq tchetta em Ȧnnu	
53. Ȧsȧr Utet	
54. Ȧsȧr Em Sektet	
55. Ȧsȧr Em Rertu-nifu .	
56. Ȧsȧr Neb-tchetta	
57. Ȧsȧr Neb-ḥeḥ	
58. Ȧsȧr Em Ṭesher	
59. Ȧsȧr Em Seshet	
60. Ȧsȧr Em Uḥet-resu .	
61. Ȧsȧr Em Uḥet-meḥt	
62. Ȧsȧr Em Ȧat-urt	
63. Ȧsȧr Em Āpert.	
64. Ȧsȧr Em Shennu	
65. Ȧsȧr Em Ḥekennut, or, Ḥesertet	
66. Ȧsȧr Em Seker	

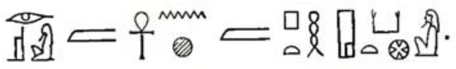
67. Ȧsȧr Em Shau	
68. Ȧsȧr Fa-Ḥeru	
69. Ȧsȧr Em Uu-Peḳ	
70. Ȧsȧr Em Maāti	
71. Ȧsȧr Em Menȧ	
72. Ȧsȧr Baiu tef-f	
73. Ȧsȧr Neb taiu suten neteru	
74. Ȧsȧr Em Bener	
75. Ȧsȧr Em Tai	
76. Ȧsȧr Ḥer shāi-f	
77. Ȧsȧr Khent seḥet kauit-f	
78. Ȧsȧr Em Sȧ	
79. Ȧsȧr Em Sȧti	
80. Ȧsȧr Em Asher	
81. Ȧsȧr Em taui nebu	
82. Ȧsȧr Khent shet āa-perti	
83. Ȧsȧr Em Ḥet Benbenet	
84. Ȧsȧr Em Ȧnnu	
85. Ȧsȧr Ȧau ȧm Ȧnnu	
86. Ȧsȧr Em Ḥemaḳ	
87. Ȧsȧr Em Ākesh	
88. Ȧsȧr Em Pe Nụ	
89. Ȧsȧr Em Ḥet-āat	
90. Ȧsȧr Neb-Ānkh em Ȧbṭu	

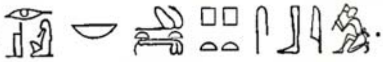
91. Ȧsȧr Neb-Ṭaṭṭu . . 

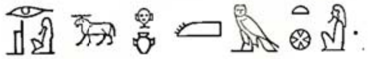
92. Ȧsȧr Khent Ḳa-ȧst . . 

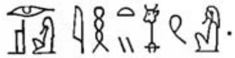
93. Ȧsȧr Ȧthi ḥer-ab Ȧbṭu . 

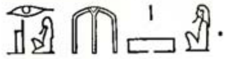
94. Ȧsȧr Ȧthi ḥer-ȧb Shetat . 

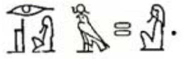
95. Ȧsȧr Em ānkh em Ptaḥ-ḥet-kat . . . 

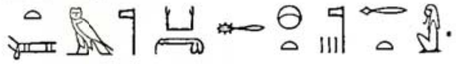
96. Ȧsȧr neb peḥtet petpet Sebȧ 

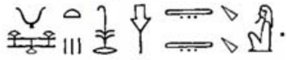
97. Ȧsȧr Ba ḥer-ȧb Qemt . 

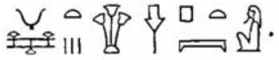
98. Ȧsȧr Ȧḥeti . . . 

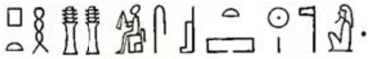
99. Ȧsȧr Seḥ . . . 

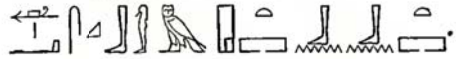
100. Ȧsȧr Ḥeru-khuti . . 

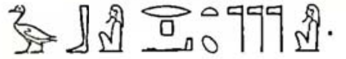
101. Tem Ka kha paut neteru āat 

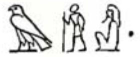
102. Ȧp-uat rest sekhem taui . 

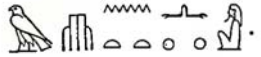
103. Ȧp-uat meḥt sekhem pet 

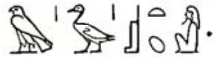
104. Ptaḥ Ṭeṭṭeṭ sheps ȧst Rā 

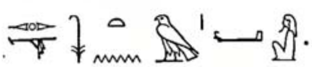
105. Uā seqeb em Ḥet-Benben 

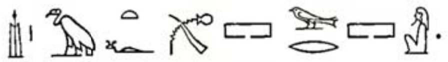
106. Seb erpāt neteru . . 

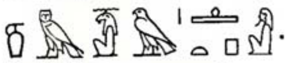
107. Ḥeru-ur . . . . 

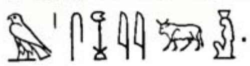
108. Ḥeru-khentet-ȧn-maati . 

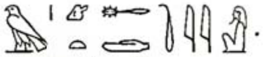
109. Ḥeru-sa-Ȧst . . . 

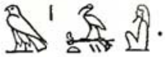
110. Ȧmsu (Min)-suten-Ḥeru-nekht . . . . 

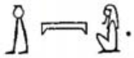
111. Ȧn-mut-f āb-perui-urui . 

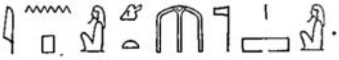
112. Khnemu-Ḥeru-ḥetep . 

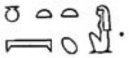
113. Ḥeru-Sekhai . . . 

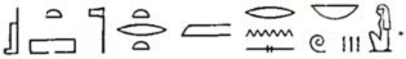
114. Ḥeru-khent-khaṭṭhi 

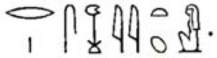
115. Ḥeru-Teḥuti 

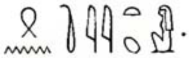
116. Ȧn-ḥer 

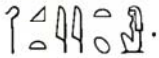
117. Ȧnpu-khent-neter-seḥ 

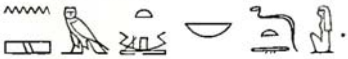
118. Nut 

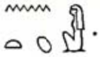
119. Ȧst netert em ren-s nebu 

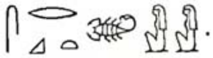
120. Re-sekhait 

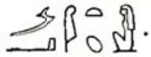
121. Shenthit 

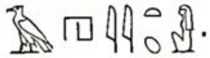
122. Ḥeqtit 

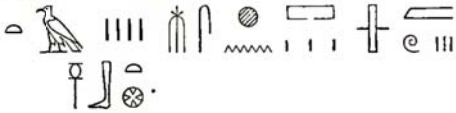
123. Neshmet neb tchetta 

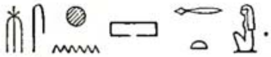
124. Net 

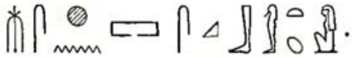
125. Serqet 

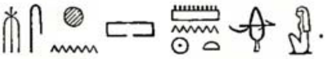
126. Maāt 

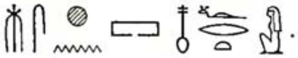
127. Ahit 

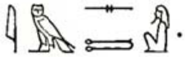
128. Ta fṭu Meskhenu ȧmu Ȧbṭu 

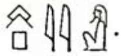
129. Meskhen Āat 

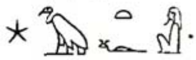
130. Meskhen Seqebet 

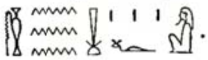
131. Meskhen Ment (?) 

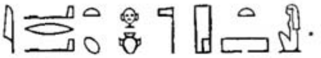
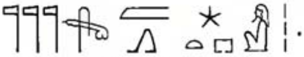
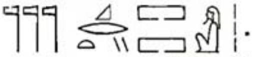
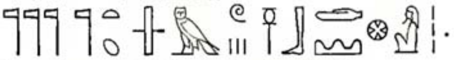
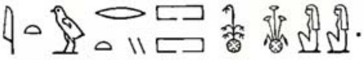
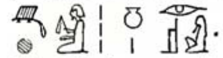
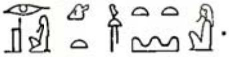
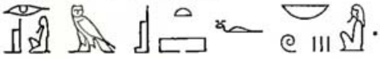
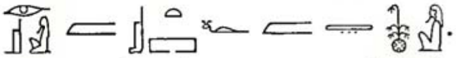
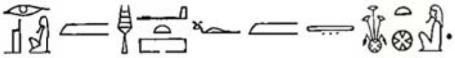
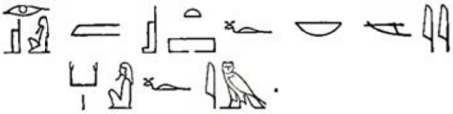
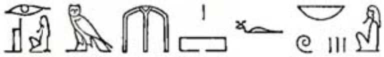
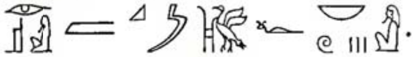
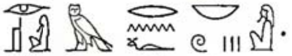
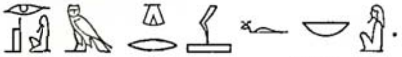
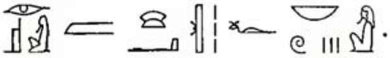
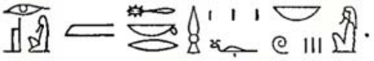
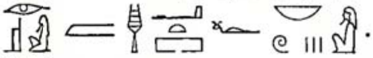
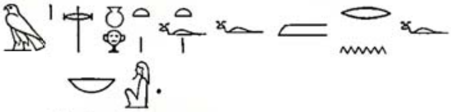
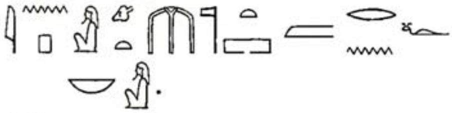
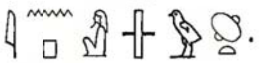
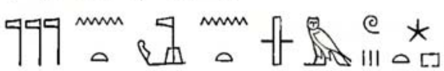
132. Meskhen Nefert 

133. Ȧmseth 

134. Ḥāpi 

135. Ṭua-mut-f 

136. Qebḥ-sennu-f 

137. Ȧārāt ḥer-ȧb neter ḥet	
138. Neteru semu Ṭuat	
139. Neteru Qerti	
140. Neteru neterit ȧmu Ȧbṭu	
141. Ȧturti Rest Meḥt	
142. Ȧmkhiu nu Ȧsȧr	
143. Ȧsȧr Khent Ȧmentet	
144. Ȧsȧr Em ȧst-f nebu.	
145. Ȧsȧr Em ȧst-f em ta rest	
146. Ȧsȧr Em āḥāt-f em ta meḥt	
147. Ȧsȧr Em ȧst-f neb meri ka-f ȧm	
148. Ȧsȧr Em seḥ-f nebu	
149. Ȧsȧr Em qema-f nebu	
150. Ȧsȧr Em ren-f nebu	
151. Ȧsȧr Em ḳer-f neb	
152. Ȧsȧr Em khāu-f nebu	
153. Ȧsȧr Em khakeru-f nebu	
154. Ȧsȧr Em āḥāt-f nebu	
155. Ḥeru-netch-tef-f em ren-f neb	
156. Ȧnpu khent neter seḥ em ren-f neb	
157. Ȧnpu ȧm Uḥet	
158. Neteru ent Neter-khert ent ȧmu Ṭuat	

CHAPTER XI

PLUTARCH'S MYTHOLOGICAL HISTORY OF ISIS AND OSIRIS[1]

XII. "NOW the story of Isis and Osiris, its most significant and "superfluous parts omitted, is thus briefly related:— "Rhea, they say, having accompanied with Kronos by stealth, was "discovered by Helios, who hereupon denounced a curse upon her, "'that she should not be delivered in any month or year.' Hermes "however, being likewise in love with the same Goddess, in "recompence of the favours which he had received from her, plays "at tables with Selene, and wins from her the seventieth part of "each of her illuminations; these several parts, making in the "whole five new days, he afterwards joined together, and added to "the three hundred and sixty, of which the year formerly "consisted: which days therefore are even yet called by the "Egyptians the 'Epact' or 'superadded,' and observed by them "as the birth-days of their Gods. For upon the first of them, say "they, was OSIRIS born, just at whose entrance into the world a "voice was heard, saying, 'the lord of all the earth is born.' "There are some indeed who relate this circumstance in a different "manner, as that a certain person named Pamyles, as he was "fetching water from the temple of Jupiter at Thebes, heard a "voice commanding him to proclaim aloud, that 'the good and "great king Osiris was then born'; and for this reason Kronos "committed the education of the child to him, and that in memory "of this event the Pamylia were afterwards instituted, a festival "much resembling the Phallephoria or Priapeia of the Greeks.

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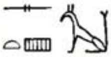
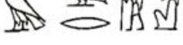
[1] See S. Squire, *Plutarch's Treatise of Isis and Osiris*, Cambridge, 1744, p. 15 ff.

"Upon the second of these days was AROUERIS (*'Αρουηρις*) born; "whom some call Apollo, and others distinguish by the name of "the elder Orus.[1] Upon the third, TYPHO [i.e., Set ] "came into the world, being born neither at the proper time, nor "by the right place, but forcing his way through a wound which "he had made in his mother's side. ISIS was born on the fourth "of them, in the marshes of Egypt; as Nephthys was upon the "last, whom some call Teleute and Aphrodite, and others Nike. "Now as to the fathers of these children, the two first of them are "said to have been begotten by Helios; Isis by Hermes; Typho "and Nephthys by Kronos; and accordingly, the third of these "superadded days, because it was looked upon as the birth-day of "Typho, was regarded by the kings as inauspicious, and consequently "they neither transacted any business in it, or even suffered them-"selves to take any refreshment until the evening. They further "add, that Typho married Nephthys; and that Isis and Osiris, "having a mutual affection, enjoyed each other in their mother's "womb before they were born, and that from this commerce sprang "Aroueris, whom the Egyptians likewise call the 'elder Orus,' and "the Greeks 'Apollo.'"

XIII. "Osiris, being now become king of Egypt, applied "himself towards civilizing his countrymen, by turning them from "their former indigent and barbarous course of life; he moreover "taught them how to cultivate and improve the fruits of the earth; "he gave them a body of laws to regulate their conduct by, and "instructed them in that reverence and worship, which they were "to pay to the gods; with the same good disposition he afterwards "travelled over the rest of the world, inducing the people every-"where to submit to his discipline, not indeed compelling them by "force of arms, but persuading them to yield to the strength of "his reasons, which were conveyed to them in the most agreeable "manner, in hymns and songs accompanied with instruments of "music; from which last circumstance, the Greeks conclude him "to have been the same person with their Dionysos or Bacchus. "During Osiris's absence from his kingdom Typho had no

[1] 'Αρουηρις = ḤERU-UR, .

“opportunity of making any innovations in the state, Isis being “extremely vigilant in the government and always upon her guard. “After his return, however, having first persuaded seventy-two “other persons to join with him in the conspiracy, together with a “certain queen of Ethiopia named Aso, who chanced to be in “Egypt at that time, he contrived a proper stratagem to execute “his base designs. For having privily taken the measure of “Osiris's body, he caused a chest to be made exactly of the same “size with it, as beautiful as might be, and set off with all the “ornaments of art. This chest he brought into his banqueting “room; where, after it had been much admired by all who were “present, Typho, as it were in jest, promised to give it to any one “of them, whose body upon trial it might be found to fit. Upon “this the whole company, one after another, go into it, but as it “did not fit any of them, last of all Osiris lays himself down in it, “upon which the conspirators immediately ran together, clapped “the cover upon it, and then fastened it down on the outside with “nails, pouring likewise melted lead over it. After this, they “carried it away to the river side, and conveyed it to the sea by “the Tanaïtic mouth of the Nile; which for this reason is still held “in the utmost abomination by the Egyptians, and never named “by them but with proper marks of detestation. These things, say “they, were thus executed upon the 17th day of the month Athyr, “when the Sun was in Scorpio, in the 28th year of Osiris's reign; “though there are others who tell us that he was no more than 28 “years old at this time.

XIV. “The first who knew the accident which had befallen “their king, were the Pans and Satyrs who inhabited the country “about Chemmis;[1] and they immediately acquainting the people “with the news gave the first occasion to the name Panic Terrors, “which has ever since been made use of to signifie any sudden “affright or amazement of a multitude. As to Isis, as soon as the “report reached her, she immediately cut off one of the locks of “her hair, and put on mourning apparel upon the very spot where

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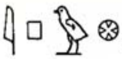
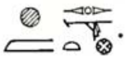
[1] I.e., Ȧpu, , the Panopolis of the Greeks; the name Χέμμις, the modern Akhmîm, is derived from the old Egyptian name, .

"she then happened to be, which accordingly from this accident "has ever since been called Coptos, or the *City of Mourning*, though "some are of opinion that this word rather signifies *Deprivation*. "After this she wandered everywhere about the country, full of "disquietude and perplexity, in search of the chest, enquiring of "every person she met with, even of some children whom she "chanced to see, whether they knew what was become of it. Now "it so happened that these children had seen what Typho's accomplices had done with the body, and accordingly acquainted her by "what mouth of the Nile it had been conveyed into the sea. For "this reason therefore the Egyptians look upon *children* as endued "with a kind of faculty of divining, and in consequence of this "notion are very curious in observing the accidental prattle which "they have with one another whilst they are at play (especially if "it be a sacred place), forming omens and presages from it. Isis, "during this interval, having been informed that Osiris, deceived by "her sister Nephthys who was in love with him, had unwittingly "enjoyed her instead of herself, as she concluded from the melilot "garland (*τὸν Μελιλώτινον στέφανον*), which he had left with her, "made it her business to search out the child, the fruit of this "unlawful commerce (for her sister, dreading the anger of her "husband Typho, had exposed it as soon as it was born), and "accordingly, after much pains and difficulty, by means of some "dogs that conducted her to the place where it was, she found it "and bred it up; so that in process of time it became her constant "guard and attendant, and from hence obtained the name of "Anubis, being thought to watch and guard the Gods, as dogs do "mankind.

"At length she receives more particular news of the chest, "that it had been carried by the waves of the sea to the coast of "Byblos, and there gently lodged in the branches of a bush of "Tamarisk, which in a short time had shot up into a large and "beautiful tree, growing round the chest and enclosing it on every "side, so that it was not to be seen; and farther that the king of "the country, amazed at its unusual size, had cut the tree down, "and made that part of the trunk, wherein the chest was concealed, "a pillar to support the roof of his house. These things, say they, "being made known to Isis in an extraordinary manner by the "report of demons, she immediately went to Byblos; where, "setting herself down by the side of a fountain, she refused to "speak to anybody, excepting only to the queen's women who "chanced to be there; these indeed she saluted and caressed in "the kindest manner possible, plaiting their hair for them, and "transmitting into them part of that wonderfully grateful odour, "which issued from her own body. This raised a great desire in "the queen their mistress, to see the stranger, who had this "admirable faculty of transfusing so fragrant a smell from herself "into the hair and skin of other people. She therefore sent for "her to court, and after a further acquaintance with her, made her "nurse to one of her sons. Now the name of the king, who "reigned at this time at Byblos,[1] was Melcarthus, as that of his "queen was Astarte, or according to others, *Saosis*, though some "call her Nemanoun, which answers to the Greek name of "*Athenais*.

XVI. "Isis fed the child by giving it her finger to suck "instead of the breast; she likewise put him every night into the "fire in order to consume his mortal part, whilst transforming "herself into a swallow she hovered round the pillar and bemoaned "her sad fate. Thus continued she to do for some time, till the "queen, who stood watching her, observing the child to be all in a "flame, cryed out, and thereby deprived him of that immortality, "which would otherwise have been conferred upon him. The "goddess upon this, discovering herself, requested that the pillar "which supported the roof might be given her; which she accord-"ingly took down, and then easily cutting it open, after she had "taken out what she wanted, she wrapped up the remainder of "the trunk in fine linnen, and pouring perfumed oil upon it, "delivered it again into the hands of the king and queen (which "piece of wood is to this day preserved in the temple of Isis, and "worshipped by the people of Byblos). When this was done she "threw herself upon the chest, making at the same time such a

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[1] The Byblos really referred to here is a city in the Papyrus Swamps of the Delta.

"loud and terrible lamentation over it, as frighted the younger of "the king's sons, who heard her, out of his life. But the elder of "them she took with her, and set sail with the chest for Egypt; "and it being now about morning, the river Phaedrus sending "forth a rough and sharp air, she in her anger dried up its "current.

XVII. "No sooner was she arrived at a desert place, where "she imagined herself to be alone, but she presently opened the "chest, and laying her face upon her dead husband's embraced his "corpse, and wept bitterly; but perceiving that the little boy had "silently stolen behind her, and found out the occasion of her "grief, she turned herself about on the sudden, and in her anger "gave him so fierce and stern a look that he immediately died of "the affright. Others indeed say that his death did not happen in "this manner, but, as was hinted above, that he fell into the sea, "and afterwards received the greatest honours on account of the "goddess; for that the *Maneros*, whom the Egyptians so frequently "call upon in their banquets, is none other than this very boy. "This relation is again contradicted by such as tell us, that the "true name of this child was *Palaestinus*, or Pelusius, and that the "city of this name was built by the goddess in memory of him; "adding farther, that the *Maneros* above mentioned is thus "honoured by the Egyptians at their feasts, because he was the "first who invented music. There are others again, who affirm "that *Maneros* is not the name of any particular person, but a "mere customary form, and complimental manner of greeting "made use of by the Egyptians one towards another at their more "solemn feasts and banquets, meaning no more by it than to "wish 'that what they were then about might prove fortunate "and happy to them,' for that this is the true import of the word. "In like manner, say they, the human skeleton, which at these "times of jollity is carried about in a box, and shewn to all the "guests, is not designed, as some imagine, to represent the particular misfortunes of Osiris, but rather to remind them of their "mortality, and thereby to excite them freely to make use of and "to enjoy the good things which are set before them, seeing they "must quickly become such as they there saw; and that this is

“the true reason of introducing it at their banquets—but to
“proceed in the narration.

XVIII. “Isis intending a visit to her son Orus, who was
“brought up at Butos,[1] deposited the chest in the meanwhile in a
“remote and unfrequented place; Typho however, as he was one
“night hunting in the light of the moon, accidentally met with it;
“and knowing the body which was enclosed in it, tore it into
“several pieces, 14 in all, dispersing them up and down in different
“parts of the country. Upon being made acquainted with this
“event, Isis once more sets out in search of the scattered fragments
“of her husband's body, making use of a boat made of the reed
“Papyrus in order the more easily to pass thro' the lower and
“fenny parts of the country—For which reason say they, the
“crocodile never touches any persons, who sail in this sort of
“vessels, as either fearing the anger of the goddess, or else respect-
“ing it on account of its having once carried her. To this occasion
“therefore is to be imputed, that there are so many different
“sepulchres of Osiris shewn in Egypt; for we are told, that
“wherever Isis met with any of the scattered limbs of her husband,
“she there buried it. There are others however who contradict
“this relation, and tell us, that this variety of sepulchres was owing
“rather to the policy of the queen, who, instead of the real body,
“as was pretended, presented these several cities with the image
“only of her husband; and that she did this, not only to render
“the honours, which would by this means be paid to his memory,
“more extensive, but likewise that she might hereby elude the
“malicious search of Typho; who, if he got the better of
“Orus in the war wherein they were going to be engaged, dis-
“tracted by this multiplicity of Sepulchres, might despair of being
“able to find the true one—we are told moreover, that notwith-
“standing all her search, Isis was never able to recover the privy-
“member of Osiris, which having been thrown into the Nile
“immediately upon its separation from the rest of the body,
“had been devoured by the Lepidotus, the Phagrus, and the
“Oxyrynchus, fish which of all others, for this reason, the

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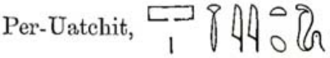
[1] I.e., Per-Uatchit, .

"Egyptians have in more especial avoidance. In order, however, to make some amends for the loss, Isis consecrated the "Phallus made in imitation of it, and instituted a solemn "festival to its memory, which is even to this day observed by the "Egyptians."

"After these things, Osiris returning from the other world "appeared to his son Orus, encouraged him to the battle, and at "the same time instructed him in the exercise of arms. He then "asked him, 'what he thought the most glorious action a man "could perform?' to which Orus replied, 'to revenge the injuries "offered to his father and mother.' He then asked him, 'what "animal he thought most serviceable to a soldier?' and being "answered 'a horse,' this raised the wonder of Osiris, so that he "further questioned him, 'why he preferred a horse before a lion?' "'because,' says Orus, 'tho' the lion be the more serviceable "creature to one who stands in need of help, yet is the horse more "useful in overtaking and cutting off a flying adversary.' These "replies much rejoiced Osiris, as they shewed him that his son "was sufficiently prepared for his enemy. We are moreover told, "that amongst the great numbers who were continually deserting "from Typho's party was his concubine Thueris,[1] and that a serpent "pursuing her as she was coming over to Orus, was slain by his "soldiers—the memory of which action, say they, is still preserved "in that cord, which is thrown into the midst of their assemblies, "and then chopt into pieces—afterwards it came to a battle between "them, which lasted many days; but victory at length inclined to "Orus, Typho himself being taken prisoner. Isis however, to "whose custody he was committed, was so far from putting him to "death, that she even loosed his bonds and set him at liberty. "This action of his mother so extremely incensed Orus, that he "laid hands upon her, and pulled off the ensign of royalty which "she wore on her head; and instead thereof Hermes clapt on an "helmet made in the shape of an oxe's head. After this Typho "publicly accused Orus of bastardy; but by the assistance of "Hermes, his legitimacy was fully established by the judgment of

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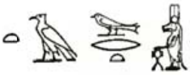
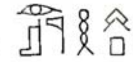
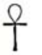
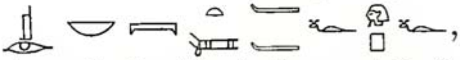
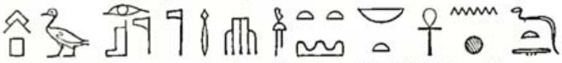
[1] I.e., Ta-urt, .

"the Gods themselves. After this, there were two other battles "fought between them, in both which Typho had the worst. Furthermore, Isis is said to have accompanied Osiris after his death, "and in consequence hereof to have brought forth Harpocrates, "who came into the world before his time, and lame in his lower "limbs."

CHAPTER XII

ÀSÀR-ḤĀPI, , OR SERAPIS.

IN connexion with the history of the god Osiris mention must be made of ÀSÀR-ḤĀPI or SERAPIS, a deity whose cult was widespread in Egypt under the Ptolemies, and in many provinces of the Roman Empire after that country had passed under the authority of the Cæsars. The second part of the name, "Ḥāpi," was that which was given to the famous bull which formed the object of worship at Memphis very early in the dynastic period of Egyptian history, and which is commonly known as the "APIS BULL," whilst the first part is, of course, nothing but the name Osiris in its Egyptian form. The Greeks fused the names of the two deities together under the form Σάραπις, and, although the exact nature of the attributes which they assigned to Osiris and Apis united is not quite clear, it seems tolerably certain that they regarded Serapis as the form which Apis took after death. According to the hieroglyphic texts[1] which were found on stelae and other objects in the Serapeum at Ṣaḳḳâra, Apis is called "the life of Osiris, the "lord of heaven, Tem [with] his horns [in] his head,"  , and he is said to "give life, strength, health, to thy nostrils for ever." Elsewhere APIS-OSIRIS is described as, "the great god, Khent Àmentet, the lord of life for ever," , and as this text belongs to the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty, we see that even at the beginning of the New Empire Apis and Osiris were joined together by the priests of Memphis, and that the attributes of Apis had been made to assume a funereal character, and that he was at that time recognized as a god of the Underworld. On a monument of the XIXth Dynasty,[1] Apis is said to be "the renewed life of Ptaḥ," , and in an inscription of the XXVIth Dynasty he is called the "second Ptaḥ," ;[2] in the same text we have a mention of the "temple of Ȧsår-Ḥāpi," , i.e., of Serapis, and we may learn from this fact that Apis had been finally made a god of the Underworld, and that his identity had been merged in that of Osiris. The identification of Apis with Osiris was easy enough, because one of the commonest names of Osiris was "Bull of the West," and the identification once made the shrines of Osiris were regarded as the proper places at which the worship of the double god should be paid. Apis was, in fact, believed to be animated by the soul of Osiris, and to be Osiris incarnate, and the appearance of a new Apis was regarded as a new

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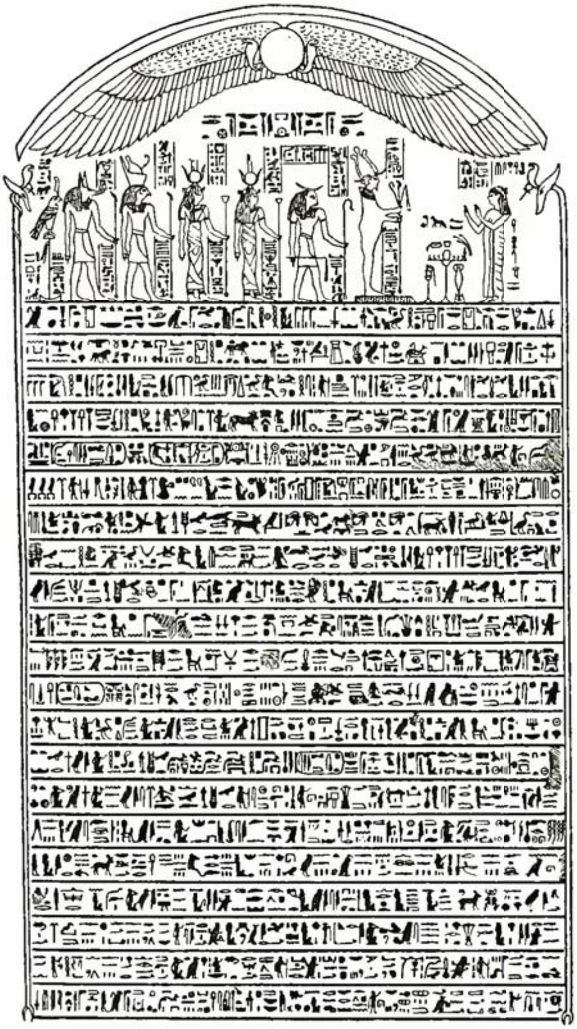
[1] See Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, Paris, 1882, p. 125 ff.; Mariette, *Mémoire sur cette Représentation gravée en tête de quelques proscynèmes du Sérapéum*, Paris, 1856.



Sepulchral tablet with a scene in which the deceased is seen adoring Osiris, Serapis, and other gods.

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[1] Mariette, *Sérapéum*, p. 139.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 198.

manifestation of Osiris upon earth; but he was also an emanation of Ptaḥ, and he was even called the "son of Ptaḥ,"[1] . The double god Åsår-Ḥāpi or Ḥāpi-Åsår, is depicted in the form of a bull, which has the solar disk and a uraeus between its horns. The peculiar marks on a bull which indicated that he was Apis, and the general history of the god will be found in the Chapter on "Animals sacred to the Gods."

The chief centre of the worship of Serapis in Ptolemaïc times was Alexandria, where it was established, according to tradition, by Ptolemy Soter. This great ruler of Egypt appears to have wished to find some god who could be worshipped both by Greeks and Egyptians at a common shrine, and one whom he could cause to be regarded as the characteristic god of his dynasty in Egypt. The most important Egyptian god at the time was Osiris, that is to say Osiris-Apis, the great god of the Egyptian Underworld, but it was impossible for him to remove the great sanctuary of this god, and he therefore determined either to rebuild some ruined Serapeum at Alexandria, or to found a new one wherein he might set up a statue which should be worshipped both as the god of the Egyptian Underworld and the Greek Hades, and in which would be united the attributes of Osiris Khent Åmenti, and of Dis. Whilst Ptolemy was meditating upon these or similar things he had a dream, wherein a colossal statue of some god appeared to him, and told him to remove it from where it was to Alexandria; according to Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, § 28), he had never seen a similar statue, and he knew neither the place where it stood, nor to whom it belonged. One day he happened to mention his dream to Sosibius, and described the statue which he had seen, whereon this man declared that he had seen a statue like it at Sinope. Tradition says that this was Sinope on the Pontus, and adds that as the inhabitants of the city were extremely unwilling to part with their statue, it, of its own accord, after waiting for three years, entered

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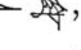
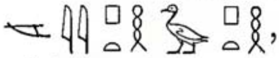
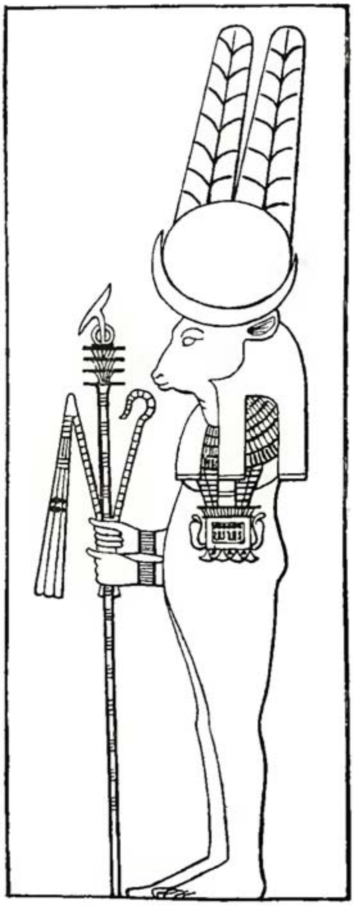
[1] In the text of Pepi I. (l. 671) the god UR-SHEPS-F, , is called the "beloved, the son of Ptaḥ," , but we are not justified in assuming him to be an old form of Osiris-Apis.

into a ship and arrived at Alexandria safely after a voyage of only three days. When the Greeks came to see the statue it was introduced to them as the god Hades, and the Egyptian priests were ready to bestow upon him the name Ȧsȧr-Ḥāpi, or Serapis, by which name the Greeks were, apparently, quite contented to call him. Thus both the Greeks and Egyptians in Alexandria acquired a god whom they willingly worshipped as the god of the Underworld.



Ȧsȧr-Ḥāpi (Serapis).

As soon as the god who was now called Serapis had been established in his new home, his former worship and rites were greatly modified, and his services and processions were made to resemble those of the Egyptians, who naturally expected their main features to be brought into harmony with those of the cult of Osiris, their national god. It appears to have been to the interest of all parties to welcome Serapis, and all must admire the astute action of Ptolemy, who succeeded in making the Greeks think that in worshipping this god they were adoring one of their own native deities, and who persuaded the Egyptians that they were maintaining the supremacy of Osiris-Apis in spite of the fact that the Macedonians were the rulers and masters of the country. Some doubt has been cast upon the identification of the Sinope mentioned by Plutarch with the Sinope of Pontus, but with insufficient reason. The Serapeum which Ptolemy repaired, or founded, was probably near Rāqeṭit 𓂋𓂝𓈎𓂧𓇌𓏏𓊖, and was a very remarkable building; its main plan seems to have resembled that of the famous Serapeum at Memphis, but parts of it were richly painted and gilded, and it possessed a fine library which was said to contain some 300,000 volumes. The following is Plutarch's account of the introduction of the god of Sinope into Egypt:—

" After this, say they, both Isis and Osiris, on account of their " eminent virtue, were translated from the order of good Demons " to that of Gods, as in after ages were Hercules and Bacchus; and " therefore the honours which are paid them are very properly of " the mixed kind, such as are due both to Gods and Demons, their " power being very great, not only upon earth, but in those regions " likewise which are under the earth. For, say they, Osiris is none " other than Pluto, nor is Isis different from Proserpine, as Archemachus the Euboean asserts, and as appears likewise to have " been the opinion of Heraclides of Pontus from his declaring the " oracle at Canopus to belong to Pluto.

XXVIII. " But the following facts will make this point still " more evident. Ptolemy, surnamed the Saviour, had a dream, " wherein a certain Colossean statue, such as he had never seen " before, appeared unto him, commanding him to remove it as soon " as possible from the place where it then stood to Alexandria. " Upon this the king was in great perplexity, as he knew neither " to whom the statue belonged nor where to look for it. Upon his " relating the vision to his friends, a certain person named Sosibius, " who had been a great traveller, declared that he had seen just " such a statue as the king described at Sinope. Soteles and " Dionysius were hereupon immediately dispatched in order to " bring it away with them, which they at length accomplished " though not without much difficulty, and the manifest interposition of providence. Timotheus the Interpreter, and Manetho, as " soon as the statue was shown to them, from the Cerberus and " Dragon that accompanied it, concluded that it was designed to " represent Pluto, and persuaded the king that it was in reality " none other than the Egyptian *Sarapis;* for it must be observed, " that the statue had not this name before it was brought to " Alexandria, it being given to it afterwards by the Egyptians, as " equipollent, in their opinion, to its old one of Pluto. So again, " when Heraclitus the Physiologist asserts that Pluto and Bacchus " are the same, does not this directly lead to the same conclusion? " For as to those who say that by Pluto is here meant *the body,*

" because the soul, whilst it is in it, is as it were intoxicated and " beside itself, and that from hence springs the relation between " it and Bacchus, this is too subtle and finespun an allegory to " deserve our serious notice. Heraclitus's assertion therefore may " be much more probably accounted for, by supposing the Bacchus " here meant to be the same as Osiris, and Osiris again the same " as Sarapis, this latter appellation having been given him, upon " his being translated from the order of Genii to that of the Gods, " Sarapis being none other than that common name by which all " those are called, who have thus changed their nature, as is well " known by those who are initiated into the mysteries of Osiris.

" Little regard therefore is to be paid to those *Phrygian Tales*, " wherein mention is made of one Sarapis, as the daughter of " Hercules, and of Typho, as born of Isaeacus one of his sons: " nor does Phylarchus better deserve our credit, when he tells us " that 'Bacchus first brought two bullocks with him out of India " into Egypt, and that the name of the one was *Apis*, and that of " the other *Osiris*,' adding moreover, 'that Sarapis, in the proper " meaning of the word, signifies *him who disposed the Universe* "*into its present beautiful order*.' Now though this assertion of " Phylarchus be weak enough, yet it is not quite so absurd as that " of those who assert, that 'Sarapis is no god at all, but the mere " denomination of the sepulchral chest, wherein the body of Apis " after its death is deposited;' much more tolerable than either of " the preceding is their opinion, who would derive this name from " words which in the Greek language import, '*one who first* " *impelled and gave motion to the universe*.' The priests indeed, at " least the greatest part of them, tell us, that Sarapis is none other " than the mere union of Osiris and Apis into one word; declarative " as it were of that opinion, which they are perpetually explaining " and inculcating, 'that the Apis ought ever to be regarded by us, " as a fair and beautiful image of the soul of Osiris.' For my part " I cannot but think, that if this word be of Egyptian extraction, " it ought to be interpreted so as to express *joy and gladness*, seeing " that festival, which we Grecians call Charmosyna, or *the feast of* "*joy*, is by the Egyptians expressly termed *Sarei*. Nor altogether " disagreeable to this last notion of Sarapis, is the explication which

" Plato gives of the corresponding name of Hades or Pluto, stiling " him, ' the son of cheerfulness, and a kind and gentle Deity to all " such as come unto him.' There are likewise many other words, " which when interpreted into Greek, become entire sentences; " such particularly is *Amenthes*, or that subterraneous region " whither they imagine the souls of those who die to go after their " decease, a name which expressly signifies in the tongue, *the receiver* " *and giver*.[1] But whether this likewise be not one of those words, " which were originally transplanted from Greece into Egypt, we " will enquire in another place."

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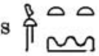
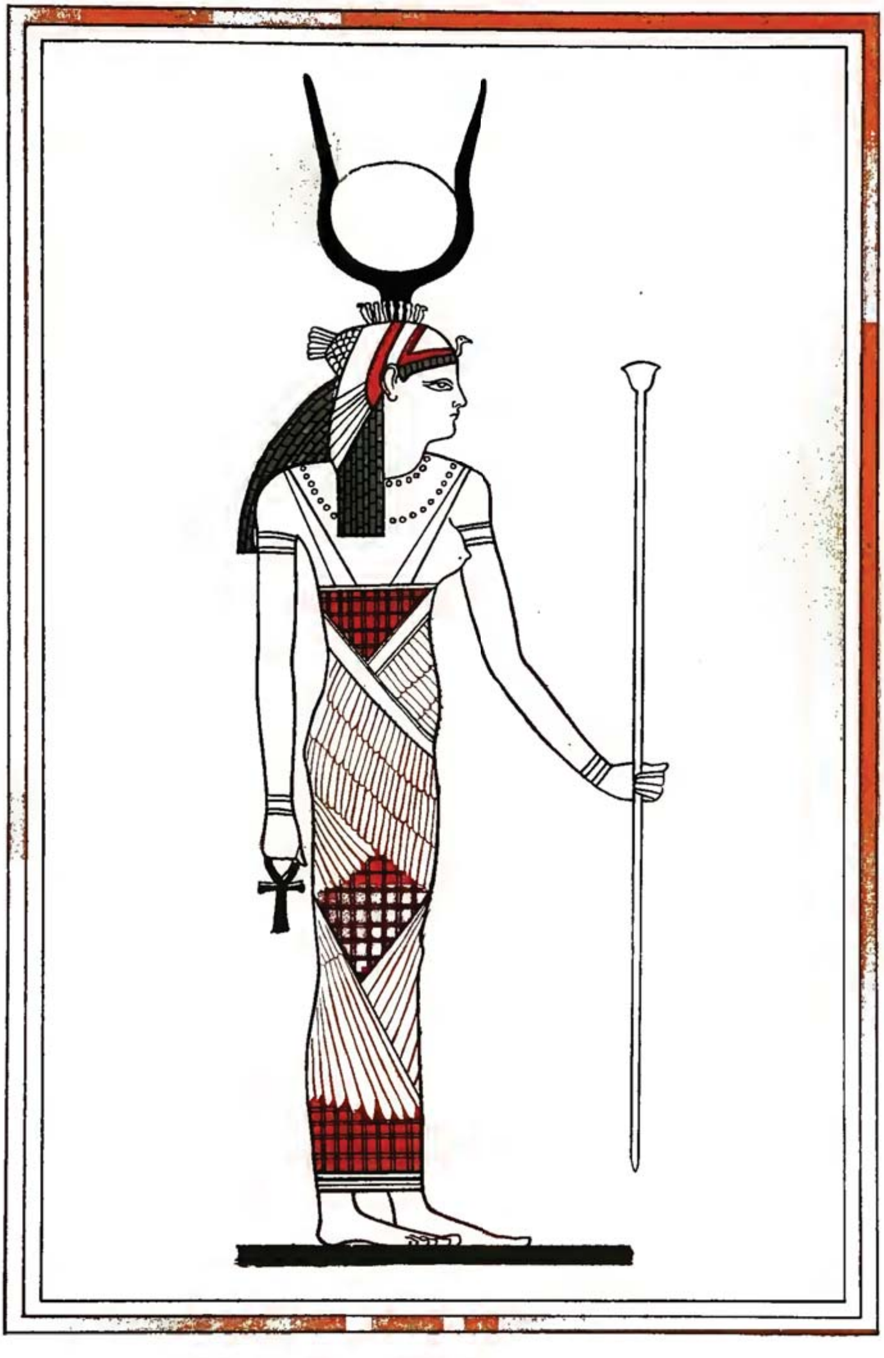
[1] The Egyptian form of the word is  *Amentet*, and the name means "hidden place."

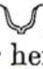
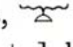
CHAPTER XIII

ȦST, 𓊨, OR 𓊨𓏏, OR 𓊨𓏏𓆇𓁐, ISIS

NOTWITHSTANDING the fact that Ȧs, or Ȧst, i.e., Isis, is one of the goddesses most frequently mentioned in the hieroglyphic texts, nothing is known with certainty about the attributes which were ascribed to her in the earliest times. From the fact that she was regarded as the female counterpart of Osiris in the dynastic period, we may assume that she was also associated with the god in this capacity in the predynastic period, and if he was originally a water spirit or a river-god, she must have possessed the same characteristics. The name Ȧst has, like Ȧsar, up to the present defied all explanation, and it is clear from the punning derivations to which the Egyptians themselves had recourse, that they knew no more about the meaning of her name than we do. The probability is that Ȧs, or Ȧst, is a Libyan name originally, and that it is to be classed with the names of the other Libyan deities, e.g., Net, Bast, etc., who were worshipped by the predynastic Egyptians, and the sounds of whose names were expressed by hieroglyphic symbols as nearly as possible when the people of the country borrowed or invented the art of writing. The symbol of the name ~~of Isis in~~ Egyptian is a seat, or throne, 𓊨, but we have no means of connecting it with the attributes of the goddess in such a way as to give a rational explanation of her name, and all the derivations hitherto proposed must be regarded as mere guesses. Isis is usually depicted in the form of a woman who wears on her head a vulture head-dress, and holds in her hand a papyrus sceptre. The usual ornament or crown on her head consists of a pair of horns, between which is a solar disk, and this is sometimes surmounted by 𓊨, the symbol of the sound of her name. Sometimes she wears the double crowns



THE GODDESS ISIS.

of the South and the North, to the back of which is attached the feather of Maāt, and sometimes she wears with the pair of horns and the solar disk two plumes.[1] Her horns are usually those of the cow of Hathor, or of one of the sister forms of this goddess, , but occasionally[2] she wears a pair of ram's horns, , under her double crown; since, however, Osiris was represented by the Ram of Mendes, and was identified with Khnemu, it is only to be expected that his female counterpart Isis should appear sometimes with the horns which are the peculiar characteristic of the great Ram-god. Isis, as a woman, and not as a goddess, is depicted in the ordinary head-dress of a woman, but even so she has the uraeus over her forehead, for the Egyptians wished it never to be forgotten that she was of divine origin; of the forms which she had the power to take in her character of the "lady of words of power" mention will be made further on.

An examination of the texts of all periods proves that Isis always held in the minds of the Egyptians a position which was entirely different from that of every other goddess, and although it is certain that their views concerning her varied from time to time, and that certain aspects or phases of the goddess were worshipped more generally at one period than at another, it is correct to say that from the earliest to the latest dynasties Isis was the greatest goddess of Egypt. Long before the copies of the Pyramid Texts which we possess were written the attributes of Isis were well-defined, and even when the priests of Heliopolis assigned to her the position which she held in the cycle of their gods between B.C. 4000 and B.C. 3000 the duties which she was thought to perform in connexion with the dead were clearly defined, and were identical with those which belonged to her in the Graeco-Roman period. Isis was the great and beneficent goddess and mother, whose influence and love pervaded all heaven, and earth, and the abode of the dead, and she was the personification of the great feminine, creative power which conceived, and brought forth every living creature, and thing, from the gods in heaven, to man on the earth, and to the insect on the ground; what she brought forth she protected, and cared for, and fed, and nourished, and she employed her life in using her power graciously and successfully, not only in creating new beings but in restoring those that were dead. She was, besides these things, the highest type of a faithful and loving wife and mother, and it was in this capacity that the Egyptians honoured and worshipped her most. In the section on Osiris a rendering of the Mythological History of Isis and Osiris by Plutarch has already been given, but reference must here be made to one or two passages in it for purposes of comparison with Egyptian texts. According to this document Osiris was slain by the cunning of his brother Typhon, or Set, and the box containing his body was thrown into the river, which carried it to the sea; after long search Isis found it, and set it, as she thought, in a safe hiding place, but it was found by Typhon, who cut it up into a number of pieces. It is nowhere so stated, but it seems that Isis was childless before the death of Osiris, and both the narrative of Plutarch and a passage in the Hymn to Osiris quoted above (p. 150) agree in stating that, by means of certain words of power which had been given to her by Thoth and which she knew how to use, she restored her dead husband to life, and was united to him; as the result of this embrace she conceived her son Horus, and in due course brought him forth.

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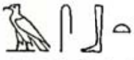
[1] See Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pll. 306 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, pl. 308, No. 3.

The incidents of her search for the dead body of Osiris, and of the conception and birth, and rearing of her child powerfully impressed the imagination of the Egyptians, and hieroglyphic literature is full of allusions to them. In the Pyramid Texts the deceased is said (Unȧs, line 181) "to breathe the breath of Isis," and to make his passage in heaven, with Isis, in the Māṭet Boat, i.e., the boat of the rising sun (line 293); moreover, he is declared to be the very son of Isis and of her twin form Nephthys.[1] In a remarkable passage in the text of Tetȧ (line 84) the deceased is introduced to the triad of goddesses, Isis, Nephthys, and Asbet, , as their son, and elsewhere (line 172) Seb, the father of Osiris and Isis, is made to speak of

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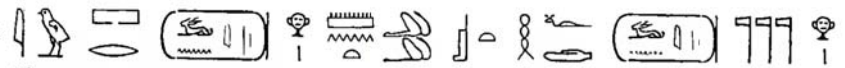
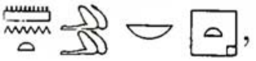
[1]  , Unȧs, l. 487.

Isis and Nephthys as his "sisters." These things the Egyptians believed because their ancient traditions told them of all that Isis had done for her husband and child, and they hoped that the goddess would be present at the celebrations of their funeral rites, and that she would secure for them a new birth. In the illustrated Recensions of the *Book of the Dead* Isis frequently appears both as the mother of Horus, the heir to the throne of Osiris, and as the mourning widow of her husband. In the vignette to the clist Chapter Isis kneels at the bier of the deceased, and says to him, "I have come to protect thee with the north wind which "cometh forth from Tem; I have strengthened for ~~thee~~ thy throat; "I have caused thee to be with the god; and I have placed all "thine enemies under thy feet." This speech refers to the air which Isis produced by the beating of her wings when she restored Osiris to life in order that she might conceive an heir by him, and also to the air which she provided for her son Horus after he had been stung to death by a scorpion. Everywhere in the *Book of the Dead* Isis is regarded as a giver of life and of food to the dead, and she appears behind the god in the shrine wherein Osiris is seated in the Judgment Hall, and in one of her aspects she is identified with one of the two Maāt goddesses; she may, in fact, be regarded as one of the judges of the dead.

Now, the *Book of the Dead* supplies us with many interesting allusions to her relations with Osiris, but it says little about her devotion to her son Horus, whom she reared with loving care that he might become the "avenger of his father," and we must have recourse to the texts which are found inscribed on the "Metternich stele,"[1] if we would gain a clearer idea of the troubles which Isis endured after the death of Osiris. In one of these the goddess is made to relate the narrative of her wanderings and sorrows, and she says, "I, even I, am Isis, and I came forth from the house "wherein my brother Set had placed me." From this it is clear that Set was not content with murdering his brother Osiris, but that he must needs shut up the widow and her child in some place of restraint. Whilst Isis was thus confined, "Thoth, the great "god, the prince of Law both in heaven and upon the earth," came to her and said, "Come, O thou goddess Isis, it is good to be "obedient, for there is life for him that will follow the advice of "another. Hide thou thy son the child [Horus], and this is what "shall happen: his limbs shall grow, and he will become endowed "with two-fold strength, and then he shall be made to sit upon the "throne of his father, and he shall avenge him and take possession "of the rank of the prince of the Two Lands." Isis took the advice of her friend Thoth and, she says, "I came forth from the "house at eventide, and there also came forth with me Seven "Scorpions, who were to accompany me, and to be my helpers. "Two scorpions, Tefen and Befen, were behind me, two scorpions, "Mestet and Mestetef were by my side, and three scorpions, Petet, "Thetet, and Maatet, shewed me the way. I cried out unto them "in a very loud voice, and my speech entered into their ears even "as into the ears of one who knoweth that obedience is a thing "which is applauded, and that disobedience is the mark of the "person who is of no account, and I said unto them, 'Let your "faces be turned to the ground that ye may [shew me] the way.' "So the leader of this company brought me unto the marshes of "Pa-sui, the city of the two Divine Sandals, which lay at the "beginning of the Papyrus Swamps (𓇋𓂧𓎛𓇉 Àṭeḥ). When "I had arrived at Ṭeb I came forth to the habitations of the "women who belonged to the overlord of the district, and the chief "woman who had seen me coming along shut her doors in my face, "and was angry with me in her heart because of those (i.e., the "Seven Scorpions) that were with me. Now the scorpions took "counsel on the matter, and they all at one time ejected their "poison on the tip of the tail of Tefen; but as for me, a poor "fen-woman opened her door to me, and I entered into her house. "Meanwhile the Scorpion Tefen entered under the leaves of the "door of the lady [who had shut her doors upon me], and she "stung her son, and fire straightway broke out in the house of the "noble lady; but there was no water forthcoming to put it out, "and the heavens dropped down no rain upon the house of the "noble lady, for it was not the season for rain. And, behold, the

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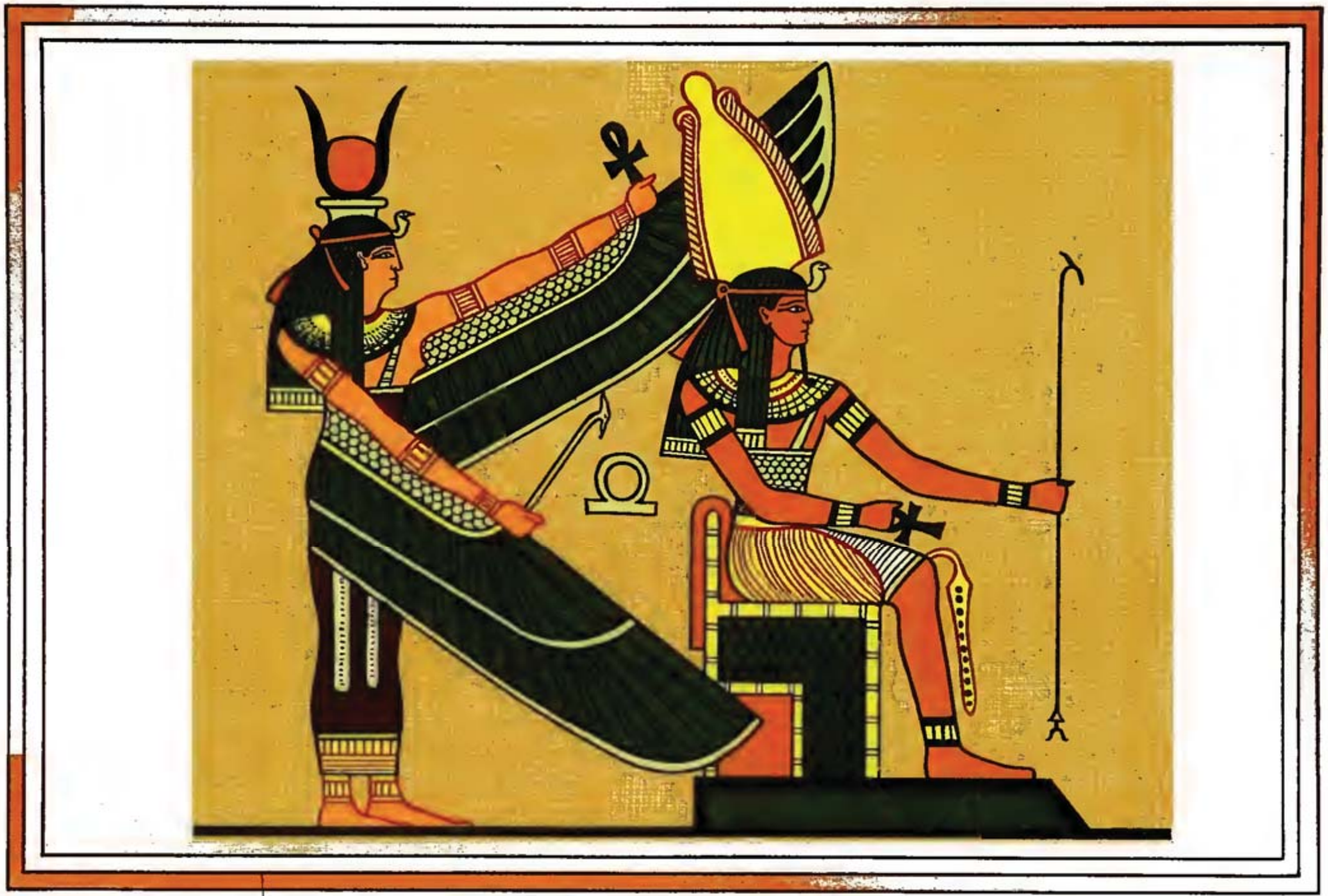
[1] This stele was found in Alexandria in 1828, and was given to Prince Metternich by Muḥammad 'Ali; for a facsimile of it, and renderings of the texts upon it, see Golenischeff, *Die Metternichstele*, Leipzig, 1877.



THE GODDESS ISIS. PTAḤ-SEKER-AUSAR.

"heart of the woman who had not opened her doors to me was "sad, for she knew not whether her son would live, and although "she went round about through her city uttering cries of lamentation none came at her call. But mine own heart was sad for the "child's sake, and I wished to restore to life him that had committed no fault. Thereupon I cried out to the noble lady, "'Come to me. Come to me, for my speech hath in it the power "to protect, and it possesseth life. I am a woman who is well-known in her city, and I can drive the evil out of thy son by one "of my utterances, which my father taught me, for I was the "beloved daughter of his body.'"

The noble lady presumably listened to the words of Isis, who, it seems, either went to her house, or had the dead child brought into her presence, for the narrative continues, "Then Isis laid her "hands upon the child to restore to life him that was without "breath (literally 'him whose throat was foul'), and said, 'O poison "of Tefen, come forth, and appear on the ground; come not in, "approach not! O poison of Befent, come forth, and appear on the "ground! for I am Isis the goddess, and I am the lady of words of "power, and I know how to work with words of power, and most "mighty are [my] words! O all ye reptiles which sting, hearken "unto me, and fall ye down on the ground! O poison of Mestet, "come not hither! O poison of Mestetef, rise not up! O poison of "Petet and Thetet, enter not here! [O poison of] Maatet, fall down!'" Next in the narrative we have the words of the "Chapter of the stinging [of scorpions]" which "Isis, the goddess and great enchantress at the head of the gods," spake on this occasion, and it is said that she learnt her method of procedure from Seb, who had ~~taught her~~ how to drive out poison. At the dawn of day she uttered the words, "O poison, get thee back, turn away, begone, retreat," and added "Mer-Rā;" and at eventide she said, "The Egg of the Goose" cometh forth "from the Sycamore." Then turning to the Seven Scorpions she said, "I speak to you, for I "am alone and am in sorrow which is greater than that of anyone "in the nomes of Egypt. I am like a man who hath become old, "and who hath ceased to search after and to look upon women in "their houses. Turn your faces down to the ground, and find ye "me straightway a way to the swamps and to the hidden places in "Khebet."[1] Following this passage come the exclamation, "The "child liveth and the poison dieth; the Sun liveth and the poison "dieth," and then the wishes, "May Horus be in good case for his "mother Isis! And may he who shall find himself in a similar "state be in good case also!" As the result of the utterances of Isis the fire in the house of the noble lady was extinguished, and "heaven was satisfied with the words which the goddess Isis" had spoken. The narrative is continued by Isis in these words:—"Then came the lady who had shut her doors against me, and "took possession of the house of the fen-woman because she had "opened the door of her house unto me, and because of this the "noble lady suffered pain and sorrow during a whole night, and "she had to bear [the thought] of her speech, and that her son had "been stung because she had closed the doors and had not opened "them to me." Following this come the words, "O, the child "liveth, the poison dieth! Verily, Horus shall be in good case for "his mother Isis! Verily, in like manner shall he be in good case "who shall find himself in a similar position! Shall not the bread "of barley drive out the poison and make it to return from the "limbs? Shall not the flame of the *ḥetchet* plant drive out the fire "from the members?"

"'Isis, Isis, come to thy child Horus, O thou whose mouth is "wise, come to thy son:' thus cried out the gods who were near "her after the manner of one whom a scorpion hath stung, and like "one whom Beḥāt, whom the animal Ȧntesh put to flight, hath "wounded. Then came Isis like a woman who was smitten in her "own body. And she stretched out her two arms, [saying], I will "protect thee, I will protect thee, O my son Horus. Fear thou not, "fear thou not, O son, my glorious one. No evil thing whatsoever "shall happen unto thee, for in thee is the seed whereof things "which are to be shall be created. Thou art the son within the

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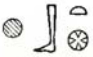
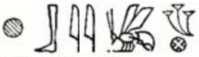
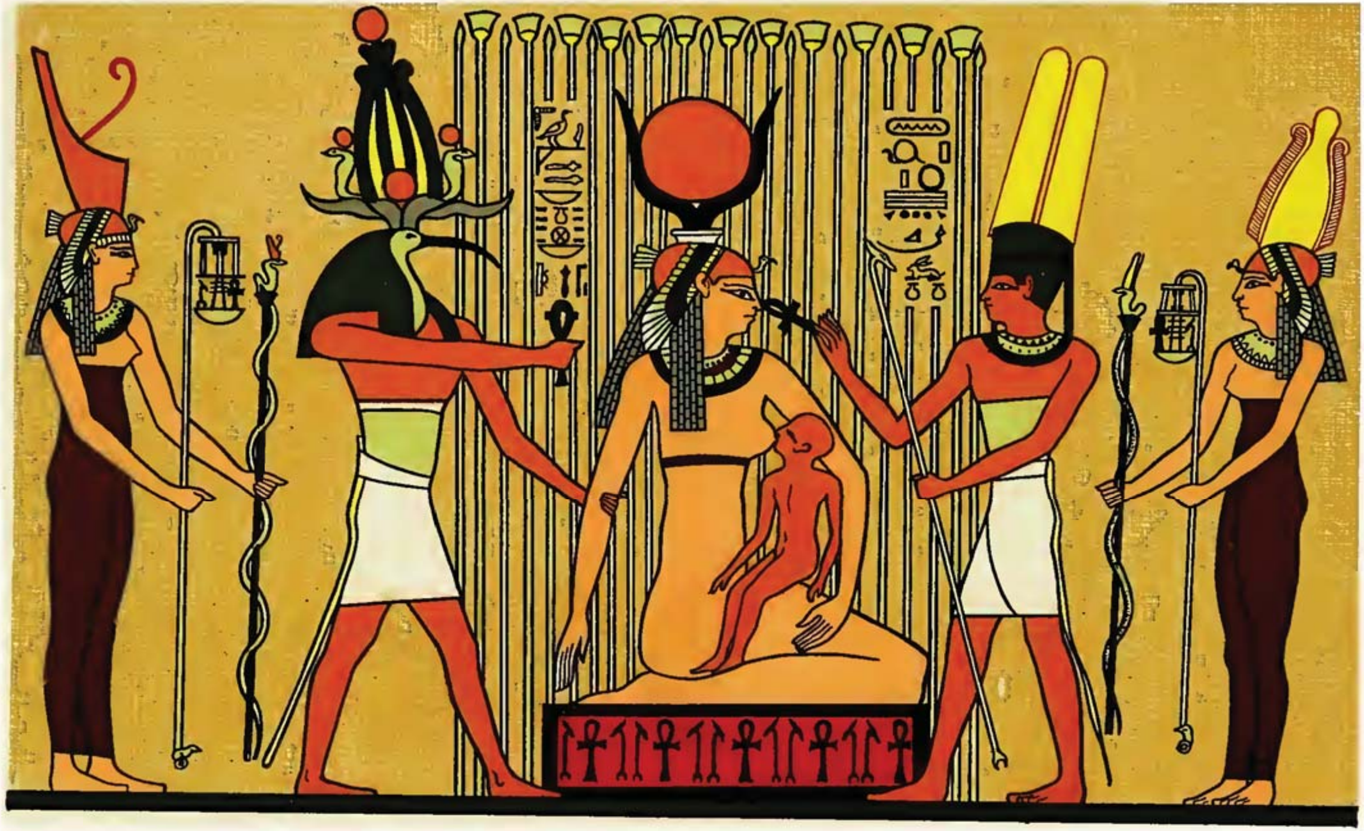
[1] , Khebet, or Khebit, , is, as Dr. Brugsch has shown, the Egyptian original of the Greek Χέμμις, or Χέμβις, an island in the neighbourhood of the city of Buto (Pe and Ṭep), which, according to Herodotus, floated.



ISIS IN THE PAPYRUS SWAMPS SUCKLING HORUS.

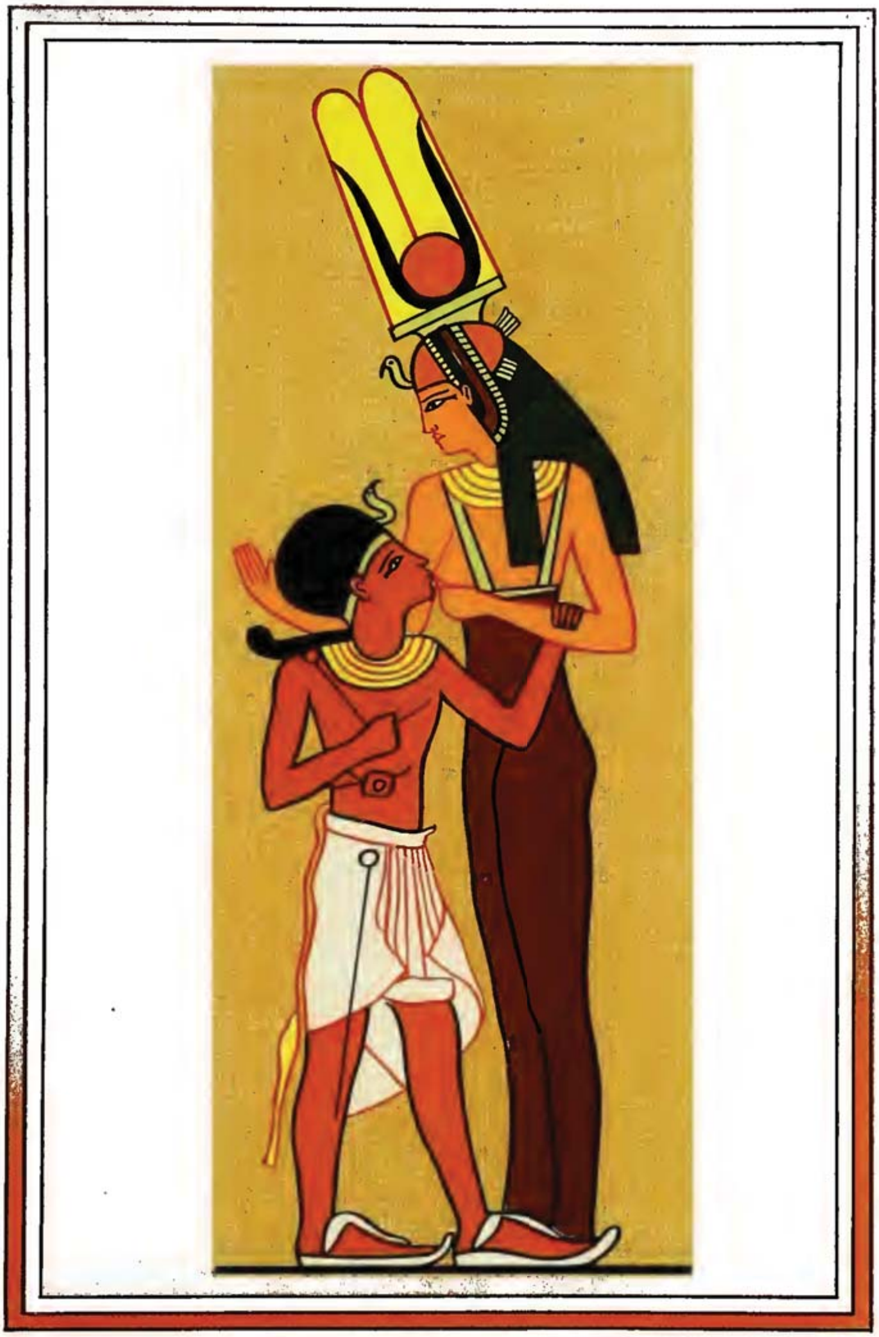
"Mesqet, who hast proceeded from Nu, and thou shalt not die by "the flame of the poison. Thou art the Great Bennu who wast "born on the Incense Trees in the House of the Great Prince in "Heliopolis. Thou art the brother of the Ȧbṭu Fish, who dost "arrange that which is to be, and who wast nursed by the Cat "within the House of Net. RERET, ḤȦT and BES protect thy "limbs. Thine head shall not fall before him that is hostile to "thee. The fire of that which hath poisoned thee shall not have "dominion over thy limbs. Thou shalt not fail on land, and thou "shalt not be in peril on the water. No reptile that stingeth shall "have the mastery over thee, and no lion shall crush thee or gain "the mastery over thee. Thou art the son of the holy god and "dost proceed from Seb. Thou art Horus, and the poison which "is in thy limbs shall not have the mastery over thee. And even "so shall it be with him that is under the knife. And the four "noble goddesses shall protect thy limbs."

From the above we see that the gods informed Isis that her son Horus had been stung by a scorpion, and from what follows we shall see in what condition Isis found her son. She says, "I, Isis, "conceived a man child, and I was heavy with Horus. I, the "goddess, bare Horus, the son of Isis, within a nest of papyrus "plants (or, 'Island of Ȧṭeḥ.') I rejoiced over him with exceedingly "great joy, for I saw in him one who would make answer for his "father. I hid him, and I concealed him, for I was afraid lest he "should be bitten. Now I went away to the city of Ȧm, and the "people thereof saluted me according to their wont, and I passed "the time in seeking food and provision for the boy; but when I "returned to embrace Horus, I found him, the beautiful one of "gold, the boy, the child, inert and helpless. He had bedewed the "ground with the water of his eye, and with the foam of his lips; "his body was motionless, and his heart was still, and his muscles "moved not, and I sent forth a cry . . . . . Then straightway "the dwellers in the swamps came round about me, and the fen "men came out to me from their houses, and they drew nigh to "me at my call, and they themselves wept at the greatness of my "misery. Yet no man there opened his mouth to speak to me "because they all grieved for me sorely; and no man among them "knew how to restore Horus to life. Then there came unto me a "woman who was well known in her city, and she was a lady at "the head of her district, and she came to me to restore [Horus] to "life. Her heart was filled with her own affairs, according to "custom, but the child Horus remained motionless and moved not. "The son of the goddess-mother had been smitten by the evil of "his brother. The plants [where Horus was] were concealed, and "no hostile being could find a way into them.

"The word of power of Tem, the father of the gods, who is in "heaven, acted as the maker of life, and Set had not entered into "this region, and he could not go round about the city of Kheb "(Khemmis); and Horus was safe from the wickedness of his "brother. But Isis had not hidden those who ministered unto him "many times each day, and these said concerning him, 'Horus "liveth for his mother;' they found out where he was, and a "scorpion stung him, and Āun-ȧb (i.e., Slayer of the Heart) "stabbed him."

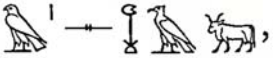
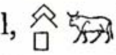
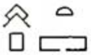
Then "Isis placed her nose in the mouth of Horus to learn if "there was any breath in him that was in his coffin, and she opened "the wound of the divine heir, and she found poison therein. "Then she embraced him hurriedly and leaped about with him like "a fish when it is placed over a hot fire, and she said, 'Horus is "stung, O Rā, thy son is stung. Horus, thy very heir, and the "lord of the . . . . . of Shu is stung. Horus, the child of the "Papyrus Swamps, the child in Ḥet-ser is stung; the beautiful "Child of gold is stung, and the Child, the Babe, hath become a "thing of nothingness. Horus, the son of Un-nefer, is stung,' etc. "Then came Nephthys shedding tears, and she went about the "Papyrus Swamps uttering cries of grief, and the goddess Serqet "said, 'What is it? What is it? What hath happened to the "child Horus?'

"'O Isis, pray thou to heaven so that the sailors of Rā may "cease rowing, so that the Boat of Rā may not depart from the "place where the child Horus is.' Then Isis sent forth a cry to "heaven, and addressed her prayer to the Boat of Millions of "Years; and the Disk stood still, and moved not from the place "where he was. And Thoth came, and he was provided with



MERSEKERT SUCKLING HORUS.

"magical powers and possessed the great power which made [his] "word to become Maāt (i.e., Law), and he said: 'O Isis, thou "goddess, thou glorious one, who hast knowledge how to use thy "mouth, behold, no evil shall come upon the child Horus, for his "protection cometh from the Boat of Rā. I have come this day in "the Boat of the Disk from the place where it was yesterday. "When the night cometh the light shall drive [it] away for the "healing of Horus for the sake of his mother Isis, and every person "who is under the knife [shall be healed] likewise.'" In answer to this speech Isis told Thoth that she was afraid he had come too late, but she begged him, nevertheless, to come to the child and to bring with him his magical powers which enabled him to give effect to every command which he uttered. Thereupon Thoth besought Isis not to fear, and Nephthys not to weep, for said he, "I have "come from heaven in order to save the child for his mother," and he straightway spake the words of power which restored Horus to life, and served to protect him ever afterwards in heaven, and in earth, and in the Underworld.

The region where all these things took place was situated in the Delta, and the Island in the Papyrus Swamps, where Isis brought forth her child and hid him, was near the famous double city of Pe-Ṭep, which was commonly called Buto by the Greeks. It is impossible to assign a date to the composition of the story briefly narrated above, but it is, no doubt, as old as the legends about the death and resurrection of Osiris, and it must form an integral portion of them, and date from the period when Libyan gods and goddesses were worshipped in the Delta and in certain parts of Upper Egypt before the great development of Sun-worship. The chief importance of the story consists in the fact that it makes Isis to be both woman and goddess, just as the story of Osiris makes that deity to be both god and man, and it is quite conceivable that in the predynastic times the sorrows of Isis, like those of Osiris, formed the subject of miracle plays which were acted annually in all the centres of the worship of Isis. Isis as the faithful and loving wife, and as the tender and devoted mother won the hearts of the Egyptians in all periods of their history, and we can only regret that the narrative of the wanderings and sorrows of the goddess is not known to us in all its details. Her persecution by Set after her husband's death was a favourite theme of ancient writers, who delighted in showing how the goddess outwitted her terrible adversary; thus on one occasion she was so hard pressed by him that she changed her body into that of the cow-goddess ḤERU-SEKHA, , and her son Horus into an Apis Bull, ,[1] and went away with him to the Apis temple, , in order that she might see his father Osiris, who was therein.

Another great human element in the story of Isis which appealed strongly to the Egyptians was the desire of the goddess to be avenged on the murderer of her husband, and it is this which is referred to in the words of Isis, who says, "I rejoiced over him "with exceedingly great joy, for I saw in him one who would make "answer for his father." The manner in which Horus "made answer for" and avenged his father is told in the Sallier Papyrus (translated by Chabas,[2]) where it is said that Horus and Set fought together, standing on their feet, first in the forms of men and next in the forms of two bears. For three days and for three nights the fight between them raged, and Horus gained the victory over Set, but when Isis saw that Set was being overpowered her heart was touched on his account, and she cried out and ordered the weapons which her son was wielding against her brother to fall down, and they did so, and Set was released. When Horus saw that his mother had taken his adversary's part he raged at her like a panther of the south, and she fled before his wrath; a fierce struggle between Isis and Horus then took place, and Horus cut off his mother's head. Thoth, by means of his words of power, transformed her head into that of a cow which he attached to her body straightway.

Isis, though worshipped all over Egypt, was specially venerated in certain cities, and the following are among the commonest of her titles[3] :—"The great lady, the God-mother, lady

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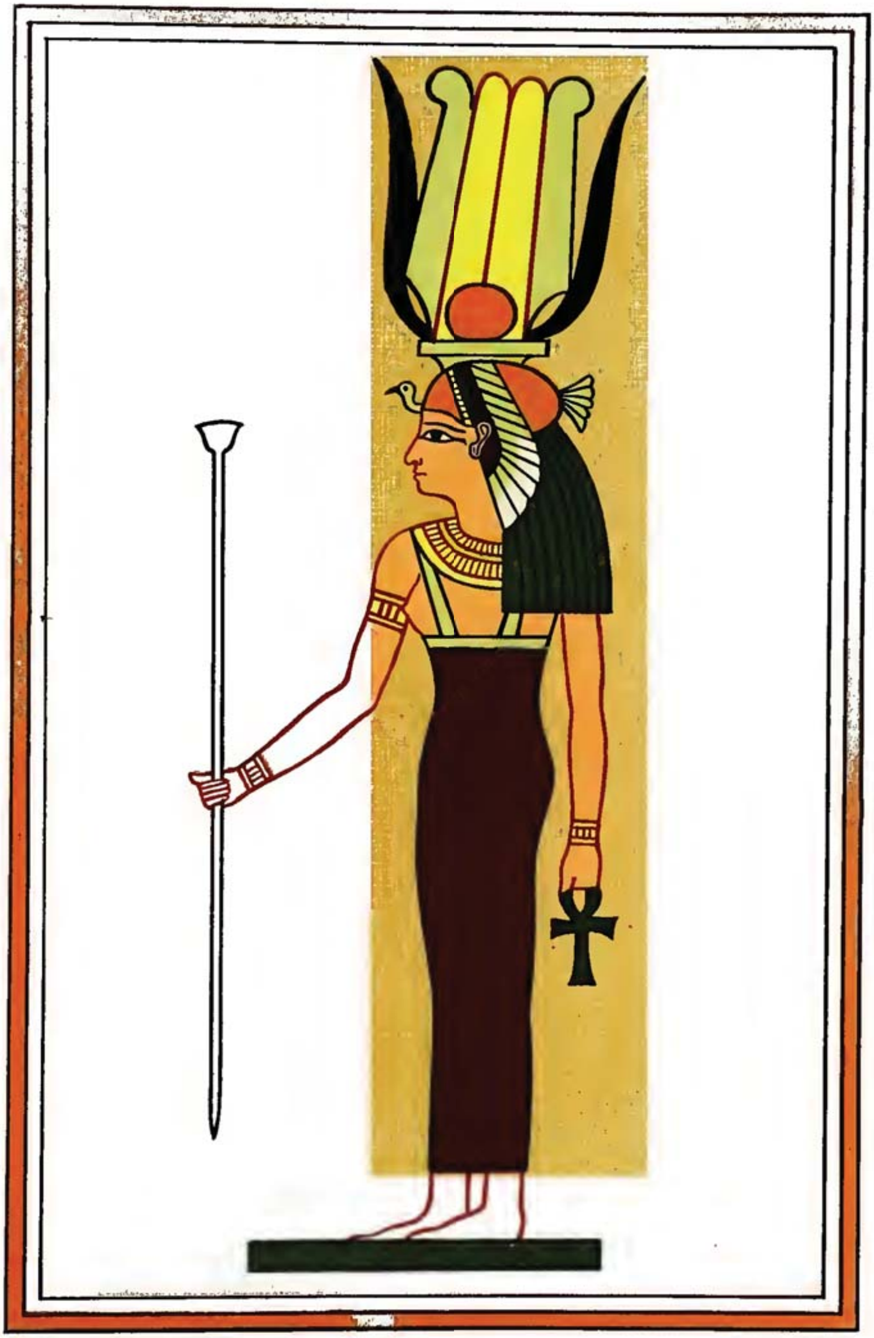
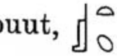
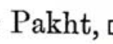
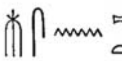
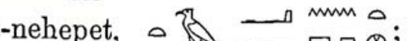
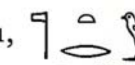
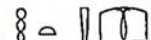
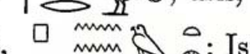
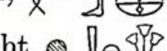
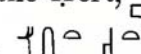
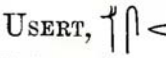
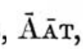
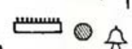
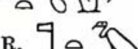
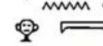
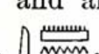
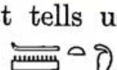
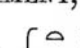
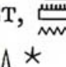
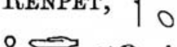
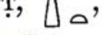
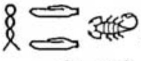
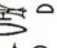
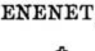
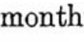
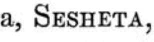
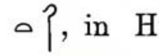
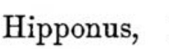
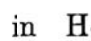
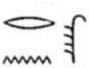
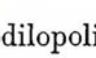
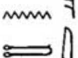
[1] Brugsch, *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1879, p. 19.

[2] *Le Calendrier*, p. 28.

[3] See Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pp. 829, ff.



THE GODDESS ISIS-SEPT.

"of Re-a-nefer; Isis-Nebuut, , lady of Sekhet; lady "of Besiṭet; Isis in Per Pakht, ; the queen of Mesen, "; Isis of Ta-āt-nehepet, ; Isis, "dweller in Netru, ; Isis, lady of Ḥebet, ; "Isis in P-she-Ḥert, ; Isis, lady of Khebt, ; "Usert-Isis, , giver of life, lady of Abaton, lady of "Philae, lady of the countries of the south," etc. From a list of titles of the goddess collected by Dr. Brugsch,[1] it is clear that Isis was called USERT, , in Thebes, ĀĀT, , in Heliopolis, MENKHET, , in Memphis, GOD-MOTHER, , in Coptos, ḤERT, , in Letopolis; and "ḤENT," i.e., "Queen," in every nome;[2] and another important list tells us that Isis was called ȦMENT, , in Thebes, MENḤET, , in Heliopolis, RENPET, , in Memphis, SEPṬ, , in Abydos, ḤEṬEṬ, , in Beḥuṭet, ḤURT, , in Nekhen, THENENET, , in Hermonthis, ȦNT, , in Dendera, SESHETA, , in Hermopolis, ḤEQET, , in Hibiu, UATCHIT, , in Hipponus, MERSEKHEN, , in Herakleopolis, RENPET, , in Crocodilopolis, NEB-ṬEPT, , in Arsinoë, THȦT, , or TCHEṬUT, , in Aphroditopolis, and SHETAT, , in Bubastis. Among her general titles may be mentioned those of "the divine one, the only one, the greatest of the gods "and goddesses, the queen of all gods, the female Rā, the female "Horus, the eye of Rā, the crown of Rā-Ḥeru, Sepṭ, opener of the "year, lady of the New Year, maker of the sunrise, lady of heaven, "the light-giver of heaven, lady of the North Wind, queen of the "earth, most mighty one, queen of the South and North, lady of "the solid earth, lady of warmth and fire, benefactress of the Ṭuat,

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[1] *Religion*, p. 646.

[2] Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 773.

"she who is greatly feared in the Ṭuat, the God-mother, the God-
"mother of Ḥeru-ka-nekht, the mother of the Horus of gold, the
"lady of life, lady of green crops, the green goddess (Uatchet),
"lady of bread, lady of beer, lady of abundance, lady of joy and
"gladness, lady of love, the maker of kings, lady of the Great
"House, lady of the House of fire, the beautiful goddess, the lady
"of words of power, lady of the shuttle, daughter of Seb, daughter
"of Neb-er-tcher, the child of Nut, wife of Rā, wife of the lord
"of the abyss, wife of the lord of the Inundation, the creatrix of
"the Nile flood."

From a number of passages in the texts of various periods we learn that Isis possessed great skill in the working of magic, and several examples of the manner in which she employed it are well known. Thus when she wished to make Rā reveal to her his greatest and most secret name, she made a venomous reptile out of dust mixed with the spittle of the god, and by uttering over it certain words of power she made it to bite Rā as he passed. When she had succeeded in obtaining from the god his most hidden name, which he only revealed because he was on the point of death, she uttered words which had the effect of driving the poison out of his limbs, and Rā recovered.[1] Now Isis not only used the words of power, but she also had knowledge of the way in which to pronounce them so that the beings or things to which they were addressed would be compelled to listen to them and, having listened, would be obliged to fulfil her behests. The Egyptians believed that if the best effect was to be produced by words of power they must be uttered in a certain tone of voice, and at a certain rate, and at a certain time of the day or night, with appropriate gestures or ceremonies. In the Hymn to Osiris, of which a rendering has already been given (see p. 150), it is said that Isis was well skilled in the use of words of power, and it was by means of these that she restored her husband to life, and obtained from him an heir. It is not known what the words were which she uttered on this occasion, but she appears to have obtained them from Thoth, the "lord of divine words," and it was to him that

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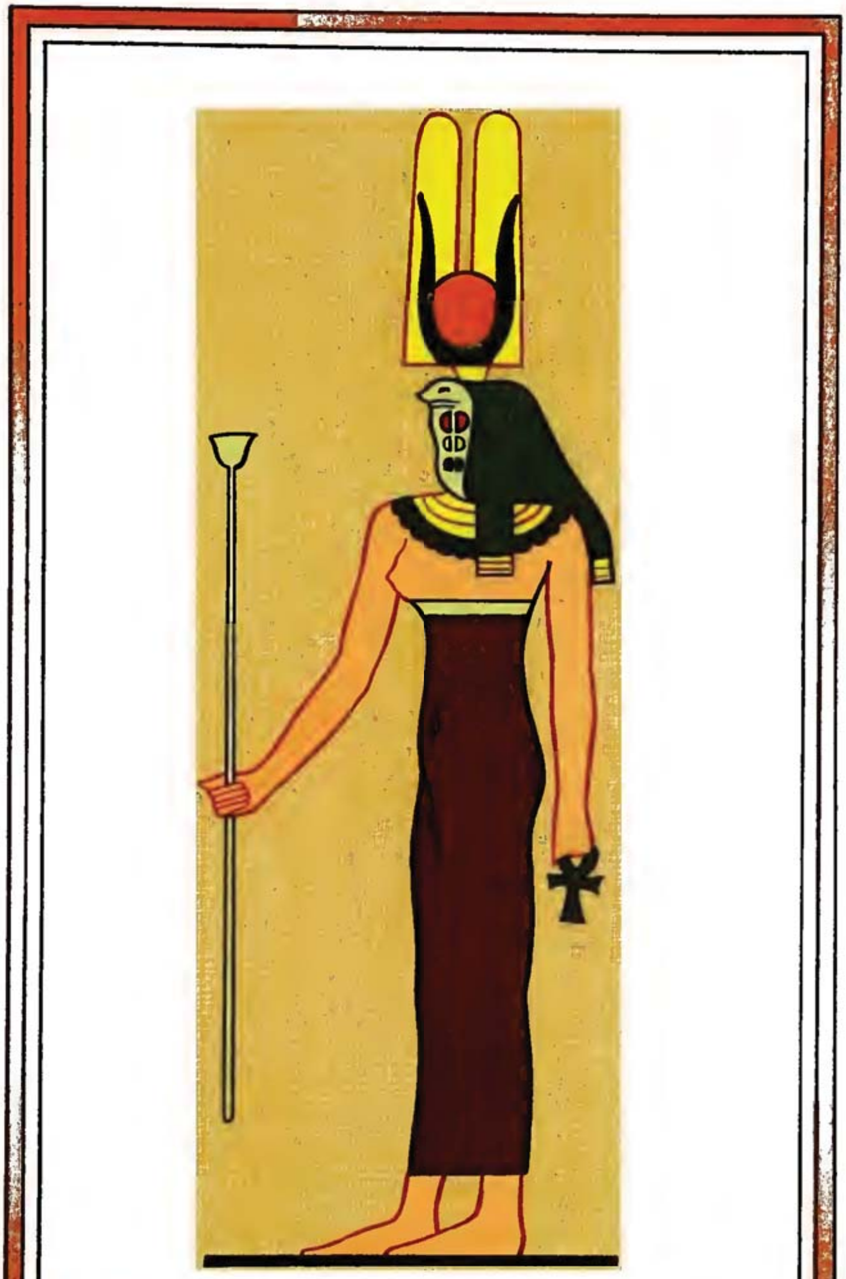
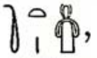
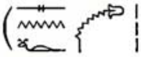
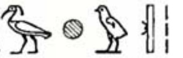
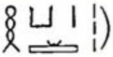
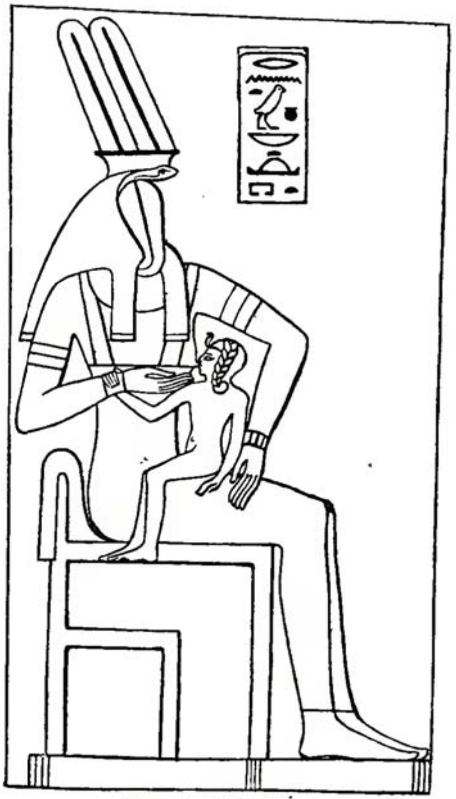
[1] See the translation of the Legend of Rā and Isis given in vol. i., p. 372 ff.



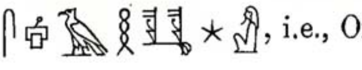
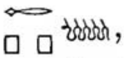
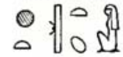
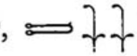
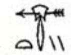
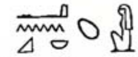
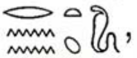
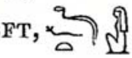
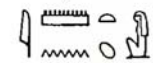
THE GODDESS RENNUT.

she appealed for help to restore Horus to life after he had been stung to death by a scorpion.

In the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* is found a Chapter (No. clvi.) which was composed for the purpose of bestowing upon the deceased some of the magical power of the goddess. The Chapter was intended to be recited over an amulet called *thet* , made of carnelian, which had to be steeped in water of *ānkhami* flowers, and set in a sycamore plinth, and if this were laid on the neck of a dead person it would place him under the protection of the words of power of Isis, and he would be able to go wheresoever he pleased in the Underworld. The words of the Chapter were:—“Let the blood () of “Isis, and the magical powers “( or spirits) of “Isis, and the words of power “() of Isis, be mighty “to protect and keep safely “this great god (i.e., the “deceased), and to guard him “from him that would do unto “him anything which he abominateth.”



Rennut, lady of Áat.

The symbol of Isis in the heavens was the star Sepṭ, , which was greatly beloved because its appearance marked not only the beginning of a new year, but also announced the advance of the Inundation of the Nile, which betokened renewed wealth and prosperity of the country. As such Isis was regarded as the companion of Osiris, whose soul dwelt in the star Saḥ, , i.e., Orion, and she was held to have brought about the destruction of the fiend Apep, , and of his hosts of darkness by means of the might of her words of power. As the light-giver at this season of the year she was called KHUT, , as the mighty earth-goddess her name was USERT, , as the Great Goddess of the Underworld she was THENENET, , as the power which shot forth the Nile flood she was SATI, , and SEPṬ, as the embracer of the land and producer of fertility by her waters she was Ānqet, , as the producer and giver of life she was Ānkhet, , as the goddess of cultivated lands and fields she was SEKHET, , as the goddess of the harvest she was RENENET, , as the goddess of food which was offered to the gods she was TCHEFT, , and lived in the Temple of TCHEFAU, , and as the great lady of the Underworld, who assisted in transforming the bodies of the blessed dead into those wherein they were to live in the realm of Osiris, her name was ȦMENT, , i.e., the "hidden" goddess. In this last capacity she shared with Osiris the attribute of "giver of life," and she provided food for the dead as well as for the living; as ȦMENT also she was declared to be the mother of Rā. In fact, at a comparatively early period in Egyptian history Isis had absorbed the attributes of all the great primitive goddesses, and of all the local goddesses such as Nekhebet, Uatchet, Net, Bast, Hathor, etc., and she was even identified as the female counterpart of the primeval abyss of water from which sprang all life. From what has been said above it is manifestly impossible to limit the attributes of Isis, for we have seen that she possesses the powers of a water goddess, an earth goddess, a corn goddess, a star goddess, a queen of the Underworld, and a woman, and that she united in herself one or more of the attributes of all the goddesses of Egypt known to us.

From the works of classical writers we know that her worship spread from Egypt into several places in Western Europe, and she was identified with Persephone, Tethys, Athene, etc., just as Osiris was identified with Hades or Pluto, Dionysos-Bacchus, and other foreign gods. According to Herr August Mau,[1] various causes contributed to the rapid extension of the cult of Isis and Serapis. "The worship of Isis, associated with Mysteries from an "early period, was reorganized by the first Ptolemy with the help "of Manetho an Egyptian priest, and Timotheus, a Greek skilled "in the Eleusinian Mysteries . . . . It had the charm of something foreign and full of mystery. Its doctrine, supported by "the prestige of immemorial antiquity, successfully opposed the "mutually destructive opinions of the philosophers, while at the "same time its conception of deity was by no means inconsistent "with philosophic thought; and it brought to the initiated that "expectation of a future life to which the Eleusinian Mysteries "owed their attractive power. The ascetic side of the worship "too, with its fastings and abstinence from the pleasures of sense, "that the soul might lose itself in the mystical contemplation of "deity, had a fascination for natures that were religiously susceptible; and the celebration of the Mysteries, the representation of "the myth of Isis in pantomime with a musical accompaniment, "appealed powerfully to the imagination." A college of the servants of Isis, who were called Pastophori, was founded in Rome in the time of Sulla, about B.C. 80 (Apuleius, *Met.* xi.), but after a very few years the worship of Isis was proscribed by the authorities, and the temples of the goddess were pulled down in the years 58, 53, 50, and 48. In B.C. 43, however, the triumvirs, seeing that it was the only way to win the affections of the people, built temples in honour of Isis and Serapis, and publicly sanctioned their worship, and in a short time several temples of these gods were in existence outside the city; all these were under the control of the Government, which had frequently to be exercised in a vigorous fashion on account of the orgies and debaucheries which took place in connexion with the celebration of the festivals of Isis. From the time of Vespasian, however, the worship of Isis and Serapis grew and flourished until the general introduction of

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[1] *Pompeii, its Life and Art*, London, 1899, p. 162.

Christianity, and the festival of these gods was recognized in the public Calendar.

The chief temple of Isis in Rome stood in the Campus Martius, where the goddess was called "Isis Campensis"; and an inscription of the year 105 B.C. found at Puteoli proves that a temple of Serapis was then standing in that city.[1] The important temple of Isis at Pompeii appears to have been built soon after this date, and an inscription over the door states that it was rebuilt by Numerius Popidius Celsinus after the earthquake (that of the year 63). It has architecturally nothing suggestive of the Egyptian style, yet the plan presents a marked deviation from ordinary types. In his Eleventh Book Apuleius gives a very interesting description of the manner in which Isis was worshipped in Rome in the latter half of the second century A.D., and adds some curious details about the attributes of the goddess herself. Thus in his prayer to her he calls her "queen of heaven," *regina coeli*,[2] and he identifies her with Ceres, and Venus, and Proserpine, and refers to her in her capacity as goddess of wheat and crops. At daybreak on the day of the festival of the goddess the priest went into her temple, and threw open the doors, leaving nothing but white linen curtains across the doorway to screen the interior. When the courts were filled with people, these curtains were drawn, and the worshippers were permitted to gaze upon the image of the goddess; to it at once the people began to pray, and the women rattled their sistra, and the prayers were followed by an interval, during which the devout crowd engaged in silent prayer and contemplation of the goddess. About one hour after daybreak, i.e., when the sun had risen, the multitude sang a hymn to the newly risen god, and then departed to their homes. In the afternoon another service was held, at which sistra were shaken, and sacrifices were offered up, and incense was burnt, and an elaborate ceremony in connexion with the use of a vessel of holy Nile water was performed.

The holiest of all the sanctuaries of Isis known to the Greeks was that at Tithorea, and Pausanias tells us[3] that festivals were

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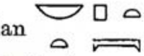
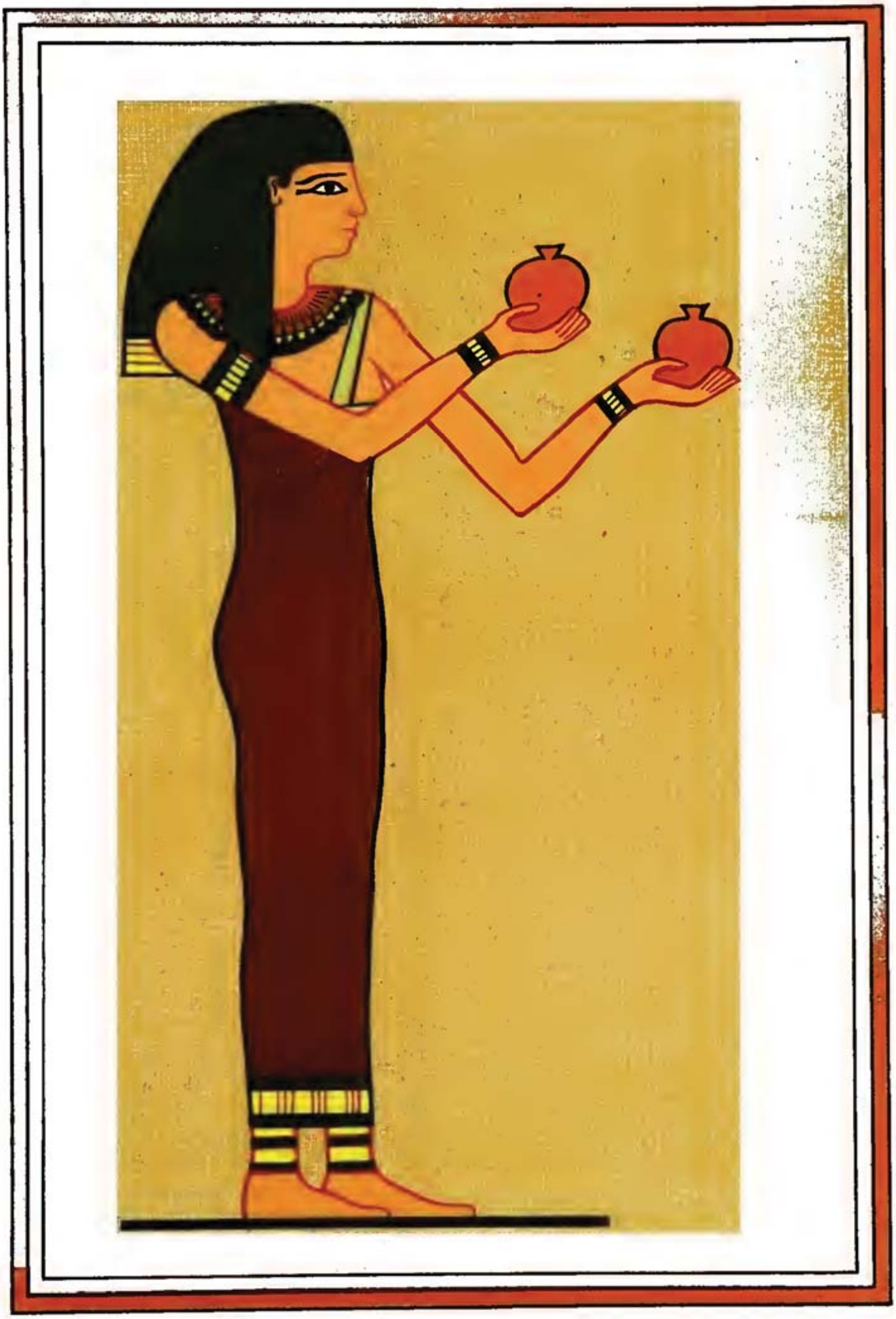
[1] *Mau*, op. cit., p. 163.

[2] The Egyptian .

[3] Book x., chap. xxxii., § 9 (J. G. Frazer's translation).

held there in honour of the goddess twice a year, one in spring and one in autumn. He says, "Two days before each festival the "persons who are free to enter the shrine clean it out in a certain "secret way; and whatever remains they find of the sacrificial "victims which were cast in at the previous festival, they always "carry them to the same spot and bury them there. The distance "of this spot from the shrine we judged to be two furlongs. That "is what they do to the sanctuary on this day. On the next day "the hucksters set up booths of reeds and other improvised "material; and on the last of the three days they hold a fair for "the sale of slaves and all kinds of cattle, also garments, and silver "and gold. After noon they betake themselves to sacrificing. "The richer people sacrifice oxen and deer, the poorer folk "sacrifice geese and guinea fowl. But it is against the custom to "use swine, sheep, and goats for this sacrifice. Those whose (duty "it is) to burn the victims, and bring them into the shrine . . . . "must wrap the victims in bandages of linen, either common linen "or fine linen; the mode of dressing them is the Egyptian. All "the animals sacrificed are led in procession; some convey the "victims into the shrine, others burn the booths in front of it and "depart in haste. They say that once upon a time, when the pyre "began to burn, a profane fellow who had no right to go down "into the shrine rashly entered it out of curiosity. The whole "place seemed to him full of spectres; and scarcely had he "returned to Tithorea and told what he had beheld when he gave "up the ghost. I have heard a like story from a Phoenician man. "He said that the Egyptians hold the festival of Isis at the time "when they say she is mourning for Osiris. At that time the Nile "begins to rise, and it is a common saying among the natives that "it is the tears of Isis that cause the river to rise and water the "fields. Well, then, my informant said that at that season the "Roman governor of Egypt bribed a man to go down to the "shrine of Isis at Coptos. The man who was thus sent in returned "from the shrine; but after he had told us all that he had beheld, "he, too, I was informed, immediately expired. Thus it appears to "be a true saying of Homer's that it is ill for mankind to see the "gods in bodily shape."

Among the various peoples by whom Isis is venerated must be mentioned those of Syria, who identified her with certain of their local goddesses, and it is clear that the early Christians bestowed some of her attributes upon the Virgin Mary. There is little doubt that in her character of the loving and protecting mother she appealed strongly to the imagination of all the Eastern peoples among whom her cult came, and that the pictures and sculptures wherein she is represented in the act of suckling her child Horus formed the foundation for the Christian figures and paintings of the Madonna and Child. Several of the incidents of the wanderings of the Virgin with the Child in Egypt as recorded in the Apocryphal Gospels reflect scenes in the life of Isis as described in the texts found on the Metternich Stele, and many of the attributes of Isis, the God-mother, the mother of Horus, and of Neith, the goddess of Saïs, are identical with those of Mary the Mother of Christ. The writers of the Apocryphal Gospels intended to pay additional honour to Mary the Virgin by ascribing to her the attributes which up to the time of the advent of Christianity they had regarded as the peculiar property of Isis and Neith and other great indigenous goddesses, and if the parallels between the mythological history of Isis and Horus and the history of Mary and the Child be considered, it is difficult to see how they could possibly avoid perceiving in the teaching of Christianity reflections of the best and most spiritual doctrines of the Egyptian religion. The doctrine of partheno-genesis was well known in Egypt in connexion with the goddess Neith of Saïs centuries before the birth of Christ; and the belief in the conception of Horus by Isis through the power given her by Thoth, the Intelligence or Mind of the God of the universe, and in the resurrection of the body and of everlasting life, is coeval with the beginnings of history in Egypt. We may note too in passing the probability that many of the heresies of the early Christian Church in Egypt were caused by the survival of ideas and beliefs connected with the old native gods which the converts to Christianity wished to adapt to their new creed. Be this, however, as it may, the knowledge of the ancient Egyptian religion which we now possess fully justifies the assertions that the rapid growth and progress of Christianity in

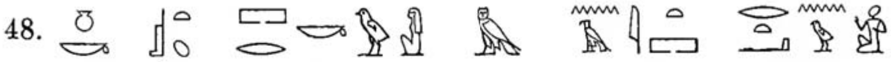


THE GODDESS MENQET.

Egypt were due mainly to the fact that the new religion, which was preached there by Saint Mark and his immediate followers, in all its essentials so closely resembled that which was the outcome of the worship of Osiris, Isis, and Horus that popular opposition was entirely disarmed. In certain places in the south of Egypt, e.g., Philae, the worship of Osiris and Isis maintained its own until the beginning of the fifth century of our era, though this was in reality due to the support which it received from the Nubians, but, speaking generally, at this period in all other parts of Egypt Mary the Virgin and Christ had taken the places of Isis and Horus, and the "God-mother," or "mother of the god," , was no longer Isis, but Mary whom the Monophysites styled Θεοτοκος.

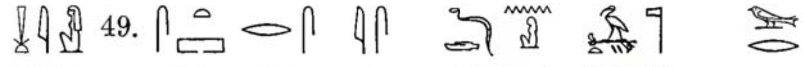
CHAPTER XIV

THE SORROWS OF ISIS[1]



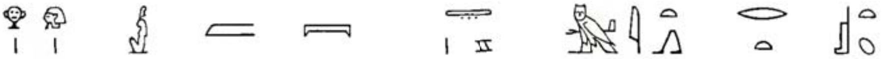
nuk Ȧst per-kuȧ em na ȧt erṭā-nuȧ

I am Isis. I came forth from the house placed me



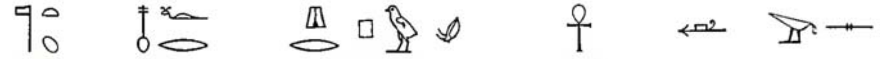
senȧ-ȧ Set er-s ȧs tcheṭ-nȧ Teḥuti ur

my brother Set in it. Behold, said to me Thoth, the great one,



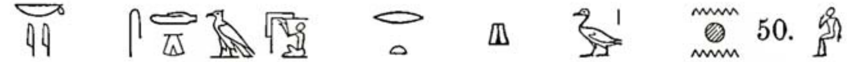
ḥer ṭep Maāt em pet ta māȧt ert Ȧst

chief of Maāt in heaven and earth, "Come, thou Isis,



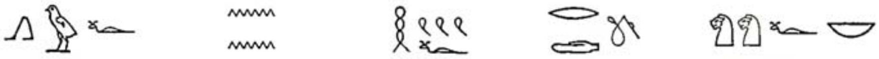
netert nefer kher pu setem ānkh uā sems

goddess, good (it is) to possess obedience; life (is to the) one (who is) led



ki seṭeḳa ert kher sa nekhen

(by) another. Hide thyself with the son child,



iu - f enen ḥāu-f ruṭ peḥpeḥ-f neb

will happen these things, his limbs (will) grow, he will grow strong wholly,

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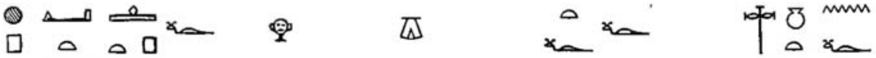
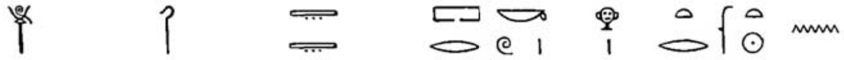
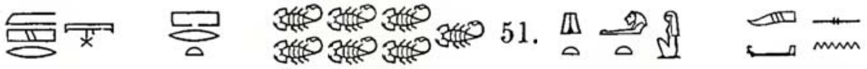
[1] See Golenischeff, *Die Metternichstele*, Leipzig, 1877, pl. 3, l. 48, ff.



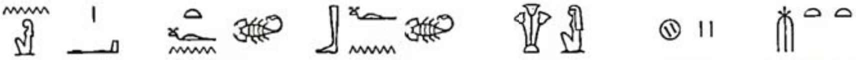
khep ṭāt ḥetep-f	*ḥer*	*nest*	*tef - f*	*netchet-nef*
and he shall be made to rest	upon	the throne	of his father,	he will obtain



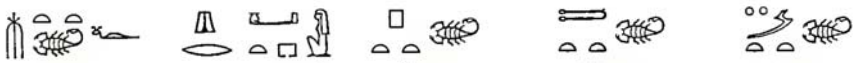
ȧat	*ḥeq*	*taui*	*per-kuȧ*	*ḥer*	*trȧt*	*en*
the dignity	of prince	of the two lands."	I came forth	at	the season	of



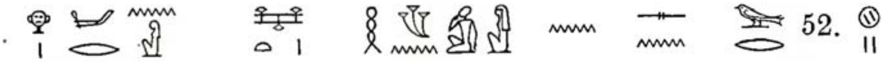
mesher	*pert*	*matet* vii.	51. *khert ḥāt-ȧ*	*maā-sen*
evening,	and came forth	seven scorpions	before me,	they continued



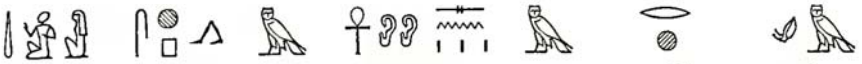
nȧ	*ā*	*Tefen*	*Befen*	*ḥa-ȧ*	*sep sen*	*Mestet*
with me at my side.		Tefen and	Befen were	behind me,	twice,	Mestet and



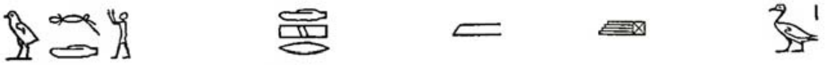
Mestetef	*kher māt-ȧ*	*Petet*	*Thetet*	*Maatet*
Mestetef were	near me,	and Petet,	and Thetet,	and Maatet



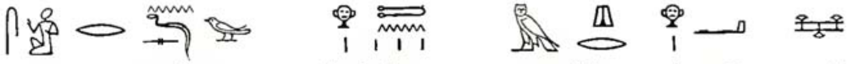
ḥer tcheser-nȧ	*uat*	*ḥen-ȧ*	*en*	*sen*	52. *ur sep sen*
showed to me	the way.	I cried out	to	them	loudly, loudly,



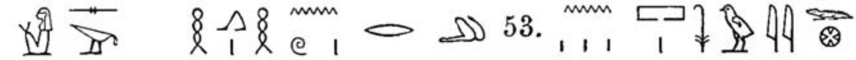
meṭ-ȧ	*sekhep*	*em*	*ānkhui-sen*	*em*	*rekh*	*setem*
my word	entered	into	their ears,	as in	(those of) a wise man;	obedience



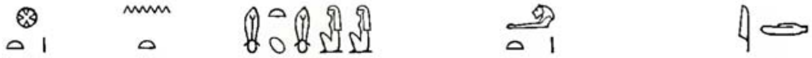
usheṭ	*ṭesher*	*em*	*sa*	*sa*
is praiseworthy,	disobedience	(is) as	the mark	of the son



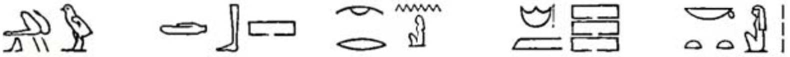
sa er netches	*ḥrȧ-then*	*em kher*	*ḥer-ā*	*uat*
of a man of low estate,	“Let your faces be	bent down	on	the way.”



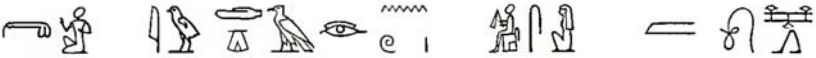
ȧri sem	*ḥeḥ-nuȧ*	*er*	*peḥ n (sic)*	*Pasui*
The leader of the company	brought me	to	the swamps	of Pasui,



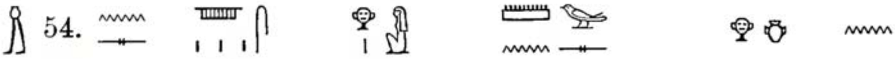
nut	*ent*	*Thebt*	*ḥāt*	*ȧṭ*
the city	of the	two Sandal-goddesses	at the beginning	of the Papyrus Swamps.



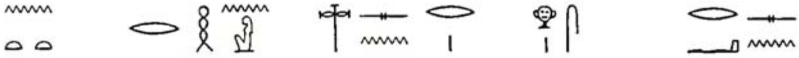
peḥ-iu	*Ṭeb*	*sper-nȧ*	*ḥem*	*ḳetut*
Having arrived at	Ṭeb	I came forth to	the houses	of the women



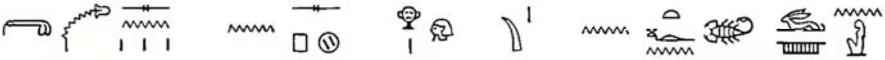
hai	*ȧu*	*ṭeḳa - nuȧ*	*sheps*	*em*	*ua*
of the governor.	Had seen	me	the chief woman	on	the march,



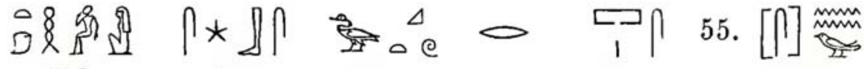
ȧn-nes	*āāiu-s*	*ḥer-ȧ*	*men-s*	*ḥer-ȧb*	*en*
she closed	her doors	upon me,	she was angry	in her heart	at



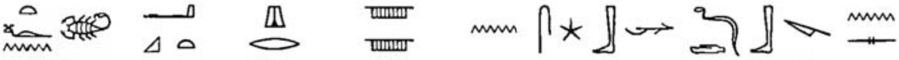
entet	*er ḥen-ȧ*	*netch-sen re*	*ḥer-s*	*erṭā-sen*
those who	were with me.	They decreed	about it	(and) they placed



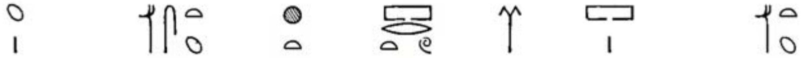
metu-sen	*en sep*	*ḥer ṭep*	*set*	*en*	*Tefen*	*un-nȧ*
their poison	all at one time	on	the tail	of	Tefen.	Opened to me



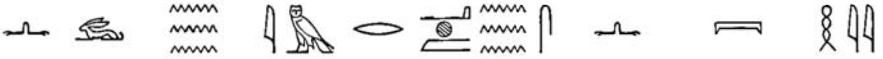
taḥ	*sba-s*	*āq-tu*	*er*	*pa-s*	55. *senen*
a poor woman	her door,	(I) entered	into	her house.	Cunningly



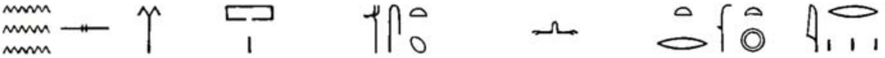
Tefen	*āqet*	*kher*	*āāiu*	*en*	*sba*	*tcheṭeb-nes*
Tefen	entered	under	the leaves	of	the door,	smote she



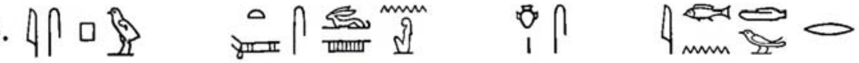
sa	*usert*	*khet*	*pertu*	*em*	*pa*	*usert*
the son	of the noble lady,	fire	broke out	in	the house	of the noble lady,



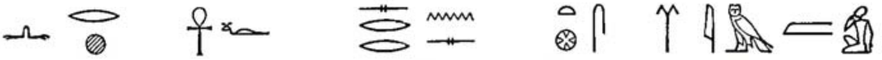
ȧn	*un*	*mu*	*ȧm*	*er*	*ākhem-s*	*ȧn*	*pet*	*ḥi*
not	was	water	there	to	quench it,	not did	heaven	let fall



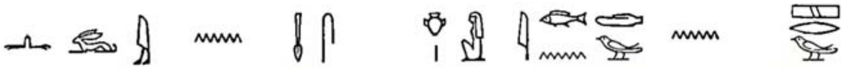
mu-s	*em*	*pa*	*usert*	*ȧn*	*trȧt*	*ȧru*
its rain	in	the house	of the lady,	not being it	the season	thereof.



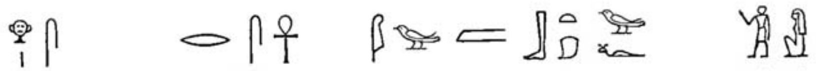
56. *ȧs pu*	*tem-s un-nȧ*	*ȧb-s*	*ȧnṭ er*
And behold,	she who had not opened to me,	her heart	(was) sad



ȧn rekh	*ānkh-f*	*serer-nes*	*nut-s*	*em*	*ȧmem*
not knowing	if he lived.	She went round through	her city	with	lamentation,

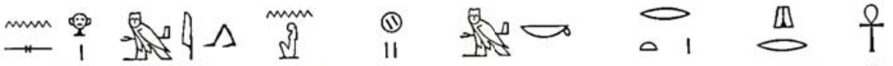


ȧn un i	*en*	*kheru-s*	*ȧb-ȧ*	*ȧnṭ*	*en*	*sher*
not came [any]	at	her call.	My heart	was sad	about	the child



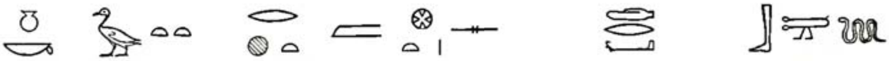
ḥer-s er seānkḥ shu em bet - f nȧs-ȧ

for her sake, (I wished) to revive (him that was) without fault. I cried out



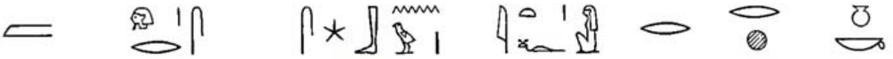
nes ḥer māȧ nȧ sep sen māk ret-ȧ kher ānkh

to her, Come to me, twice. A charm is my word having life.



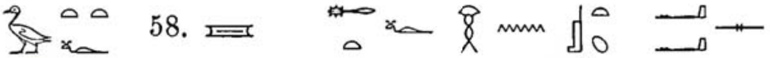
nuk satet rekht em nut-s ṭer bethet

I am a daughter known in her city, who driveth away evil



em ṭep-re-s sba-nuȧ ȧtf-ȧ er rekh nuk

by her utterance. Taught me my father to know. I am

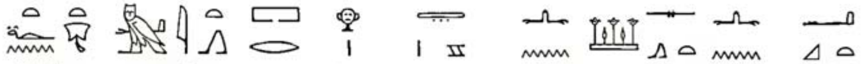


satet-f 58. *mer khat-f uaḥ en Ȧst āāui-s ḥer*

the daughter beloved of his body. Laid Isis her hands upon

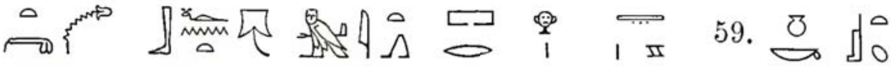
nekhen er seānkh entet em ḳa ȧḥet met

the child to vivify that of which had closed the throat. O poison



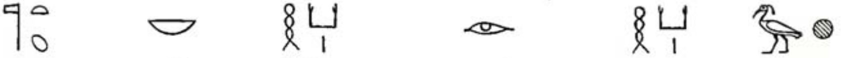
Tefen māāt per ḥer ta ȧn shaset ȧn āqet

of Tefen, come, appear on the earth, not advance, not enter in.

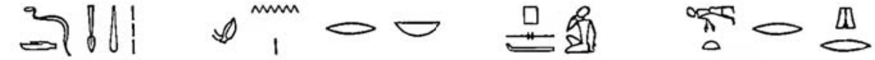


met Befent māāt per ḥer ta 59. *nuk Ȧst*

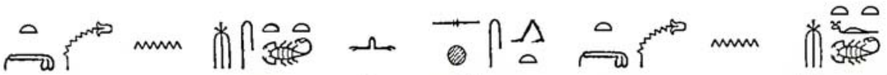
O poison of Befent, come, appear on the earth. I am Isis



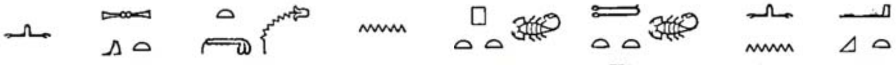
netert	*nebt*	*ḥeka*	*ȧri*	*ḥeka*	*khu*
the goddess,	lady	of words of power,	worker with	words of power,	mighty



tcheṭ kheru	*setem-nȧ*	*re neb*	*peshu*	*khert er kher*
in utterance of speech.	Hearken to me,	mouth every	(which) biteth,	fall downwards.

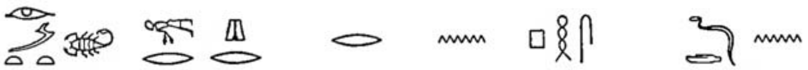


met	*en*	*Mestet*	*ȧn*	*sekheset*	*met*	*en*	*Mestetef*
Poison	of	Mestet,	not	advance,	poison	of	Mestetef

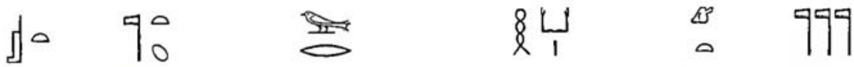


ȧn	*theset*	*met*	*en*	*Petet*	*Thetet*	*ȧn*	*āqet*
not	rise up.	Poison	of	Petet	and Thetet	not	enter.

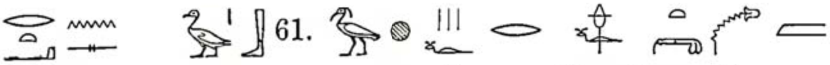
60.



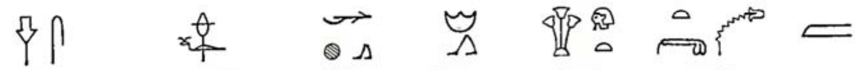
Matet	*kher kher*	*re*	*en*	*peḥes*	*tcheṭ en*
Maatet	fall down.	Chapter	of	stinging	(which) spake



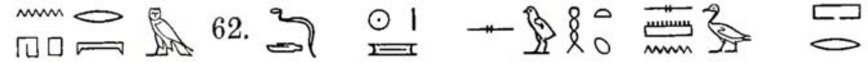
Ȧst	*netert*	*urt*	*ḥeka*	*khent*	*neteru*
Isis,	the goddess,	the great one	of words of power,	head	of the gods.



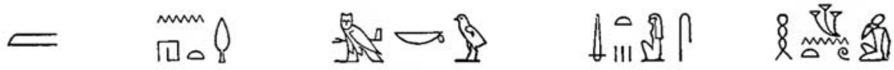
erṭāt-nes	*Seb*	61. *khu - f*	*er*	*khesef*	*met*	*em*
Had given to her ⁝	Seb	his powers	to	repulse	poison	from



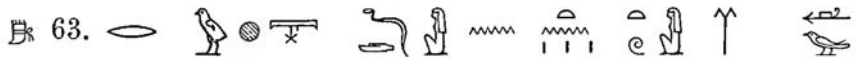
sekhem-s	*khesef*	*khet*	*ḥem*	*ḥat*	*met*	*em*
her form (?),	repulsing,	turning away,	driving back,	away back,	poison	at



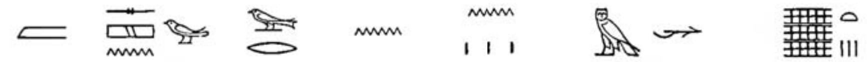
nehep er pet	*em tcheṭ*	*Rā-mer*	*suḥt*	*smen*	*per*
the dawn	saying,	“ Rā-mer,	the Egg	of the Goose	cometh forth



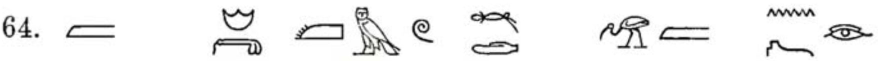
em	*nehet*	*māku*	*meṭet-s*	*ḥentu*
from	the sycamore.	A protection	(are) her words	spoken



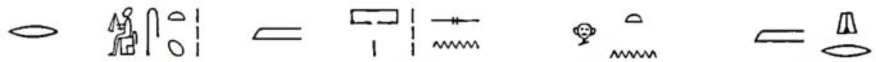
tcher	*ukh*	*tcheṭ-ȧ*	*en*	*ten*	*tu-ȧ*	*em*	*uā*
at the season	of evening.	I speak	to	you.	I am	in	loneliness



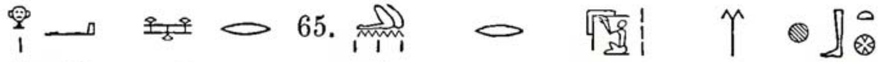
em	*seshen*	*ur*	*en*	*naiu*	*em-khet*	*sept*
and in	sorrow	greater	than	(that of) the people	throughout	the nomes,



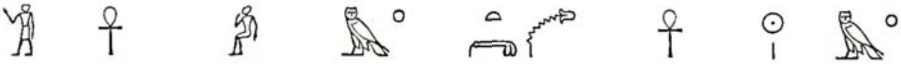
em	*nek* (?)	*qemu*	*sheṭ*	*qem*	*ennu*
(and I am) as	a man	feeble	who hath ceased	to seek out	and to look



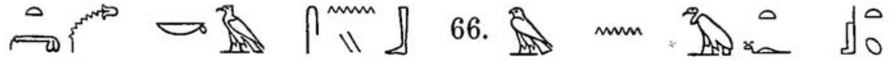
er	*shepset*	*em*	*pau-sen*	*ḥrȧ-ten*	*em kher*
upon	women	in	their houses.	Your face[s]	downwards,



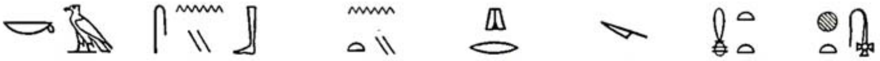
ḥer ṭā	*uat*	*er*	*peḥu*	*er*	*ȧmenu*	*em*	*Khebet*
to make	a way	to	the swamps,	to	the hidden places	in	Khebet.”



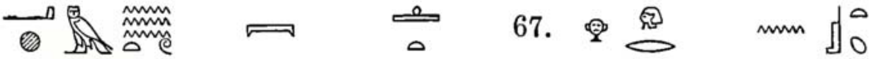
ȧ	*ānkh*	*nekhen*	*mit*	*met*	*ānkh*	*Rā*	*mit*
O	liveth	the boy,	dieth	the poison ;	liveth	Rā,	dieth



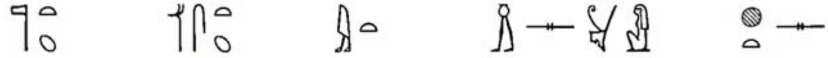
met	*ka*	*snib*	*Ḥeru*	*en*	*mut-f*	*Ȧst*
the poison.	Verily,	healthy be	Horus	for	his mother	Isis.



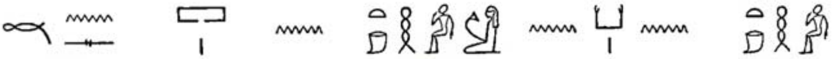
ka	*snib*	*enti*	*kher*	*meṭes*	*mȧtet*	*khet*
Verily,	healthy be	he who is	under	the knife	also.	The fire



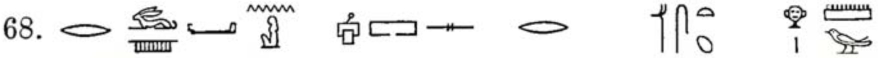
ākhem-tu	*pet*	*ḥetepet*	*ḥer ṭep re*	*en*	*Ȧst*
is extinguished,	heaven	is content	at the utterance	of	Isis,



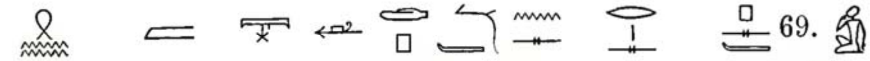
netert	*usert*	*it*	*ȧn-s-nȧ*	*khet-s*
the goddess.	The lady	(who) came,	(she who) had shut on me	her house,



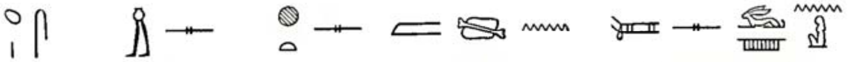
meḥ-nes	*pa*	*en*	*taḥ*	*en ka en*	*taḥ*
she seized	the house	of	the poor woman	because	the poor woman



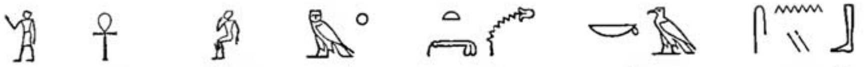
er un - nȧ	*sa - s*	*er*	*usert*	*ḥer men*
had opened to me	her door.	Wherefore	the lady	was in pain



shenen	*em*	*ḳerḥ*	*uā*	*ṭep - nes*	*re-s*	*peshu*
and sorrow	during	night	one,	she tasted	her speech.	Was stung



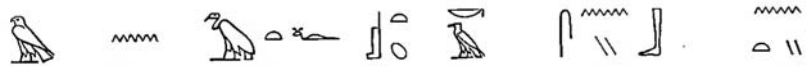
sa-s	*ȧn-s*	*khet-s*	*em ȧsu en*	*tem-s un-nȧ*
her son,	was closed for her	her house	in return for	her not having opened to me.



ȧ ānkh nekhen mit met ka senib

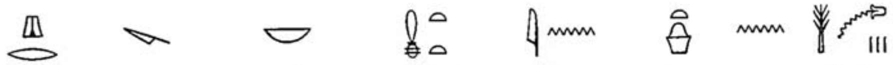
O liveth the child, dieth the poison. Verily shall be sound

70.



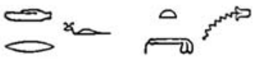
Ḥeru en mut - f Ȧst ka snib enti

Horus through his mother Isis. Verily shall be sound he who is

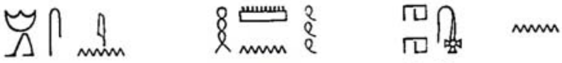


kher meṭes neb mȧtet ȧn ta en beti

under the knife every one likewise. Shall not bread of barley

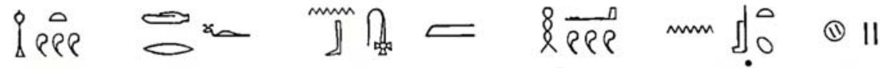


71.



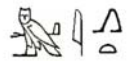
ṭer - f met ḥem-s ȧn ḥemen ḥāu heh en

drive out poison? It shall return through all the limbs the flame of

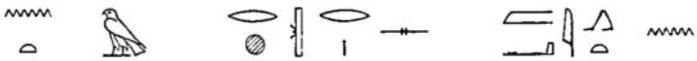


ḥetchet ṭer - f neb em ḥāu en Ȧst sep sen

ḥetchet and drive out the fire from the members Isis. Twice.

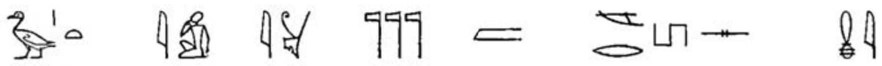


72.



māȧ-t net Ḥeru rekh re-s māȧ-t en

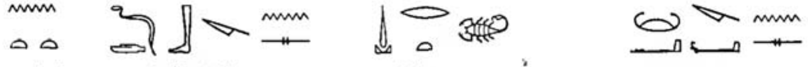
Come thou to Horus. Thou whose mouth is wise come thou to



sa-t ȧ ȧn neteru em mer - s mȧ

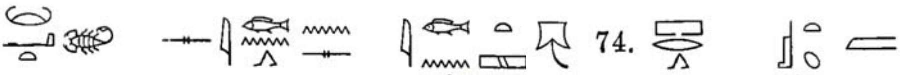
thy son. "Hail," say the gods in her neighbourhood, like

73.

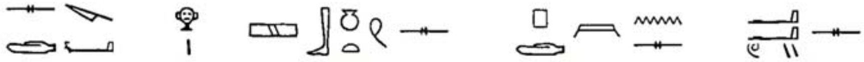


entet tcheṭeb nes Tchart beḥā-nes

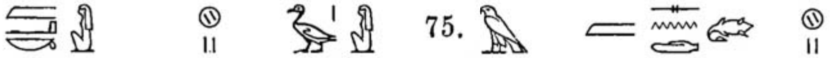
one whom has stung the scorpion Tchart, whom hath pierced



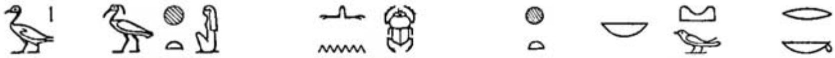
Beḥāt	*sȧn - nes*	*Ȧntesh*	74.	*per*	*Ȧst*	*em*
Beḥāt,	whom hath put to flight	Ȧntesh.		Appeared	Isis	as



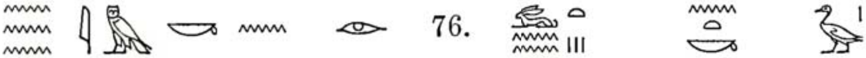
seṭ	*ḥer*	*shebenet-s*	*peṭ-nes*	*āāui-s*
one who was wounded	in	her body.	She stretched out	her arms,



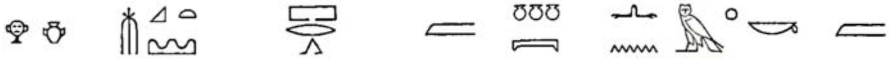
māk-ȧ	*sep sen*	*sa-ȧ*	75.	*Ḥeru*	*em*	*senṭ*	*sep sen*
I will protect,	twice,	my son		Horus.	Fear not,		twice,



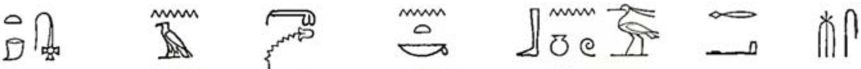
sa	*khut-ȧ*	*ȧn kheper*	*khet*	*neb*	*ṭu*	*erek*
O son,	my glory.	Not shall happen	thing	any	evil	unto thee.



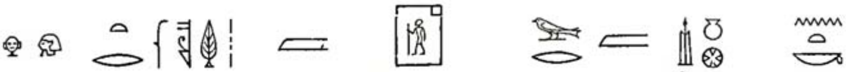
mu	*ȧm-k*	*en*	*ȧri*	76.	*unnet*	*entek*	*sa*
Seed	is in thee	for	making		things which are to be.	Thou art	the son



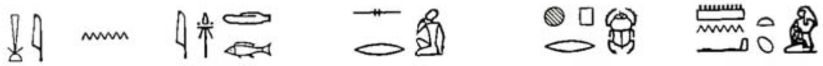
ḥer-ȧb	*Mesqet*	*per*	*em*	*Mu*	*ȧn mit-k*	*em*
within	Mesqet,	proceeding	from	Nu,	not shalt thou die	by



ta	*na*	*met*	*entek*	*Bennu*	*āā*	*mes*
the flame	of the	poison.	Thou art	the Bennu	Great	born

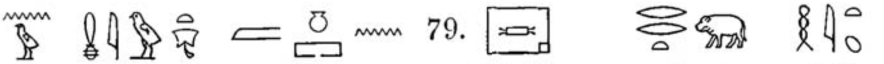


ḥer ṭep	*trȧ*	*em*	*Ḥet-ser*	*ur*	*em*	*Ȧnnu*	*entek*
on	the incense trees	in	the House of the Prince	great	in	Ȧnnu.	Thou art

78.


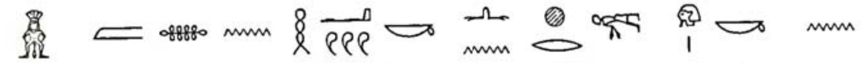
senȧ en Ȧbṭ ser kheper menāt

the brother of the Ȧbt Fish, the disposer of what is to be, nursed



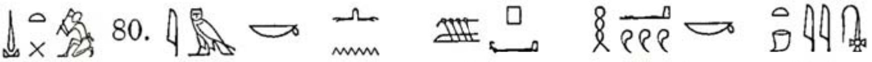
nu mȧut em khen en Ḥet Net Rert Ḥȧt

by the cat within the House of Net. 79. Rert, and Ḥȧt,



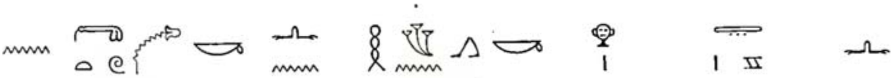
Bes em sa en ḥāu-k ȧn kher ṭep-k en

and Bes, protect thy limbs. Not shall fall thy head before



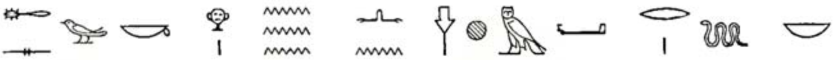
tchat ȧm-k ȧn shep ḥāu-k tai

him that is hostile to thee. 80. Not shall conquer thy limbs the fire



en metu-k ȧn ḥen-k ḥer ta ȧn

of thy poison. Not shalt thou fall on the ground, not

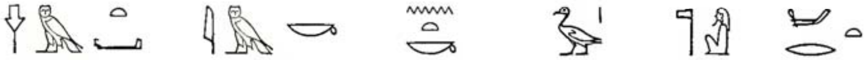
81.


khas-k ḥer mu ȧn sekhem re neb

shalt thou be in peril on water. Not shall have the mastery reptile any

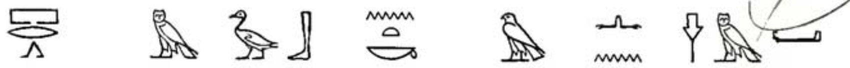
pesḥ ȧm-k ȧn rehen mai neb

stinging over thee. Not shall crush thee lion any



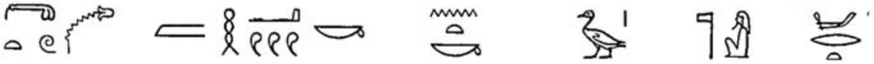
sekhemet ȧm-k entek su neter tchesert

(or) be master over thee. Thou art the son of a god holy

82. 

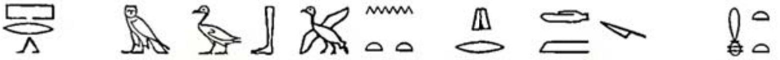
per em Seb entek Ḥeru ȧn sekhem

proceeding from Seb. Thou art Horus, not shall have the mastery



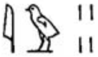
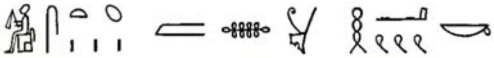
metu em ḥāu-k entek sa neter tchesert

the poison in thy limbs. Thou art the son of a god holy



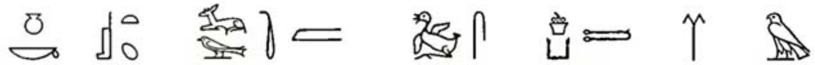
per em Seb pa entet kher ṭem mȧtet

proceeding from Seb. (With him) that is under the knife likewise (is it).

 83. 

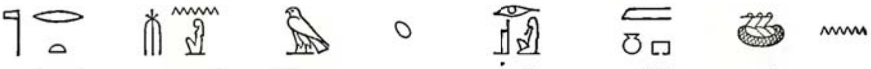
ȧu iv. shepset em sa en ḥāu-k

The four holy goddesses protect thy limbs. . . . .

168. 

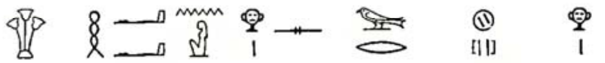
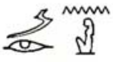
nuk Ȧst āuur-th em tcha-s baka-th em Ḥeru

I am Isis, who conceived her male child, and was heavy with Horus.



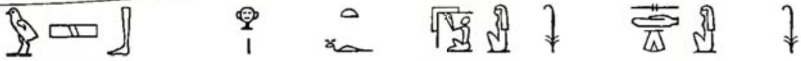
netert mes-nȧ Ḥeru sa Ȧsȧr em khen sesh en

A goddess I bore Horus, son of Osiris, within a nest of

 169. 

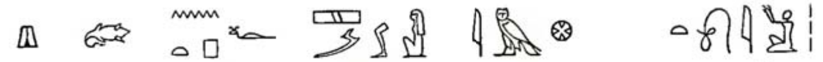
ȧṭeḥ ḥāā-nȧ ḥer-s ur sep sen ḥer maa-nȧ

papyrus plants. I rejoiced over it greatly, twice, because I saw (in him)



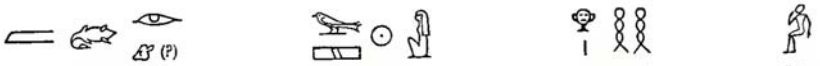
usheb ḥer ȧt-f ȧmen-ȧ su seṭeḳ-ȧ su

one who would answer for his father. I hid him, I concealed him



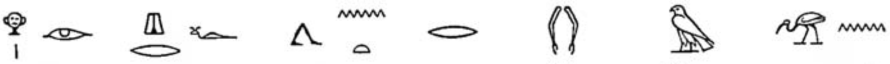
kher sent netep-f shema-ȧ ȧm tuȧ

having fear of his being bitten. I went to the city Ȧm, (the people) saluted



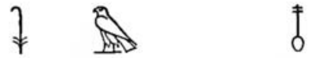
em sent ȧri . . . . ursh-ȧ ḥer ḥeḥ nekhen

according to custom. I spent the time in seeking for the boy

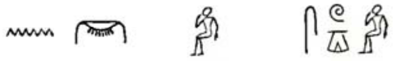


ḥer ȧri kher-f ḥem net er sekhen Ḥeru qem-nȧ

to make his food. I returned to embrace Horus, I found



170.

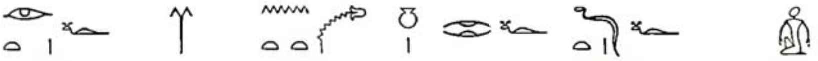


su Ḥeru nefer en nub nekhen suḳ

him, Horus, the beautiful one of gold, the boy, the child,

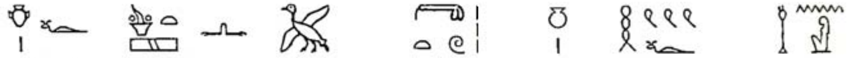
ȧtet-f netef-nef taiu em mu nu

he was nothing. He had bedewed the ground with the water of



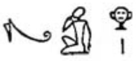
maat-f em netet nu septi-f tchet-f urṭ

his eye, and with the foam of his lips; his body was motionless,

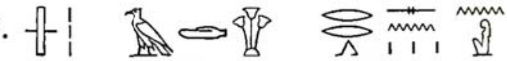


ȧb-f betesh ȧn pa metu nu ḥāu-f utu-nȧ

his heart still, not moved the muscles of his body. I sent forth

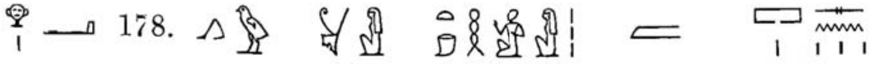


. . . . 177.



tȧa ḥer ȧmu aṭeḥ rer-sen nȧ

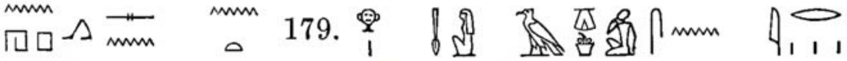
a cry . . . . The dwellers in the swamp they came round me



178.

ḥer ā iu nȧ taḥu em pau-sen

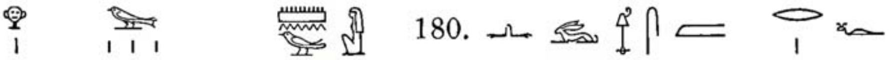
at once, came to me the fenmen from their houses,



179.

nehep - sen net ḥer kheru-ȧ aḳeb - sen ȧru

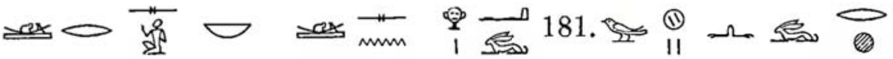
they drew nigh to me at my call, they wept, even they,



180.

ḥer uru men-ȧ ȧn un s em re - f

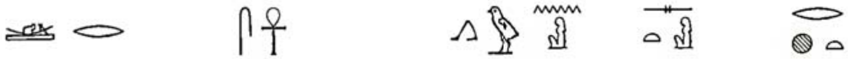
at the greatness of my misery. There was none who opened his mouth



181.

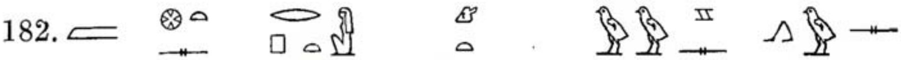
ȧm er sa neb ȧm-sen ḥer āun sep sen ȧn un rekh

there, man every among them grieved greatly. There was none knowing



ȧm er seānkh iu-nȧ set rekht

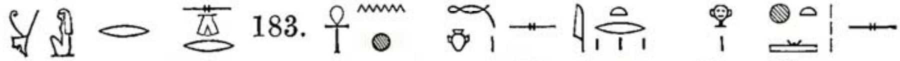
there to make to live (Horus). Came to me a woman well known



182.

em nut-s erpet khent uu-s iu-s

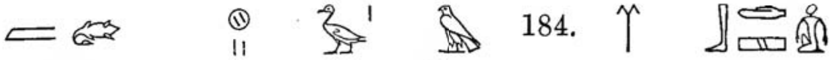
in her city, a lady at the head of her district. She came



183.

nȧ er se-ḳer ānkh meḥ ȧb-s ȧteru ḥer khet - s

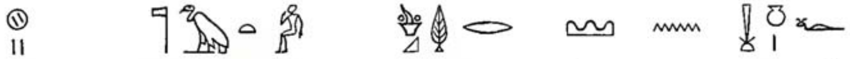
to me to restore life, her heart was filled with her affairs



184.

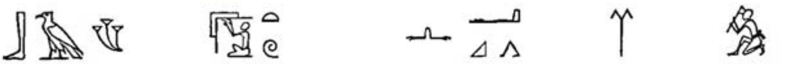
em senṭ sep sen sa Ḥeru em beṭesh

according to wont. Twice. The son Horus (was) in inactivity.



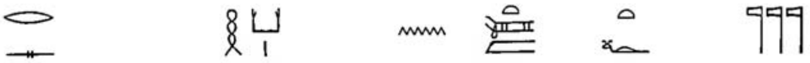
sep sen neter mut nekhen baq er ṭu en sen - f

Twice. The son of the mother of the god was safe from the evil of his brother.

185. 

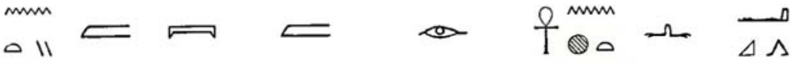
ba ȧmen-tu ȧn āq em khefti

The plants were hidden, not could enter there an enemy



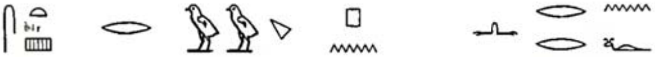
er-es ḥeka en Tem tef neteru

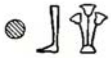
into them. The word of power of Tem father of the gods,

186. 

enti em pet em ȧri ānkhet ȧn āq

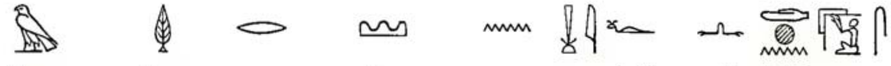
who is in heaven, was as the maker of life, not entered



187. 

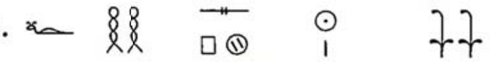
Set er uu pen ȧn rer-nef Kheb

Set into region this, not could he go about Kheb.



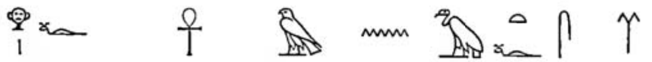
Ḥeru baq er ṭu en senȧ-f ȧn ṭekhen-s

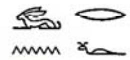
Horus was smitten by the wickedness of his brother. Not had she hidden

188. 

ȧmu shesu - f ḥeḥ sep hru enen

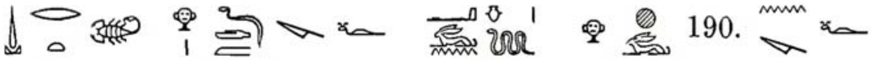
those who were in his service many time[s] a day. These (said)



189. 

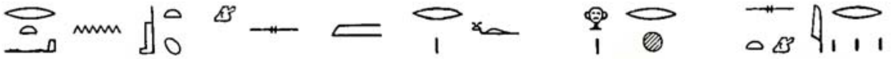
ḥer-f ānkh Ḥeru en mut-f s em un-eref

concerning him, "Shall live Horus for his mother?" they found where he was,



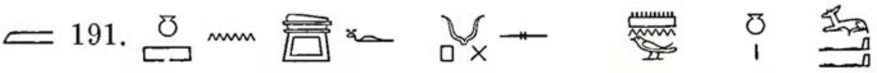
tchart ḥer tcheṭem - f āun-ȧb ḥer 190. *khun - f*

and a Scorpion stung him, and the slayer of the heart hath stabbed him.



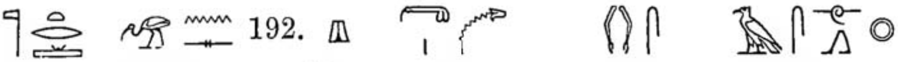
erṭā en Ȧst fenṭ-s em re-f ḥer rekh set ȧru

Placed Isis her nose in his mouth to know if had breath



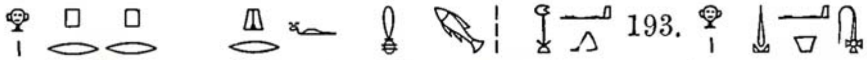
em 191. *khen en sheta - f ȧp - s men nu āuāā*

he who was in his coffin. She opened the wound of the heir



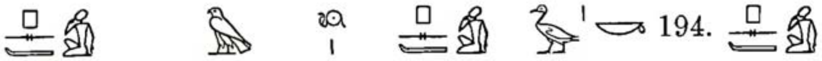
netert qem-nes 192. *kher met sekhen-s asta*

divine, she found it possessing poison. She embraced him hurriedly



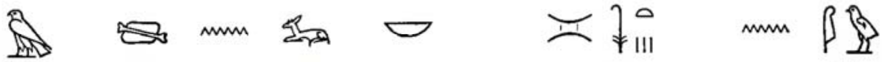
ḥer perper kher - f mȧ remu khaā 193. *ḥer tchā*

and leaped about with him like a fish laid upon a fire



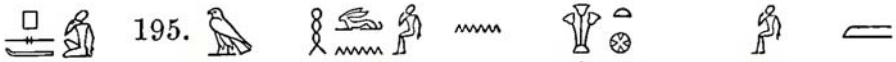
pesḥ Ḥeru Rā pesḥ sa-k 194. *pesḥ*

(saying,) Stung is Horus, O Rā, stung is thy son. Stung is



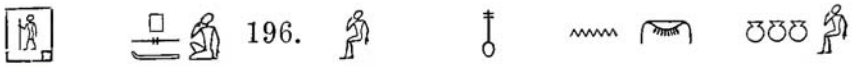
Ḥeru āā en āu neb . . . . en Shu

Horus, heir of heir, lord of the [pillars ?] of Shu.



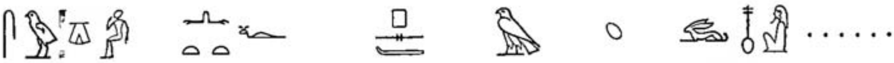
pesḥ 195. *Ḥeru ḥun en Ȧṭḥet nekhen em*

Stung is Horus, the child of the papyrus swamp, the child in



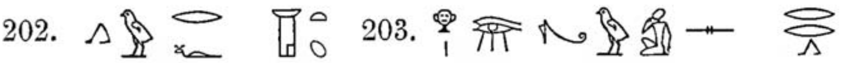
Ḥet-ser pesḥ nekhen nefer en nub nu

Ḥet-ser. Stung is the child beautiful of gold. The child,



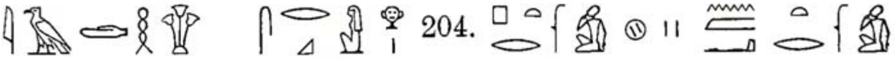
suḳ ȧtet - f pesḥ Ḥeru sa Un-nefer

the babe, he is nothing. Stung is Horus, son of Un-nefer.



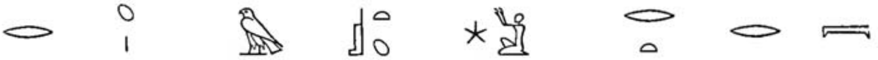
iu eref Nebt-ḥet ḥer rem tȧau-s rer

Then came Nephthys weeping, she cried, going about



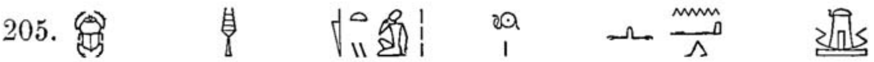
ȧaṭeḥ Serq ḥer petrȧ sep sen nimā trȧ

the swamp, and Serqet (who said), What, twice, what then is



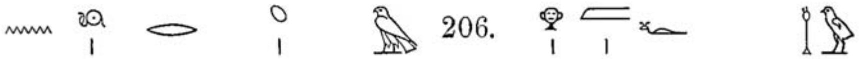
er sa Ḥeru Ȧst ṭua ert er pet

to the child Horus, Isis? pray thou therefore to heaven



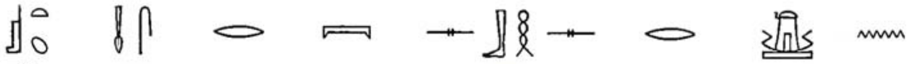
kheper āḥā qeti Rā ȧn nā uȧa

so that may a stop to the sailors of Rā, not will travel the boat
come

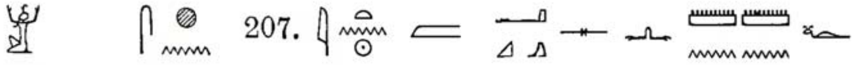


en Rā er sa Ḥeru ḥer ḳes-f utu

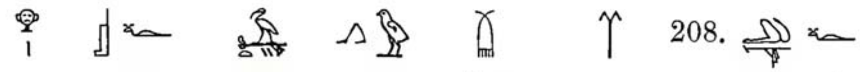
of Rā from the son Horus from where he is. Sent forth



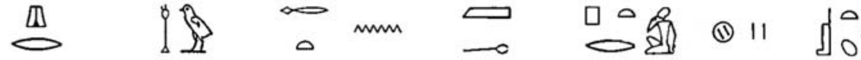
Ȧst	*kheru-s*	*er*	*pet*	*sebeḥ-s*	*er*	*uȧa*	*en*
Isis	her cry	to	heaven,	her prayer	(was) to	Boat	of



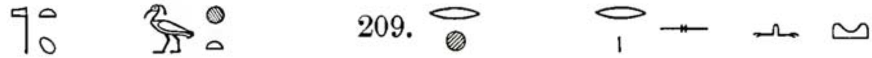
ḥeḥ	*sekhen*	*ȧten*	*em*	*āq-s*	*ȧn menmen-f*
Millions of years.	Stood still	the disk	at	her coming,	not moved he



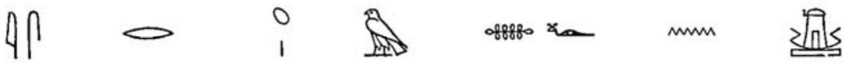
ḥer	*ȧst-f*	*Teḥuti*	*iu*	*āper*	*em*	*peḥ - f*
on	his seat.	Thoth	came	provided	with	his magic power,



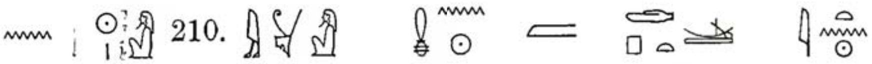
kher	*utu*	*āat*	*en*	*maākheru*	*peter*	*sep sen*	*Ȧst*
possessing	command	great	of	*maā-kheru.*	What,	twice,	Isis,



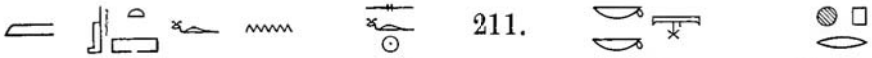
netert	*khut*	*rekh*	*re - s*	*ȧn*	*ṭu*
goddess,	mighty one,	understanding (with)	her mouth,	not	evil



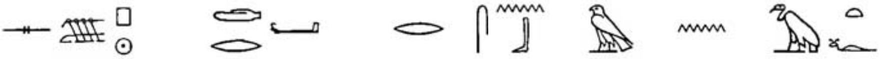
ȧs	*er*	*sa*	*Ḥeru*	*sa-f*	*en*	*uȧa*
behold	shall be to	the son	Horus,	his protection	is from	the boat



en	*Rā*	*i-nȧ*	*mȧn*	*em*	*ṭept*	*ȧten*
of	Rā.	I have come	to-day	in	the boat	of the disk

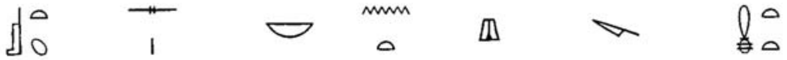


em	*ȧst - f*	*en*	*sef*	211.	*kek*	*kheper*
from	its place	of	yesterday.		When the night	cometh



seshep	*ṭer*	*er*	*senb*	*Ḥeru*	*en*	*mut - f*
the light	driveth (it) away	to	heal	Horus	for	his mother

212.



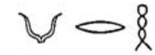
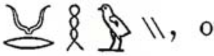
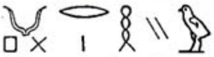
Ast	*sa*	*neb*	*ent*	*kher*	*maten*	*mȧtet*
Isis	(and) person	every	who is	under	the knife	likewise.

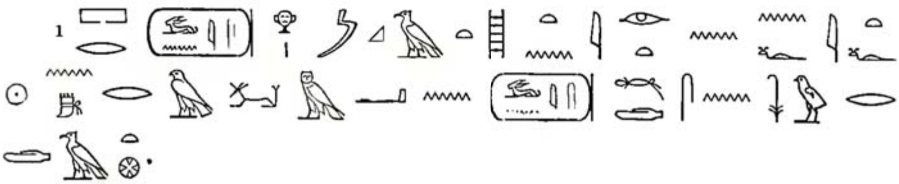
CHAPTER XIV

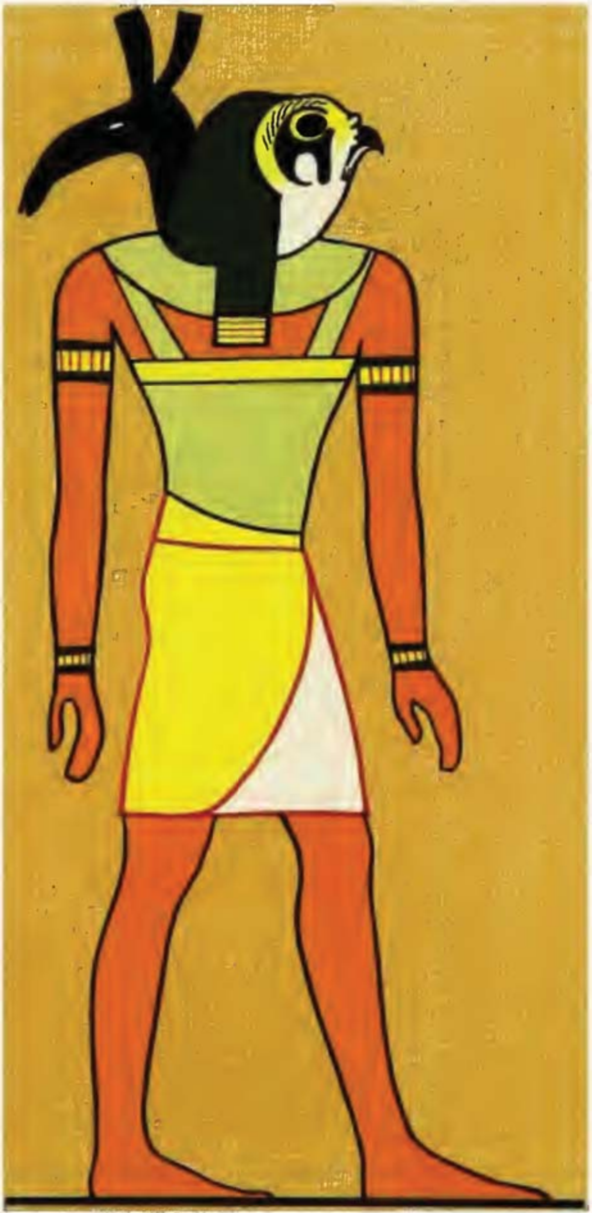
SET, 𓋴𓏏𓈙, 𓋴𓏏𓈙𓃩, OR SUTI, 𓇓𓅱𓏏𓏭𓀭, AND NEPHTHYS

SET, the Σήθ of Plutarch, and the god who was identified with Typhon in late times, was, according to the Heliopolitan system of mythology, the son of Seb and Nut, the brother of Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys, the husband of Nephthys, and the father of Anubis; the worship of the god is, however, very much older than this system, and in primitive times the attributes of the god were very different from those which are usually ascribed to him in the late dynastic period. In the Pyramid Texts we find Set associated very closely with Horus, and he always appears in them in the character of a god who is a friend and helper of the dead. It will be remembered that according to one myth the floor of heaven was made of a vast, rectangular plate of iron, the four corners of which rested upon four pillars which served to mark the cardinal points. At certain places this iron plate was thought to be so near the tops of the mountains that the deceased might easily clamber on to it and so obtain admission into heaven, but at others the distance between it and the earth was so great that he needed help to reach it. A legend current in early times asserted that Osiris experienced some difficulty in getting on to the iron plate, and that he only succeeded in doing so by means of a ladder with which Rā provided him. Even then Osiris appears to have found some difficulty in mounting the ladder, and he was finally helped to ascend it by Ḥeru-ur and Set, who were twin gods. Thus in the text of Pepi I. (line 192), the deceased is made to say, "Homage "to thee, O divine Ladder! Homage to thee, O Ladder of Set! "Stand thou upright, O divine Ladder! Stand thou upright, O

"Ladder of Set! Stand thou upright, O Ladder of Horus, whereby "Osiris came forth into heaven." In the text of Unȧs (line 493) it is said, "Unas cometh forth upon the Ladder which his "father Rā hath made for him, and Horus and Set take the hand "of Unȧs, and they lead him into the Ṭuat."[1] On the other hand, in another passage Rā and Horus are said to set up the Ladder for Osiris (line 579 ff.), but even so when the dead king "standeth up "he is Horus, and when he sitteth down he is Set."

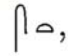
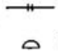
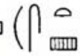
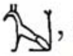
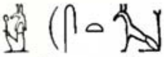
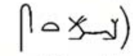
The association of Set with Horus in these and many other passages well illustrates the antiquity of the cult of Set, and helps us to understand his attributes. Here we find him regarded as the equal in every respect of Ḥeru-ur, i.e., "Horus the Elder," who was admittedly one of the oldest gods in Egypt, and it was considered necessary for the welfare of the deceased that Set should be propitiated, and his favour secured. From other passages, however, it is clear that there existed opposition and hostility between Ḥeru-ur and Set, and that the destruction of one god by the other was only prevented by Thoth, who in his capacity as regulator of the strife which existed between the two gods, was called ȦP-REḤU, , or ȦP-REḤUI, , or , i.e., "Judge of the two opponent gods," and thus it is clear that even in the period of the Early Empire Set was regarded both as the enemy of Ḥeru-ur and as a god who could be of service to the dead in the Underworld, and who if he were not a friend to him would certainly be a foe. From the fact that Ḥeru-ur and Set were thought to be always in opposition we are justified in assuming that the attributes of the former god were exactly contrary to those of the latter, and the assumption is supported by the evidence of the hieroglyphic texts. Ḥeru-ur, as we have already seen, was the god of the sky by day, and Set was the god of the sky by night; this fact is proved by the figures

[1] 



THE DUAL GOD HORUS-SET.

of the double god which are found in mythological scenes whereon the head of Ḥeru-ur and the head of Set are seen upon one body. The attributes of Ḥeru-ur changed somewhat in early dynastic times, but they were always the opposite of those of Set, whether we regard the two gods as personifications of two powers of nature, i.e., Light and Darkness, Day and Night, or as Kosmos and Chaos, or as Life and Death, or as Good and Evil.

The signification of the name of Set is not easy to determine. Ḥeru, or Horus, certainly means "he who is above," and by analogy the name Set ought to mean something like "he who is below;" and in proof of this Dr. Brugsch calls attention[1] to the well-known Coptic words, ϩⲣⲁⲓ "above," and ⲉⲥⲏⲧ "below." The hieroglyphic form of the name Sᴇᴛ, , or , has for its determinative either a stone, (), or the figure of an animal, , or (, or ); the former of these indicates that the god was the personification of the stony or desert land and the regions of death, but the signification of the latter is not so easy to understand because the animal has not yet been identified. The pictures of the animal which was supposed to be the incarnation of Set represent it with a head something like that of a camel, with curious, pricked ears, and a straight tail, bifurcated at the end. In the absence of any facts on the subject we must assume that the animal which was the symbol of Set was one that prowled about by night in the deserts and in waste places of the towns and cities, and that his disposition was hostile to man, and wicked generally, and that owing to his evil reputation he was hunted and slain with such diligence that he became extinct in comparatively early times.

The region in which the Set animal lived appears to have been situated in the South, and the god Set became, in consequence, the god of the South, just as Ḥeru-ur became the god of the North, and as such he assisted at the coronation ceremonies of kings. Thus a relief[2] at Thebes represents Horus and Set standing one on each side of Seti I., and each god is pouring out a libation of "life" over the head of the king; and in another scene[1] Horus and Set are represented in the act of placing the double crown of the South and the North upon the head of Rameses II. Horus says to the king, "I will give thee a life like unto that of Rā, and years even as the years of Tem," and Set says, "I stablish the "crown upon thy head even like the Disk (𓇋𓏠𓈖) [on the head of] "Ȧmen Rā, and I will give thee all life, and strength, and health;" in his character of giver of life each god holds in his hand the notched palm branch, 𓆳, symbol of "years," which rests upon a frog, 𓆏, and 𓍶, the emblem of the Sun's path in the heavens and of eternity. In yet another scene[2] we find Set teaching Thothmes III. the use of the bow in connexion with the emblem of the goddess Neith, whilst Horus instructs him how to wield some weapon, which appears to be a staff. According to Dr. Brugsch,[3] Set was the god of the downward motion of the sun in the lower hemisphere, in a southerly direction, and for this reason he was the source of the destructive heat of summer; and since the days began to diminish after the summer solstice, it was declared that he stole the light from Horus or Rā, and he was held to be the cause of all the evil, both physical and moral, which resulted therefrom. The light which Thoth brought with the new moon was withdrawn by Set as soon as it was possible for him to obtain power over that luminary, and he was, naturally, thought to be the cause of clouds, mist, rain, thunder and lightning, hurricanes and storms, earthquakes and eclipses, and in short of every thing which tended to reverse the ordinary course of nature and of law and order. From a moral point of view he was the personification of sin and evil.

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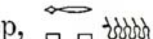
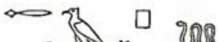
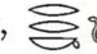
[1] *Religion*, p. 702.

[2] Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pl. 375.

The mythological and religious texts of all periods contain many allusions to the fight which Set waged against Horus, and more than one version of the narrative is known. In the first and simplest form the story merely records the natural opposition of Day to Night, or Night to Day, and the two Combatant gods were Ḥeru-ur, or Horus the Elder, and Set. In its second form the two Combatant gods are Rā and Set, and the chief object of the latter is to prevent Rā from appearing in the East daily. The form which Set assumed on these occasions was that of a monster serpent, and he took with him as helpers a large number of small serpents and noxious creatures of various kinds. The name of the serpent was Āpep, , or Āāapef, , which is preserved in Coptic under the form ⲁⲡⲱⲫ, but he was also called Rerek, , and since he was identified with a long series of serpent monsters he had as many names as Rā. The weapons with which Āpep fought were cloud, mist, rain, darkness, etc., and Rā, his opponent, was armed with the burning and destroying heat of the sun, and the darts and spears of light. The result of the fight was always the same; Āpep was shrivelled and burnt up by Rā, but he was able to renew himself daily, and at the end of each night he collected his fiends, and waged war against Rā with unabated vigour. In the third form of the story the Combatant gods are Osiris and Set, and we have already seen how Set slew his brother and persecuted his widow and child, and how he escaped punishment because Osiris had, at the time of his death, none to avenge his cause. In the fourth form of the story the Combatant gods are Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, and Set, and the avowed intention of Horus is to slay him that slew his father Osiris.

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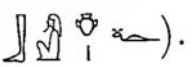
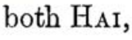
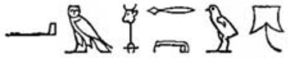
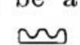
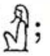
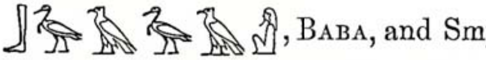
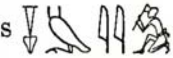
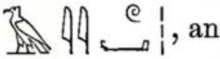
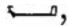
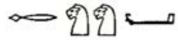
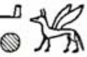
[1] Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pl. 374. [2] *Ibid.*, pl. 376. [3] *Religion*, p. 703.

The two gods fought in the forms of men, and afterwards in the forms of bears, and Horus would certainly have killed Set, whom he had fettered, had not Isis taken pity upon her brother and loosed his bonds and set him free. The fight between Horus, son of Osiris and Isis, and Set, had a very important bearing on the destinies of the dead, for to it was attached the moral idea of the victory of Good over Evil, and the deceased was believed to conquer Set even as Osiris had done. Thus in the *Book of the Dead* (ix. 3), he says, "I have come, I have seen my divine father Osiris. "I have stabbed the heart of Suti" (i.e., Set); and from Chapter xviii.H 1 ff., we may see that although the fiends of Set changed themselves into wild beasts on the night of the breaking and turning up of the earth in Ṭaṭṭu, Osiris, by the help of Thoth, slew them, and mixed their blood with the sods. In Chapter

xxiii. 2, we find the deceased praying that Thoth will come to him, and will by means of his words of power loose the bandages wherewith Set has fettered his mouth; and in Chapter xxxix. 15, we find him declaring that he is Set who "letteth loose the storm-clouds "and the thunder in the horizon of heaven, even as doth the god "Netcheb-àb-f, (). Elsewhere (xl. 1 ff.) Āpep is called both HAI, , and Àm-āau, , i.e., the "Eater of the Ass," and he is declared to be a being abominable both to Osiris and to the god Ḥaàs, , or ; the Ass referred to here is, of course, Rā; the Ass was regarded in one aspect as a solar animal because of his great virility. On the other hand, certain passages prove that even in the XVIIIth Dynasty Set was regarded as a god who was friendly towards the deceased, for we read (xvii. 131), "Tem hath "built thy house, Shu and Tefnut have founded thy habitation; lo! "drugs are brought, and Horus purifieth and Set strengtheneth, "and Set purifieth and Horus strengtheneth." In the Chapter of the deification of members, the backbone of the deceased is identified with the backbone of Set (xlii. 12), and elsewhere the deceased says (l.B 2) "Suti and the company of the gods have joined together "my neck and my back strongly, and they are even as they were "in the time that is past; may nothing happen to break them "apart." But in Chapter lxxxvi. 6, the deceased says, "Set, son of Nut, [lieth] under the fetters which he had made for me;" and elsewhere (cviii. 8), he is said "to depart, having the harpoon "of iron in him," and to have thrown up everything which he had eaten and to have been put in a place of restraint.

A statement in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* (§ 62), informs us that Typhon was called Seth, and Bebo, and Smy, "all of them "words of one common import, and expressing certain violent and "forcible restraint and withholding, as likewise contrariety and "subversion; we are, moreover, informed by Manetho that the "load-stone is by the Egyptians called the 'bone of Horus,' as "iron is, the 'bone of Typho.'" This information is of considerable interest, for it makes the identity of Set and

Typhon[1] certain, and it is, moreover, supported by the evidence of the inscriptions. The name Seth is, of course, Set, ; Bebo is the Egyptian , Baba, and Smy is , Smai, the well-known Egyptian name for Set as the Arch-Fiend. The associates of Set were called Smaiu, , and the determinative , shows that the idea of "violence" was implied in the name. That iron was connected with Set or Typhon is quite clear from the passage quoted by Dr. Brugsch[2] in which Thoth is said to have obtained from Set the knife with which he cut up the bull.

It has been said above that the serpent and the Set animal were the common symbols of Set, but instances are known in which he is represented in the form of a man, wearing a beard and a tail, and holding the usual symbols of divinity. In the example figured by Lanzone[3] the god is called "mighty-one of two-fold strength," , and is accompanied by Nephthys, who wears upon her head a pair of horns and a disk. Now, as Set was the personification of the powers of darkness, and of evil, and of the forces of the waters which were supposed to resist light and order, a number of beasts which dwelt in the waters, or at least partly on land and partly in the water, were regarded as symbols of him and as beings wherein he took up his habitation. Among these were the serpent Āpep, the fabulous beast, Ākhekh, , which was a species of antelope with a bird's head surmounted by three uraei, and a pair of wings, the hippopotamus, the crocodile, the pig, the turtle, the ass, etc. These animals were, however, not the only ones which were regarded as types of Set, for as Dr. Brugsch has rightly observed, every creature which was snared or caught in the waters or hunted in the desert, was treated as an incarnation of Set; and animals with red, or reddish-brown hair or skins, and even red-haired men were supposed to be especially under the influence of Set. On the other hand, the animals which were used by man in the chase, i.e., dogs, cheetas, etc., and certain other animals, e.g., lions, cats, etc., were held to be sacred to the gods, and according to Plutarch (*De Iside*, § 72), "the gods, "through a dread of Typho, metamorphosed themselves into these "animals, concealing themselves as it were from his purpose in "the bodies of ibises, dogs and hawks." The sacrifice of certain animals associated with Set played a prominent part in the ritual of the Egyptian religion, and at the seasons of the year when Set's influence was supposed to be the greatest earnest attempts were regularly made to propitiate him by means of offerings.

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[1] Tawfân, طوفان, or طوفان, the Arabic word for "storm, deluge, inundation, whirlwind," etc., appears to be derived from the name Typhon.

[2] *Religion*, p. 707.

[3] *Dizionario*, pl. 377.

Thus in order to drive away Set from attacking the full moon of the month Pachons an antelope was sacrificed, and a black pig was hacked in pieces upon an altar made of sand, which was built on the bank of the river. On the twenty-sixth day of the month Choiak, which was the time of the winter solstice, an ass was slain, and a model of the serpent-fiend was hewn in pieces. On the first day of Mesore, which was the day of the great festival of Ḥeru Beḥuṭet, large numbers of birds and fish were caught, and those which were considered to be of a Typhonic character were stamped upon with the feet, and those who did this cried out, "Ye shall be "cut in pieces, and your members shall be hacked asunder, and each "of you shall consume the other; thus doth Rā triumph over all his "enemies, and thus doth Ḥeru-Beḥuṭet, the great god, the lord of "heaven, triumph over all his enemies." On such occasions, we learn from Plutarch (*De Iside*, § 63), sistra[1] were shaken in the temples, "for, say they, the sound of these Sistra averts and drives away "Typho; meaning hereby, that as corruption clogs and puts a

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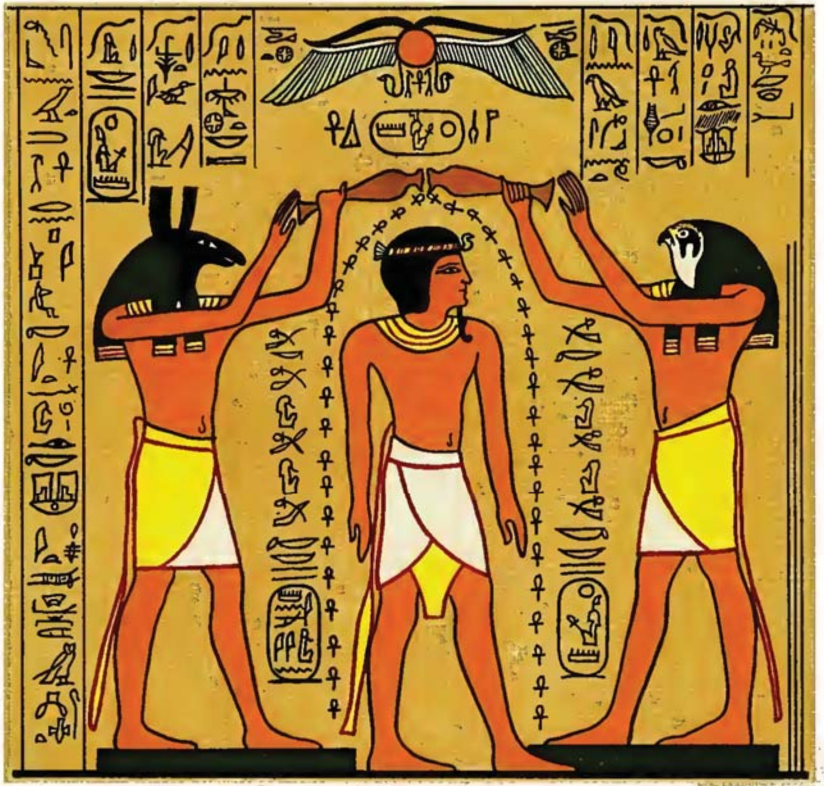
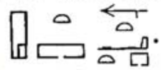
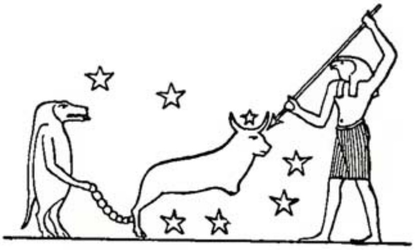
[1] The sistrum is thus described by Plutarch:—"Now the outer surface of this "instrument is of a convex figure, as within its circumference are contained those "four chords or bars, which make such a rattling when they are shaken—nor is "this without its meaning; for that part of the universe which is subject to "generation and corruption is contained within the sphere of the moon; and "whatever motions or changes may happen therein, they are all effected by the "different combinations of the four elementary bodies, fire, earth, water, and air. "Moreover, upon the upper part of the convex surface of the sistrum is carved the "effigies of a Cat with a human visage, as on the lower edge of it, under those "moving chords, is engraved on the one side the face of Isis, and on the other that "of Nephthys," etc.



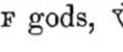
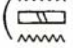
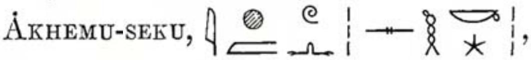
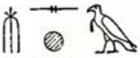
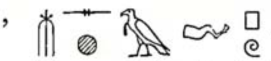
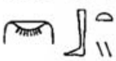
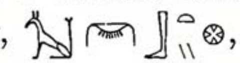
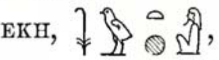
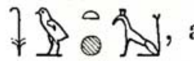
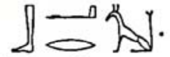
Set and Horus pouring out Life over Seti I.

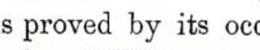
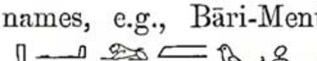
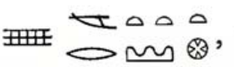
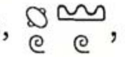
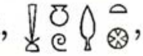
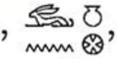
"stop to the regular course of nature, so generation, by the means "of motion, loosens it again, and restores it to its former vigour."

The kingdom of Set was supposed to be placed in the northern sky, and his abode was one of the stars which formed the constellation of Khepesh, , or the "Thigh," which has been identified with the Great Bear, and it was from this region that he made use of his baleful influence to thwart the beneficent designs of Osiris, whose abode was Saḥ or Orion, and of Isis, whose home was Sepṭ, or Sothis. A little consideration will show that the northern sky was the natural domain of Set, for viewed from the standpoint of an Egyptian in Upper Egypt the north was rightly considered to be the place of darkness, cold, mist, and rain, each of which was an attribute of Set; and we may note in passing that the Hebrews called the region of darkness, or the winter hemisphere, SÊPHÔN, a name which appears to be connected beyond a doubt with ṢÂPHÔN, "North." The chief opponent of Set was the hippopotamus goddess RERET, , who was believed to keep this power of darkness securely fettered by a chain; this goddess is usually represented with the arms and hands of a woman which are attached to the body of a hippopotamus, and in each she holds a knife. Her temple was called Ḥet-Khāat, . The duty of the goddess was to keep in restraint the evil influence of Set and to make clear a way in the sky for the birth of ḤERU-SMA-TAUI, whom Dr. Brugsch identified with the spring sun; the texts, however, make it clear that Reret was nothing but a form of Isis.



The seven stars of the Great Bear.

From a passage in the *Book of the Dead* (xvii. 89) we learn that Set was accompanied by the four children of Horus, Mesthȧ, Ḥāpi, Ṭuamutef, and Qebḥsennuf, who were said to be "behind the Thigh in the northern sky," and were believed to take part in curbing the evil deeds of Set. They may be identified with the four ȦF gods, , "who are the four gods of the Followers "who do battle against the evil of Set (), who is a mighty "warrior," and it was their duty to be with the sailors of the Boat of Rā, that is to say, with the Ȧkhemu-seku, , of the North, and with the four stars of the Meskheti, , or Great Bear. In the text from which these details are quoted it is said definitely that the "Meskheti is the Thigh of Set," .[1] In early dynastic times it is tolerably certain that the worship of Set was widespread, and his cult seems to have flourished until the period which lies between the XIIth and the XVIIIth Dynasties; but about B.C. 1700 a change came over his fortunes, and the Egyptians began to show the greatest detestation for him. He had, of course, always been connected with evil, but it appears that the popularity of his cult suffered greatly at this period because he was associated with the occupation of Northern Egypt by the Hyksos, who identified him with certain Semitic, Syrian gods. At Kom Ombo and in the south of Egypt a common name of Set was Nubti, , or Set-Nubti, , and as such he is usually represented with one body and two heads, one being that of a hawk, and the other that of the remarkable animal which was the symbol of the god.[2] In the North and South of Egypt Set was called both Nubti and Sutekh, , or , and there is no doubt whatsoever that he was endowed by the peoples in the Delta with all the attributes of the Semitic god Baal, בַּעַל, whose name appears in Egyptian under the form Bār, or Bālu, .

That the name of Bār was common in Egypt, at all events among settlers from Syria, is proved by its occurrence in proper names, e.g., Bāri-Menthu, , and Bāri-Rumāu, , the last being the equivalent of the Semitic name Ba'al Râm, בַּעַל־רָם.[3] In Middle Egypt the centre of the worship of Set was at Sept-Mert-et, , which is commonly known as Oxyrhynchus,[1] and other prominent places of his worship were one of the Oases, , and Sennu, , and Unnu, , Hermopolis. In the Delta the centre of his worship was the famous city Ḥet-uārt, or Avaris, where the Hyksos king Åpepȧ made him to be the greatest of all the gods of his dominions, and at one time Set was to all intents and purposes the national god of the Delta.

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[1] Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 122; *Religion*, p. 712.

[2] See Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 378.

[3] See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 309; *Recueil*, tom. xii. 17.

In the narratives of their prowess in battle which kings caused to be inscribed on stelae and on the walls of their temples, they delighted to have it stated that they were as terrible as Bār in the attacks which they made upon their foes. Under the XVIIIth Dynasty we hear little of Set, for Åmen, the god of the Upper Country, had the pre-eminence, but the cult of Set appears to have been revived under the XIXth Dynasty, for the second king thereof called himself Seti, after the name of the god, and this king caused bas-reliefs to be set up in his temples wherein Set is represented in the act of performing the coronation ceremonies. Under this Dynasty we have another king called after the name of the god, i.e., Seti II., Menephthah, but after that period the figure of Set appears in no cartouche, and his evil reputation increased. To the XXth Dynasty probably belongs the very interesting bronze figure of Set in the British Museum (No. 18,191), which was worn as a pendant, and was originally plated with gold; the god stands upright and wears the double crown of the South and the North and a uraeus. When found the figure was bent double, a position which it was made to take by violence, probably by someone who detested the god, but the body has been straightened out and it is now possible to examine the head of the Set animal, which in this specimen is finely shaped. Another interesting figure of Set is No. 22,897, which is of good workmanship; this, like the preceding, was also gilded and worn as a pendant. Belonging to a much later period we have the small wooden figure of the Set animal (No. 30,460), and the upper part of a two-headed bronze figure of Ȧmen-Ḥeru-pa-kharṭ (No. 16,228). The former stands on a pedestal on which is a sepulchral inscription, addressed to Set, "the great god, lord of heaven," who is asked to give "life, strength, and health" to him that had it made; and the latter represents Ȧmen under the form of a ram-headed man, who wears on his head the plumes of Shu, the disk of Rā, and a uraeus, and the head of Set, with characteristic ears. The above four figures are when taken together of great interest, and, as they all have been acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum since Signor Lanzone issued the last part of his *Dizionario*, they form a valuable addition to the examples registered by him in it.

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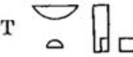
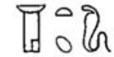
[1] Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 275.

The ideas which were held by the Egyptians about Set in the late times are well illustrated by the following extract from Plutarch (*De Iside*, § 30), who says that it is evident from many of their rites and ceremonies "that they hold him in the greatest "contempt, and do all they can to vilify and affront him. Hence "their ignominious treatment of those persons, whom from the "redness of their complexions they imagine to bear a resemblance "to him; and hence likewise is derived the custom of the Coptites "of throwing an Ass down a precipice; because it is usually of "this colour. Nay, the inhabitants of Busiris and Lycopolis "carry their detestation of this animal so far, as never to make any "use of trumpets, because of the similitude between their sound "and the braying of the ass. In a word, this animal is in general "regarded by them as unclean and impure, merely on account of "the resemblance which they conceive it bears to Typho; and in "consequence of this notion, those cakes which they offer with "their sacrifices during the last two months Paüni and Phaophi, "have the impression of an Ass bound stamped upon them. For "the same reason likewise, when they sacrifice to the Sun, they "strictly enjoyn all those who approach to worship the God, "neither to wear any gold about them, nor to give provender to "any ass. It is moreover evident, say they, that even the "Pythagoreans looked upon Typho to have been of the rank or "order of Demons, as, according to them, 'he was produced in the "even number fifty-six.' For as the power of the Triangle is "expressive of the nature of Pluto, Bacchus, and Mars, the "properties of the Square of Rhea, Venus, Ceres, Vesta, and Juno; "of the Dodecagon of Jupiter; so, as we are informed by Eudoxus "is the figure of 56 angles expressive of the nature of Typho: as "therefore all the others above-mentioned in the Pythagorean "system are looked upon as so many Genii or Demons, so in like "manner must this latter be regarded by them. 'Tis from this "persuasion likewise of the red complexion of Typho, that the "Egyptians make use of no other bullocks in their sacrifice but "what are of this colour. Nay, so extremely curious are they in "this respect, that if there be so much as one black or white hair "in the beast, 'tis sufficient to render it improper for this service. "For 'tis their opinion, that sacrifices ought not to be made of such "things as are in themselves agreeable and well-pleasing to the "Gods, but, on the contrary, rather of such creatures wherein the "souls of wicked and unjust men have been confined during the "course of their transmigration. Hence sprang that custom, "which was formerly observed by them, of pronouncing a solemn "curse upon the head of the beast which was to be offered in "sacrifice, and afterwards of cutting it off and throwing it into the "Nile, though now they dispose of it to foreigners. No bullock "therefore is permitted to be offered to the Gods, which has not "the seal of the Sphragistae first stamped upon it, an order of "priests peculiarly set apart for this purpose, from whence likewise "they derive their name. Their impress, according to Castor, is "'a man upon his knees with his hands tied behind him and a "sword pointed at his throat.' Nor is it from his colour only that "they maintain a resemblance between the Ass and Typho, but "from the stupidity likewise and sensuality of his disposition; and "agreeably to this notion, having a more particular hatred to "Ochus than to any other of the Persian monarchs who reigned "over them, looking upon him as an exsecrable and abominable "wretch, they gave him the nick-name of the Ass, which drew the "following reply from that prince, 'But this ass shall dine upon "your ox,' and accordingly he slew the Apis: this story is thus "related by Dino. Now as to those who pretend that Typho "escaped out of the battle upon an Ass after a flight of seven days, "and that, after he had got into a place of security, he begat two "sons, Hierosolymus and Judaeus, 'tis obvious from the very face "of the relation, that their design is to give an air of fable to "[what] the Jewish history [relates] of the flight of Moses out of "Egypt, and of the settlement of the Jews about Hierusalem and "Judaea" (Squire's Translation).

As a proof of the correctness of Plutarch's statements may be mentioned the figure of Set, which is reproduced from a Demotic papyrus at Leyden by Signor Lanzone,[1] and which represents the god as having the head of an ass; on his breast, which is that of a man, is inscribed the name **ⲥⲏⲑ**. We have now seen how the god Set was the opponent first of Ḥeru-ur, then of Rā, and finally of Osiris and his son Horus, and that during the long period of Egyptian history his attributes changed according to the various modifications which took place in the beliefs concerning this god in the minds of the Egyptians, and that from being a power of nature, the darkness, he became the symbol and personification of both physical and moral evil. We have now to consider briefly the female counterpart of Set, that is to say the goddess Nephthys, and to describe the part which she played in the Great Company of the gods of Heliopolis.

NEBT-ḤET , or , NEPHTHYS.

NEBT-ḤET, or Nephthys, was the daughter of Seb and Nut, and the sister of Osiris, and Isis, and Set, and the wife of Set, and the mother of Ȧnpu, or Anubis, either by Osiris or Set. The name "Nebt-ḥet" means the "lady of the house," but by the word "house" we must understand that portion of the sky which was supposed to form the abode of the Sun-god Horus; in fact "ḥet" in the name of Nebt-ḥet is used in exactly the same sense as "ḥet" in the name "Ḥet-Ḥert," or Hathor, i.e., the "house of Horus." In the earliest times Nephthys was regarded as the female counterpart of Set, and she was always associated with him; nevertheless

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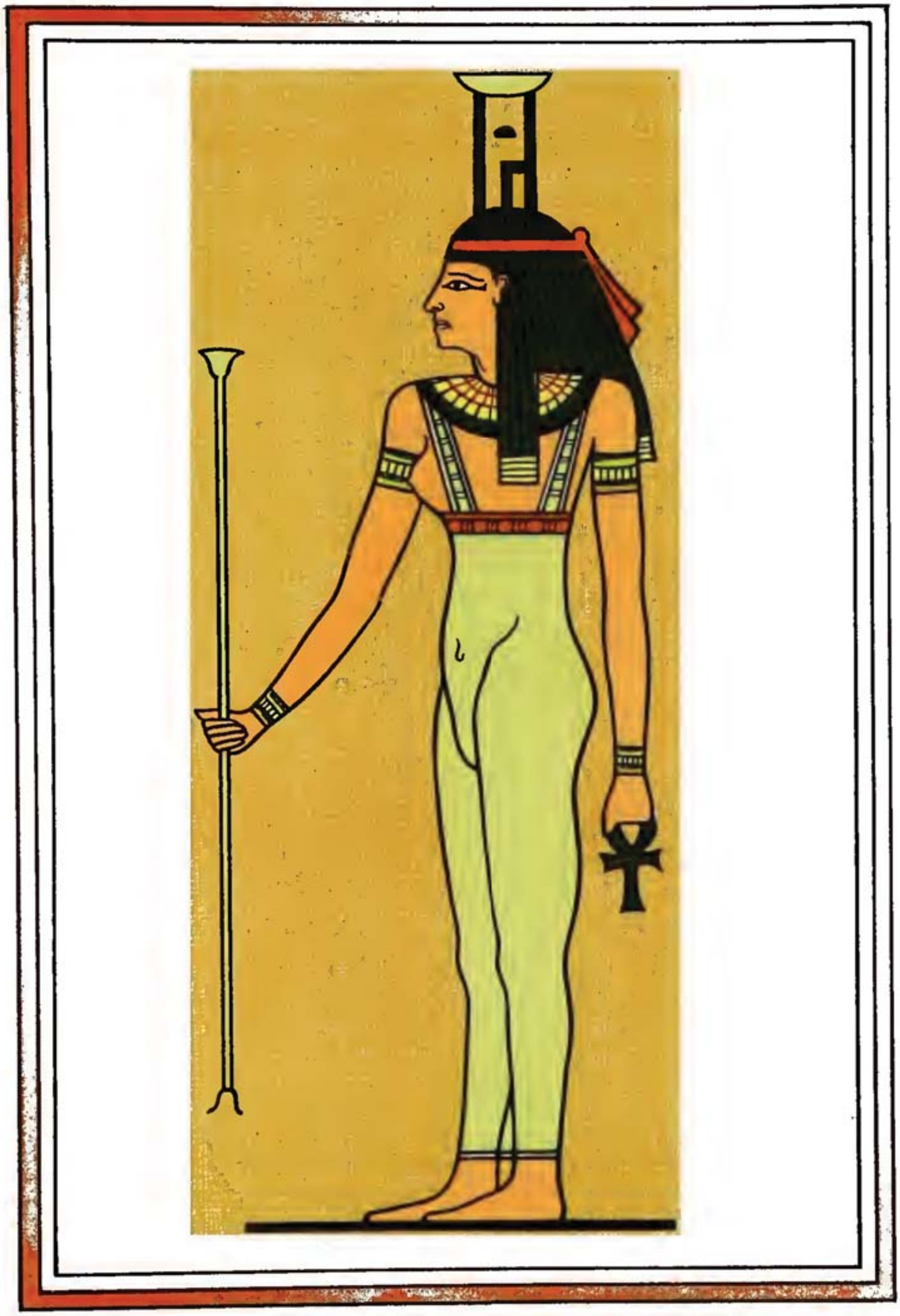
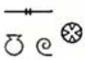
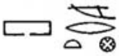
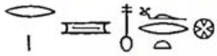
[1] *Dizionario*, pl. 378.



THE GODDESS NEBT-ḤET (NEPHTHYS).

she always appears as the faithful sister and friend of Isis, and helps the widowed goddess to collect the scattered limbs of Osiris and to reconstitute his body. In the Pyramid Texts she appears as a friend of the deceased, and she maintains that character throughout every Recension of the *Book of the Dead*; indeed, she seems to perform for him what as a nature goddess she did for the gods in primeval times when she fashioned the "body" of the "Company of the Gods," and when she obtained the name NEBKHAT, ,[1] i.e., "Lady of the body [of the Gods]." The goddess is represented in the form of a woman who wears upon her head a pair of horns and a disk which is surmounted by the symbol of her name, , or the symbol only; and her commonest titles are, "dweller within Senu," "lady of heaven," "mistress of the gods," "great goddess, lady of life," "sister of the god, eye of Rā, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods," "lady of heaven, mistress of the two lands," "sister of the god, the creative goddess who liveth within Ȧn," etc. The chief centres of her worship were Senu , Ḥebet, (Behbit), Per-mert, , Re-nefert, , Ḥet-sekhem, Ḥet-Khas, Ta-keḥset, and Diospolites.

In the vignettes of the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* we find Nephthys playing a prominent part in connexion with Isis, whose efforts it seems to be her duty to second and to forward. She stands in the shrine behind Osiris when the hearts of the dead are weighed in the Great Scales in the presence of the god; she is seen kneeling on , by the side of the Ṭeṭ, from which the disk of the Sun is thrust upwards by the "living Rā," , at sunrise; she is one of the "great sovereign chiefs in Ṭeṭṭu," with Osiris, Isis, and Ḥeru-netch-ḥrȧ-f; and she kneels at the head of the bier of Osiris and assists him to arise. In the address which she makes (Chap. cli.A), she says, "I go round about behind "Osiris. I have come that I may protect thee, and my strength "which protecteth shall be behind thee for ever and ever. The god "Rā hearkeneth unto thy cry; thou, O son of Hathor, art made to

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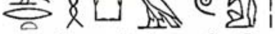
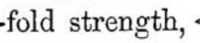
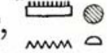
[1] See *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1864, p. 65.

"triumph, thy head shall never be taken away from thee, and "thou shalt be made to rise up in peace." Like Isis, Nephthys was believed to possess magical powers, and URT-ḤEKAU, , i.e., "mighty one of words of power," was as much a title of the goddess as of her husband, SET-NUBTI, the great one of two-fold strength, . Nephthys also, like Isis, has many forms, for she is one of the two Maāt goddesses, and she is one of the two Mert goddesses, and she is one of the two plumes which ornamented the head of her father Rā. In her birth-place[1] in Upper Egypt, i.e., Ḥet-Sekhem, or "the house of the Sistrum," the goddess was identified with Hathor, the lady of the sistrum, but the popular name of the city, "ḤET," i.e., the "House," seems to apply to both goddesses. In the Serapeum which belonged to the city, or the House of the Bennu, Osiris was re-born under the form of Horus, and Nephthys was one of his "nursing mothers." The form in which Osiris appeared here was the Moon, and as such he represented the left eye of the Bennu or Rā, and as he thus became closely associated with Khensu and Thoth, to his female counterparts were ascribed the attributes of SESHETA and Maāt, who were the female counterparts of Thoth. Nephthys, as the active creative power which protected Osiris, the Moon-god, was called MENKHET, , and in allusion to her beneficent acts in connection with him the names of BENRA-MERIT and KHERSEḲET were bestowed upon her, and the former appears to belong to the goddess when she made herself manifest under the form of a cat.

From Plutarch's treatise on Isis and Osiris we may gather many curious facts about the Egyptian beliefs concerning Nephthys. Thus he tells us (§ 38) that the Egyptians call the "extreme limits of their country, their confines and sea-shores, "Nephthys (and sometimes Teleute, a name expressly signifying "the *end of anything*), whom they suppose likewise to be married "to Typho. Now as the overflowings of the Nile are sometimes "very great, and extend even to the remotest boundaries of the "land, this gave occasion to that part of the story, which regards

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[1] Nephthys was born on the last of the five epagomenal days.

"the secret commerce between Osiris and Nephthys; and as the "natural consequence of so great an inundation would be perceived "by the springing up of plants in those parts of the country, which "were formerly barren, hence they supposed, that Typho was first "made acquainted with the injury which had been done his bed by "means of a Mellilot-garland which fell from the head of Osiris "during his commerce with his wife, and afterwards left behind "him; and thus, they say, may the legitimacy of Orus the son of "Isis be accounted for, as likewise the spuriousness of Anubis, "who was born of Nephthys. So again, when they tell us, that "it appears from the tables of the successions of their ancient "kings, that Nephthys was married to Typho, and that she was at "first barren, if this indeed is to be understood, not as spoken of a "mortal woman, but of a goddess, then is there design to insinuate "the utter infertility of the extreme parts of their land, occasioned "by the hardness of the soil and its solidity." Plutarch tells us, moreover, that "on the upper part of the convex surface of the "sistrum is carved the effigies of a Cat with a human visage, as on "the lower edge of it, under those moving chords, is engraved on "the one side the face of Isis, and on the other that of Nephthys." The face of Isis represents Generation, and that of Nephthys Corruption, and Plutarch says (§ 63) that the Cat denotes the moon, "its variety of colours, its activity in the night, and "the peculiar circumstances which attend its fecundity making "it a proper emblem of that body. For it is reported of "this creature, that it at first brings forth one, then two, after-"wards three, and so goes on adding one to each former birth till "it comes to seven; so that she brings forth twenty-eight in all, "corresponding as it were to the several degrees of light, which "appear during one of the moon's revolutions. But though this "perhaps may appear to carry the air of fiction with it, yet may "it be depended upon that the pupills of her eyes seem to fill up "and to grow larger upon the full of the moon, and to decrease "again and diminish in their brightness upon its waining—as to "the human countenance with which this Cat is carved, this is "designed to denote that the changes of the moon are regulated "by understanding and wisdom."

From the above paragraphs it is clear that Nephthys is the personification of darkness and of all that belongs to it, and that her attributes were rather of a passive than active character. She was the opposite of Isis in every respect; Isis symbolized birth, growth, development and vigour, but Nephthys was the type of death, decay, diminution and immobility. Isis and Nephthys were, however, associated inseparably with each other, even as were Horus and Set, and in all the important matters which concern the welfare of the deceased they acted together, and they appear together in bas-reliefs and vignettes. Isis, according to Plutarch (§ 44), represented the part of the world which is visible, whilst Nephthys represents that which is invisible, and we may even regard Isis as the day and Nephthys as the night. Isis and Nephthys represent respectively the things which are and the things which are yet to come into being, the beginning and the end, birth and death, and life and death.[1] We have, unfortunately, no means of knowing what the primitive conception of the attributes of Nephthys was, but it is most improbable that it included any of the views on the subject which were current in Plutarch's time. Nephthys is not a goddess with well-defined characteristics, but she may, generally speaking, be described as the goddess of the death which is not eternal. In the *Book of the Dead* (Chap. xvii. 30), the deceased is made to say, "I am the god Åmsu (or, Min) in his coming "forth; may his two plumes be set upon my head for me." In answer to the question, "Who then is this?" the text goes on to say, "Åmsu is Horus, the avenger of his father, and his coming "forth is his birth. The plumes upon his head are Isis and "Nephthys when they go forth to set themselves there, even as his "protectors, and they provide that which his head lacketh, or (as "others say), they are the two exceeding great uraei which are "upon the head of their father Tem, or (as others say), his two "eyes are the two plumes which are upon his head."

This passage proves that Nephthys, although a goddess of death, was associated with the coming into existence of the life which springs from death, and that she was, like Isis, a female counterpart of Åmsu, the ithyphallic god, who was at once the type of virility, and reproduction, and regeneration. Isis and Nephthys prepared the funeral bed for their brother Osiris, and together they made the swathings wherewith his body was swathed after death; they assisted at the rising of the Sun-god when he rose upon this earth for the first time, they assisted at the resurrection of Osiris, and similarly, in all ages, they together aided the deceased to rise to the new life by means of the words which they chanted over his bier. In late dynastic times there grew up a class of literature which is now represented by such works as the "Book of Respirations," the "Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys," the "Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys," the "Litanies of Seker," etc., works which supply us with the very words which were addressed to Osiris and to all those who were his followers. The goddesses were personified by two priestesses who were virgins and who were ceremonially pure; the hair of their limbs was to be shaved off, they were to wear ram's wool garlands upon their heads, and to hold tambourines in their hands; on the arm of one of them was to be a fillet inscribed "TO Isis," and on the arm of the other was to be a fillet inscribed "TO Nephthys." On five days during the month of December these women took their places in the temple of Abydos and, assisted by the KHER ḤEB, or precentor, they sang a series of groups of verses to the god, of which the following are specimens:—

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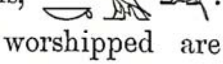
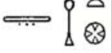
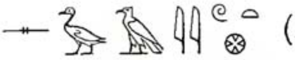
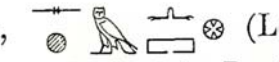
[1] *Religion*, p. 735.

"Hail, lord Osiris. Hail, lord Osiris. Hail, lord Osiris. Hail, "lord Osiris. Hail, beautiful boy, come to thy temple straightway, for we see thee not. Hail, beautiful boy, come to thy "temple, and draw nigh after thy departure from us. Hail, "beautiful boy, who leadest along the hour, who increasest except "at his season. Thou art the exalted image of thy father Tenen, "thou art the hidden essence who comest forth from Ȧtmu. O "thou lord, O thou lord, how much greater art thou than thy "father, O thou eldest son of thy mother's womb. Come thou "back again to us with that which belongeth unto thee, and we "will embrace thee; depart not thou from us, O thou beautiful "and greatly loved face, thou image of Tenen, thou virile one, "thou lord of love. Come thou in peace, and let us see thee, O "our lord, and the two sisters will join thy limbs together, and "thou shalt feel no pain, and they shall put an end unto all that "hath afflicted thee, even as if it had never been . . . . . . Hail, "Prince, who comest forth from the womb. Hail, Eldest son of "primeval matter. Hail, Lord of multitudes of aspects and created "forms. Hail, Circle of gold in the temples. Hail, Lord of time, "and Bestower of years. Hail, Lord of life for all eternity. Hail, "Lord of millions and myriads. Hail, thou who shinest both in "rising and setting. Hail, thou who makest throats to be in good "case. Hail, thou Lord of terror, thou mighty one of trembling. "Hail, lord of multitudes of aspects, both male and female. Hail, "thou who art crowned with the White Crown, thou lord of the "Urerer Crown. Hail, thou holy Babe of Ḥeru-ḥekennu. Hail, "thou son of Rā, who sittest in the Boat of Millions of Years. "Hail, thou Guide of rest, come thou to thy hidden places. Hail, "thou lord of fear, who art self-produced. Hail, thou whose "heart is still, come to thy city. Hail, thou who causest cries "of joy, come to thy city. Hail, thou beloved one of the gods "and goddesses. Hail, thou who dippest thyself [in Nu], come to "thy temple. Hail, thou who art in the Ṭuat, come thou to thy "offerings. . . . Hail, thou holy flower of the Great House. Hail, "thou who bringest the holy cordage of the Sekti Boat. Hail, "thou Lord of the Ḥennu Boat, who renewest thy youth in the "secret place. Hail, thou Perfect Soul in Neter-khert. Hail, "thou holy Judge (?) of the South and of the North. Hail, thou "hidden one, who art known to mankind. Hail, thou who dost "shine upon him that is in the Ṭuat and dost show him the "Disk. Hail, lord of the Atef Crown, thou mighty one in Suten-"ḥenen. Hail, mighty one of terror. Hail, thou who risest in "Thebes, who dost flourish for ever. . . . Hail, thou living Soul "of Osiris, who art diademed with the moon. Hail, thou who "hidest thy body in the great coffin at Heliopolis."

CHAPTER XV

ȦNPU , OR ANUBIS

IT has been said above that Nephthys gave birth to a son called ȦNPU, or Anubis, and that his father was, according to some, Osiris, and according to others, Set; from another point of view he was the son of Rā. The animal which was at once the type and symbol of the god was the jackal, and this fact seems to prove that in primitive times Anubis was merely the jackal god, and that he was associated with the dead because the jackal was generally seen prowling about the tombs. His worship is very ancient, and there is no doubt that even in the earliest times his cult was general in Egypt; it is probable that it is older than that of Osiris. In the text of Unȧs (line 70) he is associated with the Eye of Horus, and his duty as the guide of the dead in the Underworld on their way to Osiris was well defined, even at the remote period when this composition was written, for we read, "Unȧs standeth with the Spirits, get thee onwards, Anubis, into "Ȧmenti (the Underworld), onwards, onwards to Osiris." In the lines that follow we see that Anubis is mentioned in connexion with Horus, Set, Thoth, Sep, and Khent-ȧn-maati. From another passage of the same text we find (line 207 ff.) that the hand, and arms, and belly, and legs of the deceased are identified with Temu, but his face is said to be in the form of that of Anubis, . The localities in which Anubis was specially worshipped are Ābt, the Papyrus Swamps, , Sep, , Re-āu, , Ḥeru-ṭi, , Ta-ḥetchet, , Saiut,

 (Lycopolis), Sekhem,  (Letopolis),[1] etc. In the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* he plays some very prominent parts, the most important of all being those which are connected with the judgment and the embalming of the deceased. Tradition declared that Anubis embalmed the body of Osiris, and that he swathed it in the linen swathings which were woven by Isis and Nephthys for their brother; and it was believed that his work was so thoroughly well performed under the direction of Horus and Isis and Nephthys, that it resisted the influences of time and decay. In the vignette of the Funeral Procession the mummy is received by Anubis, who stands by the side of the tomb door; and in the vignette to Chapter cli. of the *Book of the Dead* the god is seen standing by the side of the mummy as it lies on its bier, and he lays his protecting hands upon it. In the speech which is put into the mouth of Anubis, he says, "I have come to protect Osiris." In the text of Unȧs (line 219) the nose of the deceased is identified with the nose of Anubis, but in the xliind Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* the deceased declares, "My lips are the lips of Ȧnpu." From various passages it is clear that in one part of Egypt at least Anubis was the great god of the Underworld, and his rank and importance seem to have been as great as those of Osiris. (See Chapter liii.)

In the Judgment Scene Anubis appears to act for Osiris, with whom he is intimately connected, for it is he whose duty it is to examine the tongue of the Great Balance, and to take care that the beam is exactly horizontal. Thoth acts on behalf of the Great Company of the gods, and Anubis not only produces the heart of the deceased for judgment, but also takes care that the body which has been committed to his charge shall not be handed over to the "Eater of the Dead" by accident. The vignette of the xxvith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, as given in the Papyrus of Ani, represents the deceased in the act of receiving a necklace and pectoral from Anubis, who stands by grasping his sceptre; in the vignette of the Chapter in the Papyrus of Nebseni Anubis is seen presenting the heart itself to the deceased, and in the text below

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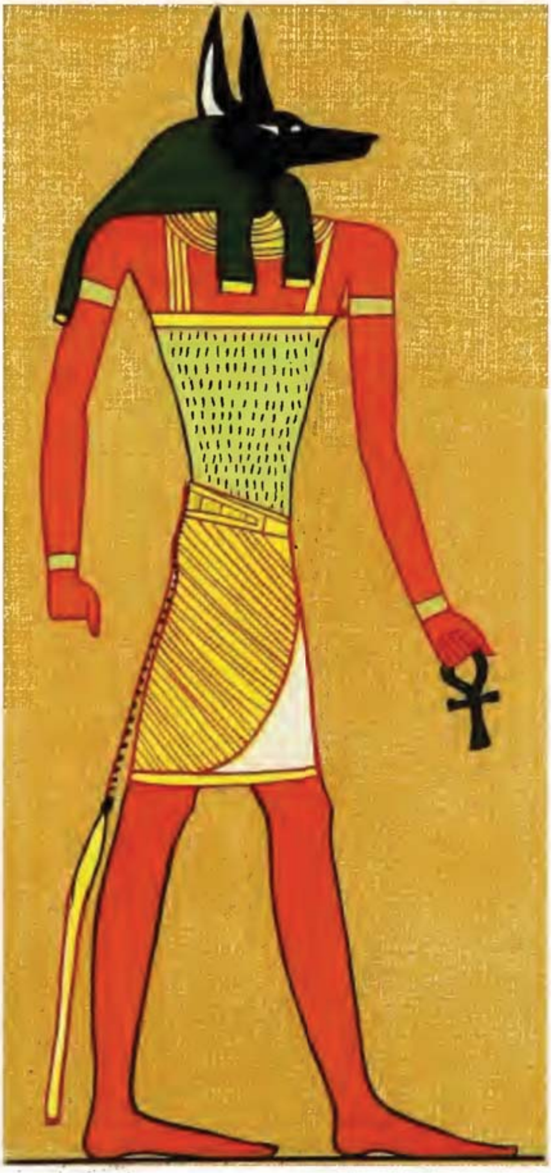
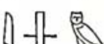
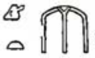
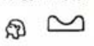
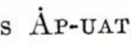
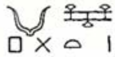
[1] Lanzone, op. cit., p. 68.



ANUBIS, THE GOD OF THE DEAD.

Nebseni prays, saying, "May Anubis make my thighs firm so that "I may stand upon them." In allusion to his connexion with the embalmment of Osiris the god Anubis is called ÀM UT, , i.e., "Dweller in the chamber of embalmment;" as the watcher in the place of purification wherein rested the chest containing the remains of Osiris he was called KHENT SEḤET, , i.e., "Governor of the Hall of the God;" and one of his names as the god of the funeral mountain was "ṬEP-ṬU-F," , i.e., "he who is upon his hill." In the cxlvth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* the deceased says, "I have washed myself "in the water wherein the god Ȧnpu washed when he had "performed the office of embalmer and bandager;" and elsewhere the deceased is told (clxx. 4) that "Ȧnpu, who is upon his hill, "hath set thee in order, and he hath fastened for thee thy "swathings, thy throat is the throat of Anubis (clxxii. 22), and "thy face is like that of Anubis" (clxxxi. 9).

The duty of guiding the souls of the dead round about the Underworld and into the kingdom of Osiris was shared by Anubis with another god whose type and symbol was a jackal, and whose name was ȦP-UAT, , or , i.e., the "Opener of the ways;" formerly Anubis and Ȧp-uat were considered to be two names of one and the same god, but there is no longer any reason for holding this view. In the vignette to the cxxxviiith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* we find represented the scene of setting up the standard which supports the box that held the head of Osiris at Abydos. On each side of it are a standard with a figure of a jackal upon it and a pylon, on the top of which lies a jackal; and as it is quite clear from the groups of objects on each side of the standard that we are dealing with symbols either of the South and the North, or of the East and the West, we are justified in thinking that one jackal represents Ȧp-uat and the other Anubis. Moreover, from the cxlvth Chapter we find that the xxist Pylon of the House of Osiris was presided over by seven gods, among whom were Ȧp-uat and Ȧnpu,[1] and as in the xviiith

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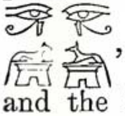
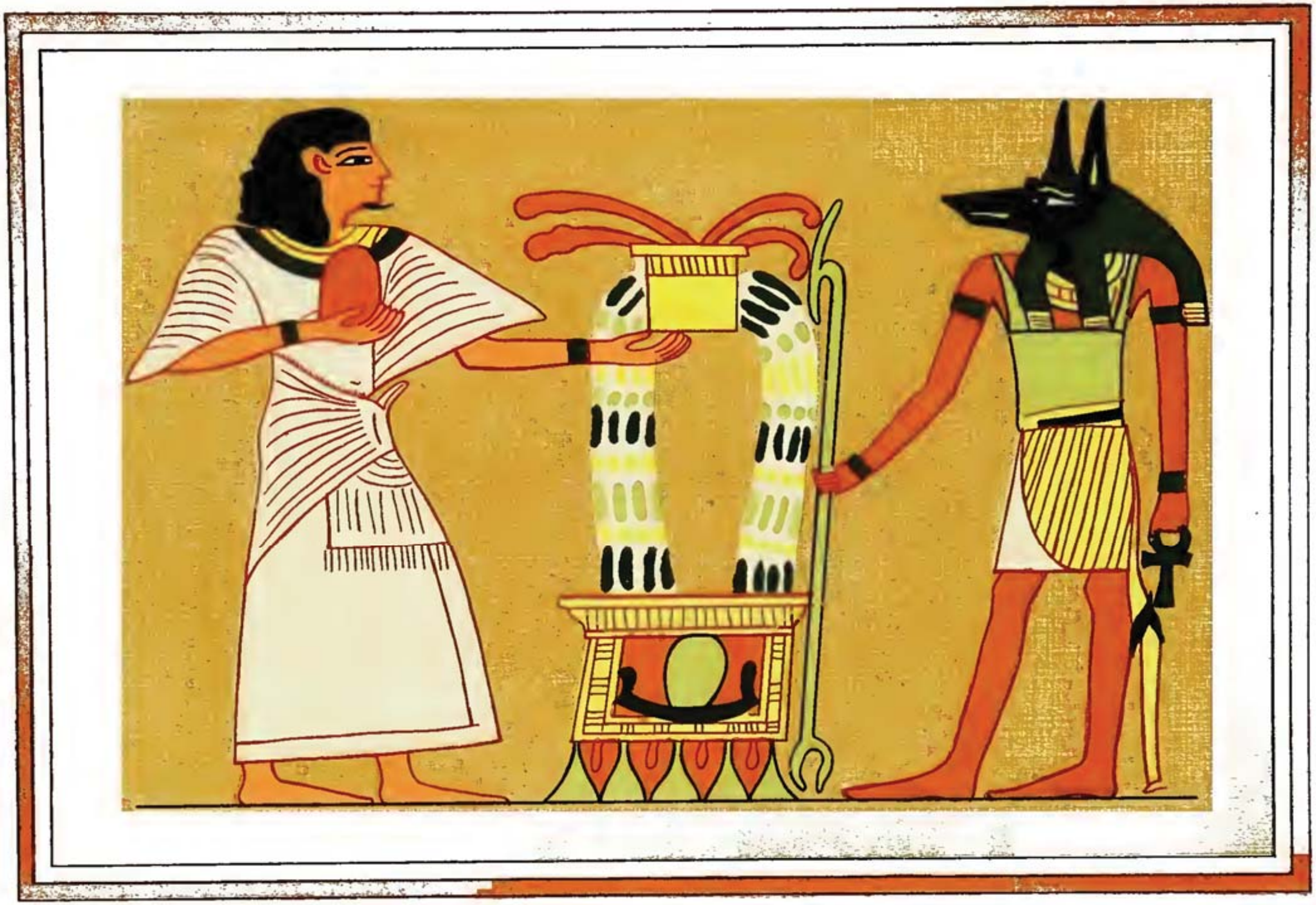
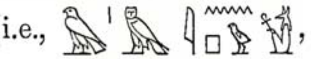
[1] The others were Tcher or Āṭ, Ḥetep-mes, Mes-sep, Utch-re, and Beq.

Chapter (F., G.) we have both gods mentioned, and each is depicted in the form of a jackal-headed man, we may conclude that each was a distinct god of the dead, although their identities are sometimes confused in the texts. The function of each god was to "open the ways," and therefore each might be called ȦP-UAT, but, strictly speaking, Anubis was the opener of the roads of the North, and Ȧp-uat the opener of the roads of the South; in fact, Anubis was the personification of the Summer Solstice, and Ȧp-uat of the Winter Solstice.

Anubis is called in the texts SEKHEM EM PET, and is often said to be the son of Osiris, and Ȧp-uat bore the title SEKHEM TAUI, and was a form of Osiris himself. When, therefore, we find the two jackals upon sepulchral stelae, we must understand that they appear there in their character of openers of the ways of the deceased in the kingdom of Osiris, and that they assure to the deceased the services of guides in the northern and southern parts of heaven; when they appear with the two Utchats thus, , they symbolize the four quarters of heaven and of earth, and the four seasons of the year. On the subject of Anubis Plutarch reports (§§ 44, 61) some interesting beliefs. After referring to the view that Anubis was born of Nephthys, although Isis was his reputed mother, he goes on to say, "By Anubis they "understand the horizontal circle, which divides the invisible part "of the world, which they call Nephthys, from the visible, to which "they give the name of Isis; and as this circle equally touches "upon the confines of both light and darkness, it may be looked "upon as common to them both—and from this circumstance arose "that resemblance, which they imagine between Anubis and the Dog, "it being observed of this animal, that he is equally watchful as "well by day as night. In short, the Egyptian Anubis seems to "be of much the same power and nature as the Grecian Hecate, a "deity common both to the celestial and infernal regions. Others "again are of opinion that by Anubis is meant Time, and that his "denomination of *Kuon* does not so much allude to any likeness, "which he has to the dog, though this be the general rendering of "the word, as to that other signification of the term taken from



The Deceased holding a Necklace and Pectoral before ANUBIS.

“ *breeding;* because Time begets all things out of it self, bearing “ them within itself, as it were in a womb. But this is one of those “ secret doctrines which are more fully made known to those who “ are initiated into the worship of Anubis. Thus much, however, “ is certain, that in ancient times the Egyptians paid the greatest “ reverence and honour to the Dog, though by reason of his devour- “ ing the Apis after Cambyses had slain him and thrown him out, “ when no other animal would taste or so much as come near him, “ he then lost the first rank among the sacred animals which he had “ hitherto possessed.” Referring to Osiris as the “ common Reason “ which pervades both the superior and inferior regions of the “ universe,” he says that it is, moreover, called “ Anubis, and “ sometimes likewise HERMANUBIS (i.e., , ḤERU- “ EM-ȦNPU); the first of these names expressing the relation it has “ to the superior, as the latter, to the inferior world. And for “ this reason it is, they sacrifice to him two Cocks, the one white, “ as a proper emblem of the purity and brightness of things above, “ the other of a saffron colour, expressive of that mixture and “ variety which is to be found in those lower regions.”

Strictly speaking, Anubis should be reckoned as the last member of the Great Company of the gods of Heliopolis, but as a matter of fact his place is usually taken by Horus, the son of Isis and of Osiris, who generally completes the divine *paut*; it is probable that the fusion of Horus with Anubis was a political expedient on the part of the priesthood who, finding no room in their system for the old god of the dead, identified him with a form of Horus, just as they had done with his father Set, and then mingled the attributes of the two gods. Horus and Anubis thus became in the new theology a duplicate of the Horus and Set in the old, and the double god possessed two distinct and opposite aspects; as the guide of heaven and the leader of souls to Osiris he was a beneficent god, but as the personification of death and decay he was a being who inspired terror. From an interesting passage in the “Golden Ass” of Apuleius (Book xi.) we find that the double character of Anubis was maintained by his votaries in Rome even in the second century of our era, and in describing the

Procession of Isis he says, "Immediately after these came the "Deities, condescending to walk upon human feet, the foremost "among them rearing terrifically on high his dog's head and "neck—that messenger between heaven and hell displaying "alternately a face black as night, and golden as the day; in his "left the caduceus, in his right waving aloft the green palm "branch. His steps were closely followed by a cow, raised into "an upright posture—the cow being the fruitful emblem of the "Universal Parent, the goddess herself, which one of the happy "train carried with majestic steps, supported on his shoulders. "By another was borne the coffin containing the sacred things, "and closely concealing the deep secrets of the holy religion."

This extract shows that even in the second century at Rome the principal actors in the old Egyptian Osiris ceremonial were represented with scrupulous care, and that its chief characteristics were preserved. The cow was, of course, nothing less than the symbol of Isis, "the mother of the god," and the coffin containing the "sacred things" was the symbol of the sarcophagus of Osiris which contained his relics. Before these fitly marched Anubis in his two-fold character, and thus we have types of Osiris and his mysteries, and of Isis who revivified him, and of Anubis who embalmed him. Had Apuleius understood the old Egyptian ceremonies connected with the Osiris legend and had he been able to identify all the characters who passed before him in the Isis procession, he would probably have seen that Nephthys and Horus and several other gods of the funeral company of Osiris were duly represented therein. On the alleged connexion of Anubis with Christ in the Gnostic system the reader is referred to the interesting work of Mr. C. W. King, *Gnostics and their Remains*, Second Edition, London, 1887, pp. 230, 279.

CHAPTER XVI

CIPPI OF HORUS

IN connexion with the god Horus and his forms as the god of the rising sun and the symbol and personification of Light must be mentioned a comparatively numerous class of small rounded stelae on convex bases, on the front of which are sculptured in relief figures of the god Horus standing upon two crocodiles. These curious and interesting objects are made of basalt and other kinds of hard stone, and of calcareous stone, and they vary in height from 3 ins. to 20 ins.; they were used as talismans by the Egyptians, who placed them in their houses and gardens, and even buried them in the ground to protect themselves and their property from the attacks of noxious beasts, and reptiles, and insects of every kind. In addition to the figures of Horus and of the animals over which he gained the victory, and the sceptres, emblems, etc., which are sculptured upon cippi of Horus, the backs, sides, and bases are usually covered with magical texts. The ideas suggested by the figures and the texts are extremely old, but the grouping and arrangement of them which are found on the stelae under consideration are not older than the XXVIth Dynasty; it is doubtful if this class of objects came into general use very much earlier than the end of the period of the Persian occupation of Egypt. The various museums of Europe contain several examples of cippi, but the largest, and finest, and most important, is undoubtedly that which is commonly known as the "Metternich Stele;"[1] it was found in the year 1828 during the building of a cistern in a Franciscan monastery in Alexandria, and was presented by Muḥammad 'Ali Pâsha to Prince Metternich. We are, fortunately, enabled to date the stele, for the name of Nectanebus I.,

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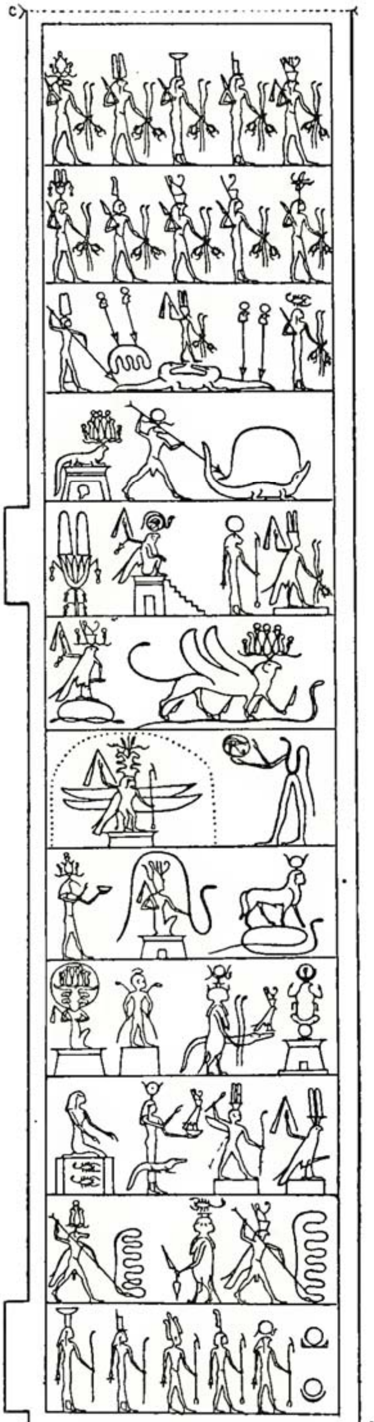
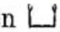
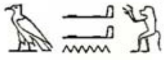
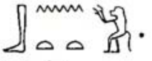
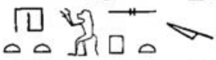
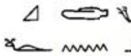
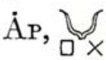
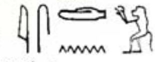
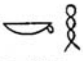
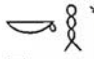
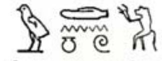
[1] See *Metternichstele*, ed. Golénischeff, Leipzig, 1877, pl. 3, l. 48 ff.



Side of the Stele.

the last but one of the native kings of Egypt, who reigned from B.C. 378 to B.C. 360, occurs on it, and it is clear from several considerations that such a monument could have been produced only about this period. On the front of the stele (see page 271) we have the following figures and scenes:—

1. The solar disk wherein is seated the four-fold god Khnemu, who represents the gods of the four elements, earth, air, fire, and water, resting between , which is supported on a lake of water; on each side of it stand four apes, with their paws stretched out in adoration. No names are given to the apes here, but we may find them in a text at Edfû[1] where they are called:—1. AĀĀN, . 2. BENTET, . 3. HETET-SEPT, . 4. QEFṬEN, . 5. ȦP, . 6. ȦSṬEN, . 7. KEḤKEḤ,  . 8. UṬENNU, . The Bentet apes praised the morning sun, and the Uṭennu apes praised the evening sun, and the Sun-god was pleased both with their words and with their voices. On the right hand side is a figure of king Nectanebus kneeling before a lotus standard, with plumes and *menàts*, and on the left is the figure of

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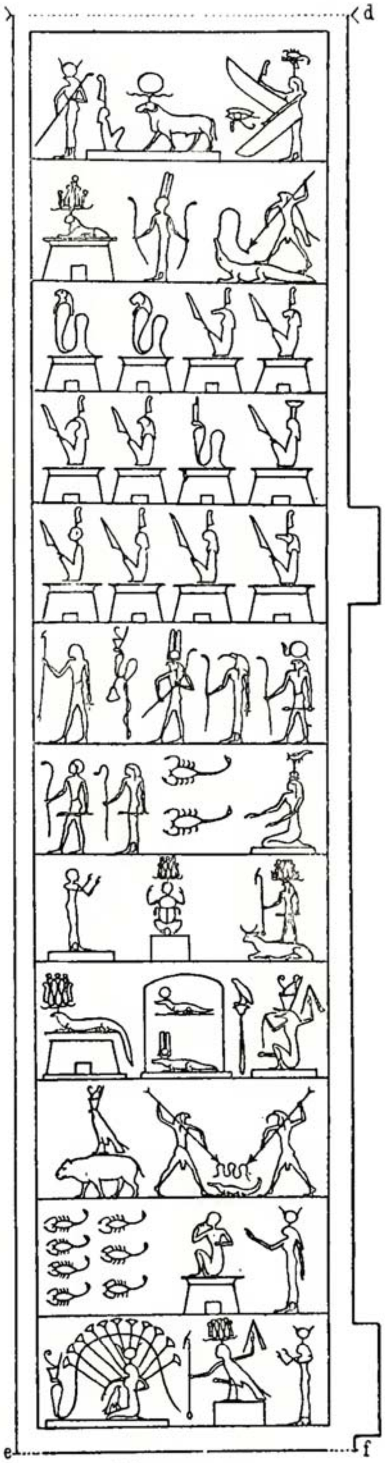
[1] Duemichen, *Tempelinschriften*, i., 26.

the god Thoth holding a palette in his left hand.

2. In this register we have (*a*) Ptaḥ-Seker-Åsår standing on crocodiles, the gods Åmsu and Kheperå standing on ▱ pedestals, Khas, a lion-headed god, Thoth, Serqet and Hathor grouped round a god who is provided with the heads of seven birds and animals, and four wings, and two horns surmounted by four uraei and four knives, and who stands upon two crocodiles. (*b*) Ta-urt holding a crocodile by a chain or rope which a hawk-headed god is about to spear in the presence of Isis, Nephthys, and four other deities, etc.

3. Isis holding Horus in her outstretched right hand, and standing on a crocodile. Thoth. Standard of Nekhebet. Horus, with a human phallus, and a lion, on a lake (?) containing two crocodiles. Seven halls or lakes, each guarded by a god. A lion treading on a crocodile, which lies on its back, four gods, a lion standing on the back of a crocodile, a vulture, a god embracing a goddess, and three goddesses.

4. Horus spearing a crocodile which is led captive by Ta-urt. The four children of Horus. Neith and the two crocodile gods. Harpocrates seated upon a crocodile under a serpent. A lion, two scorpions and an oryx, symbols of Set. Seven



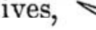
Side of the Stele.

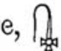
serpents having their tails pierced by arrows or darts. A king in a chariot drawn by the fabulous Akhekh animal which gallops over two crocodiles. Horus standing on the back of the oryx, emblem of Set.

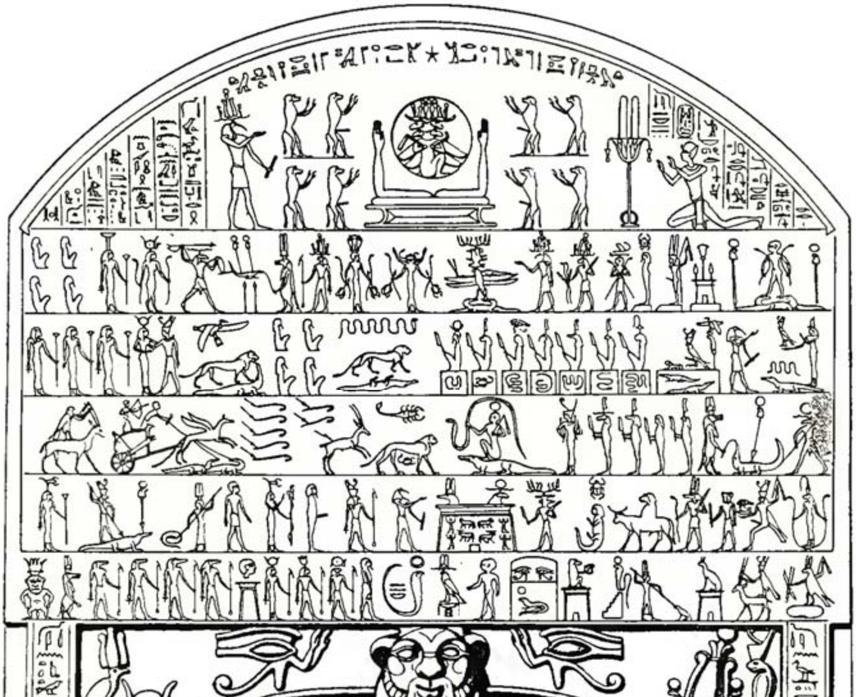
5. A miscellaneous group of gods, nearly all of whom are forms of the Sun-god and are gods of reproduction and regeneration.

6. A hawk god, with dwarf's legs, and holding bows and arrows. Horus standing on an oryx (Set). A cat on a pedestal. Ȧn-ḥer spearing an animal. Uraeus on the top of a staircase. The ape of Thoth on a pylon. Two Utchats, the solar disk, and a crocodile. Ptaḥ-Seker-Ȧsȧr. The Horus of gold. Serpent with a disk on his head. A group of solar gods followed by Ta-urt and Bes.

7. In this large scene Horus stands with his feet upon the backs of two crocodiles, and he grasps in his hands the reptiles and animals which are the emblems of the foes of light and of the powers of evil. He wears the lock of youth, and above his head is the head of the old god Bes, who here symbolizes the Sun-god at eventide. The canopy under which he stands is held up by Thoth and Isis, each of whom stands upon a coiled up serpent, which has a knife stuck in his forehead. Above the canopy are the two Utchats, with human hands and arms attached, and within it by the sides of the god are:—1. Horus-Rā standing on a coiled up serpent. 2. A lotus standard, with plumes and *menȧts*. 3. A papyrus standard surmounted by a figure of a hawk wearing the Crown.

On the back of the Stele we have a figure of the aged Sun-god in the form of a man-hawk, and he has above his head the heads of a number of animals, e.g., the oryx and the crocodile, and a pair of horns upon which rest , and eight knives. He has four human arms, to two of which wings are attached, and in each hand he grasps two serpents, , two knives, , and "life," , "stability," , and "power," ; and numbers of figures of gods. His two other human arms are not attached to wings, and in one hand he holds the symbol of "life," and in the other a sceptre.

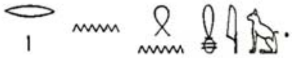
From the head of the god proceed jets of fire, , and on each side of him is an Utchat, which is provided with human hands and



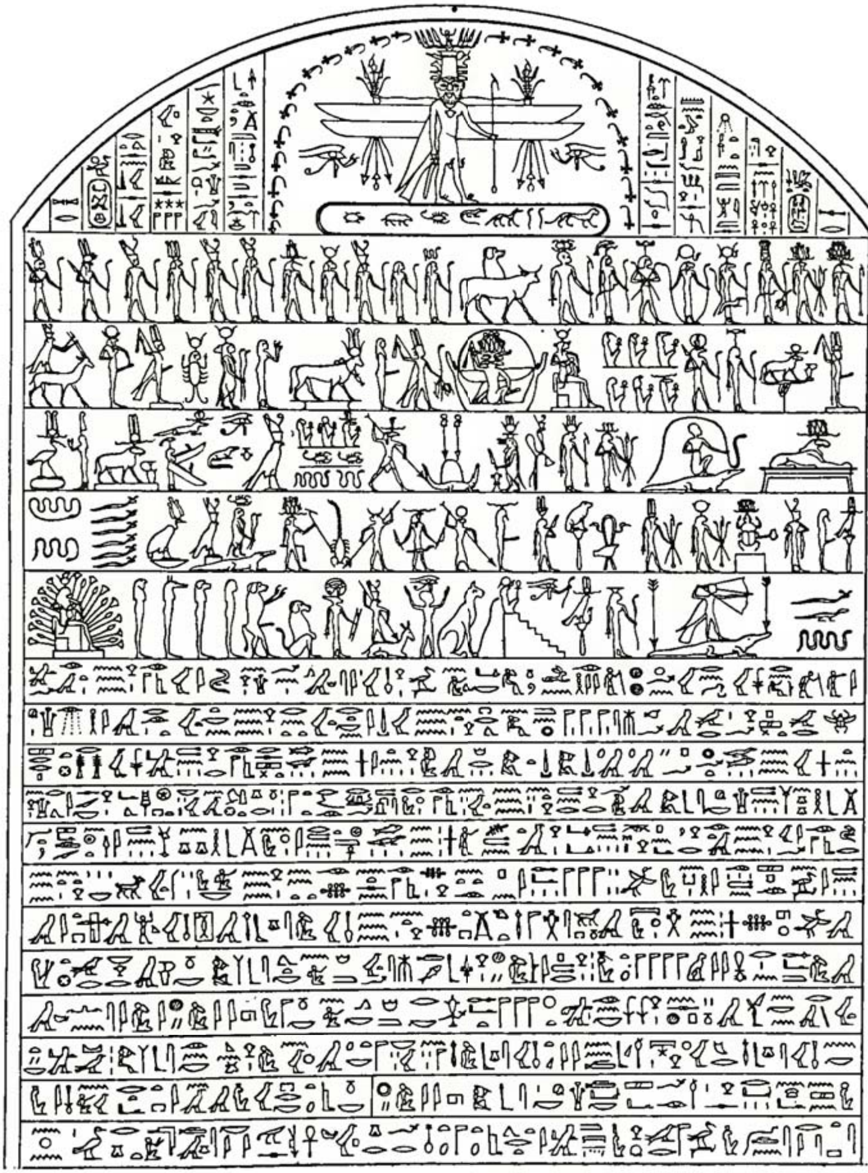
The Metternich Stele (Obverse).

arms. The god stands upon an oval, within which are figures of a lion, two serpents, a jackal, a crocodile, a scorpion, a hippopotamus, and a turtle. Below this relief are five rows of figures of gods and mythological scenes, many of which are taken from the vignettes of the *Book of the Dead*. The gods and goddesses are for the most part solar deities who were believed to be occupied at all times in overcoming the powers of darkness, and they were sculptured on the Stele that the sight of them might terrify the fiends and prevent them from coming nigh unto the place where it was set up. There is not a god of any importance whose figure is not on it, and there is not a demon, or evil animal, or reptile who is not depicted upon it in a vanquished state.

The texts inscribed upon the Stele are as interesting as the figures of the gods, and relate to events which were believed to have taken place in the lives of Isis, Horus, etc. The first composition is called the "Chapter of the incantation of the Cat,"[1] and contains an address to Rā, who is besought to come to his daughter, for she has been bitten by a scorpion; the second composition, which is called simply "another Chapter," has contents somewhat similar to those of the first. The third text is addressed to the "Old Man who becometh young in his season, the Aged One who "maketh himself a child again." The fourth and following texts contain a narrative of the troubles of Isis which were caused by the malice of Set, and of her wanderings from city to city in the Delta, in the neighbourhood of the Papyrus Swamps. The principal incident is the death of her son Horus, which took place whilst she was absent in a neighbouring city, and was caused by the bite of a scorpion; in spite of all the care which Isis took in hiding her son, a scorpion managed to make its way into the presence of the boy, and it stung him until he died. When Isis came back and found her child's dead body she was distraught and frantic with grief, and was inconsolable until Nephthys came and advised her to appeal to Thoth, the lord of words of power. She did so straightway, and Thoth stopped the Boat of Millions of Years in which Rā, the Sun-god, sailed, and came down to earth in answer to her cry; Thoth had already provided her with the words of power which enabled her to raise up Osiris from the dead, and

[1] 

he now bestowed upon her the means of restoring Horus to life, by supplying her with a series of incantations of irresistible might.



The Metternich Stele (Reverse).

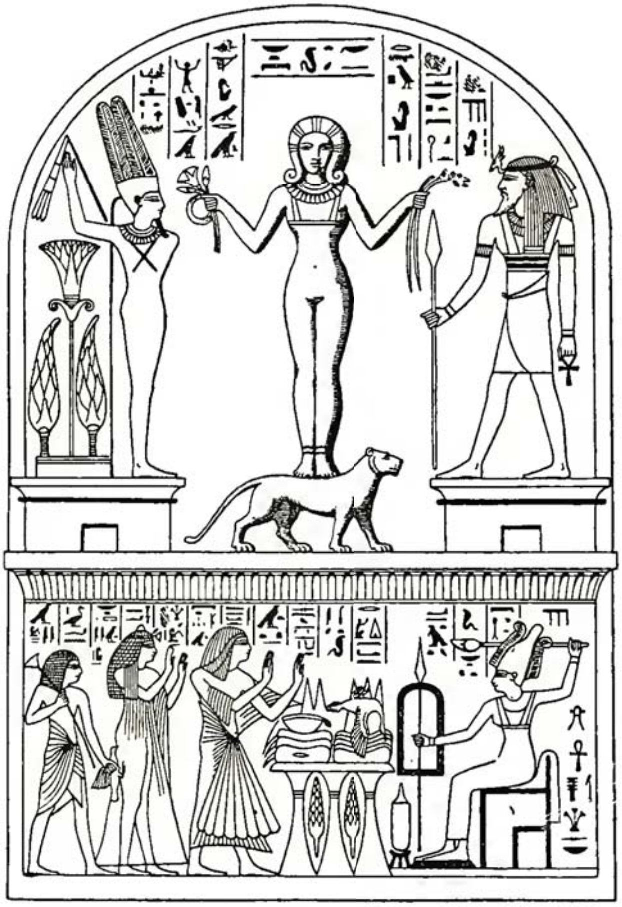
These Isis recited with due care, and in the proper tone of voice, and the poison was made to go forth from the body of Horus, and his strength was renewed, his heart once more occupied its throne, and all was well with him. Heaven and earth rejoiced at the sight of the restoration of the heir of Osiris, and the gods were filled with peace and content.

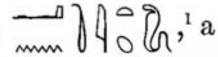
The whole Stele on which these texts and figures are found is nothing but a talisman, or a gigantic amulet engraved with magical forms of gods and words of power, and it was, undoubtedly, placed in some conspicuous place in a courtyard or in a house to protect the building and its inmates from the attacks of hostile beings, both visible and invisible, and its power was believed to be invincible. The person who had been stung or bitten by a scorpion or any noxious beast or reptile was supposed to recite the incantations which Thoth had given to Isis, and which had produced such excellent results, and the Egyptians believed that because these words had on one occasion restored the dead to life, they would, whensoever they were uttered in a suitable tone of voice, and with appropriate gestures and ceremonies, never fail to produce a like effect. A knowledge of the gods and of the magical texts on the Stele was thought to make its possessor master of all the powers of heaven, and of earth, and of the Underworld.

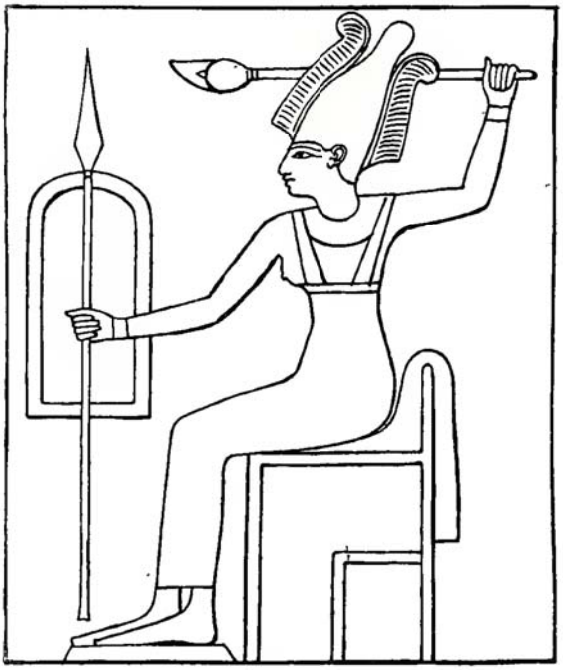
CHAPTER XVIII

FOREIGN GODS

IF we consider for a moment it will at once be apparent from the geographical position of Egypt that her people must have been brought in contact with a large number of foreign gods, and that in certain places a few must have become more or less identified with Egytian gods of similar attributes and characteristics. As a rule Orientals have always been exceedingly tolerant of alien gods, and the Egyptians formed no exception to the rule ; there is, moreover, in the Egyptian inscriptions, no evidence that they ever tried to suppress the gods of the races they conquered, though we may assume that they never failed, whenever it was possible, to carry off the images of foreign gods, because in so doing they displayed the superior power of the gods of Egypt, and destroyed the religious and political importance of the cities and towns wherein the shrines of the foreign gods were situated. It is not at present possible to decide which gods were indigenous to the Valley of the Nile, and which were of Libyan origin, but there is no doubt that a number of Libyan gods were adopted by the dwellers in the Western Delta, in predynastic times, and that they had become to all intents and purposes Egyptian gods under the rule of the kings of the Ist Dynasty. Among such deities may be mentioned Net, or Neith, of Saïs, Bast of Bubastis, and it is very probable that Osiris and his cycle of gods, though perhaps under different names, were also of Libyan origin. Under the IVth and Vth Dynasties the cult of Rā, the Sun-god, spread with great rapidity in the Delta and in the neighbourhood of Heliopolis, and his priests, as we have seen, obtained almost kingly influence in the country. There is no reason for doubting that the Sun was worshipped in the earliest times in Egypt, but the form of his worship, as approved and promulgated by the priests of Heliopolis, appears to have differed from that which was current in other parts of the country, and it is probable that it possessed something of an Asiatic character. The foreign gods who succeeded in obtaining a place in the affections of the Egyptians were of Libyan and Semitic origin, and there is no evidence that they borrowed any deity, except BES, from Nubia, or the country still further to the south of Egypt.


The goddess Qeṭesh standing on a lion between Min and Reshpu.

First among the foreign deities who are made known to us by the Egyptian inscriptions is ĀNTHȦT, ,[1] a goddess who is called the lady of heaven, and the mistress of the gods, and who was said to conceive offspring but not to bring them to the birth; she is declared to have been produced by Set, but it is probable that this origin was assigned to her only after her cult was well established in Egypt. She is depicted in the form of a woman seated on a throne or standing upright; in the former position she grasps a shield and spear in her right hand and wields a club in her left, and in the latter she wears a panther skin and holds a papyrus sceptre in the right hand and the emblem of "life" in her left. She wears the White Crown with feathers attached, and sometimes this has a pair of horns at the base. Ānthȧt was, undoubtedly, a war goddess, and her cult seems to have extended throughout Northern and Southern Syria, where certain cities and



Ānthȧt.

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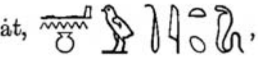
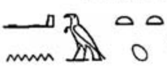
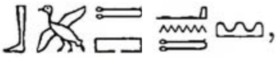
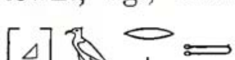
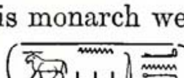
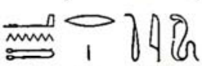
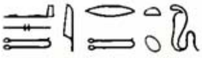
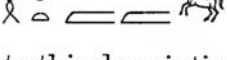
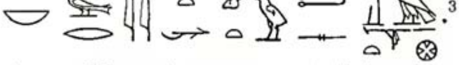
[1] Variant forms of her name are Ānnuthȧt, , and Āntit, .

towns, e.g., Bath-Ānth, , and Qarth-Anthu, , were dedicated to her worship.[1] The worship of the goddess Ānthȧt appears to have made its way into Egypt soon after the Egyptians began to form their Asiatic Empire, and from an inscription published by Virey[2] we learn that a shrine was built in her honour at Thebes in the reign of Thothmes III. This, however, is only what might be expected, for Thothmes III. must have brought large numbers of Syrians with him into Egypt, and many of them undoubtedly found a home at Thebes. The goddess was honoured by Rameses II. of the XIXth Dynasty, and this monarch went so far as to call one of his daughters Banth-Ānth, , i.e., daughter of Ānth. Finally we may note in passing that a goddess called ĀNTHRETHȦ, , is mentioned with Sutekh in the great treaty between the Kheta and the Egyptians, and it is probable that she and Ānthȧt are one and the same goddess.

In connexion with Ānthȧt the goddess ĀSTHȦRTHET, , i.e., 'Ashtoreth, is sometimes mentioned in Egyptian texts, and she is called "mistress of horses, lady of the chariot, dweller in Apollinopolis Magna" (Edfû),  .[3] Conformably to this description the goddess is represented in the form of a woman with the head of a lioness, which is surmounted by a disk, and she stands in a chariot drawn by four horses and drives over her prostrate foes. The cult of Āsthȧrthet was comparatively widespread in Egypt at the time when the priest-kings began to reign, and it flourished in the Delta, at least, until Christian times. It cannot, however, have been introduced into Egypt much earlier than the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and it was probably not well established until the reign of Ȧmen-ḥetep III. In a letter from

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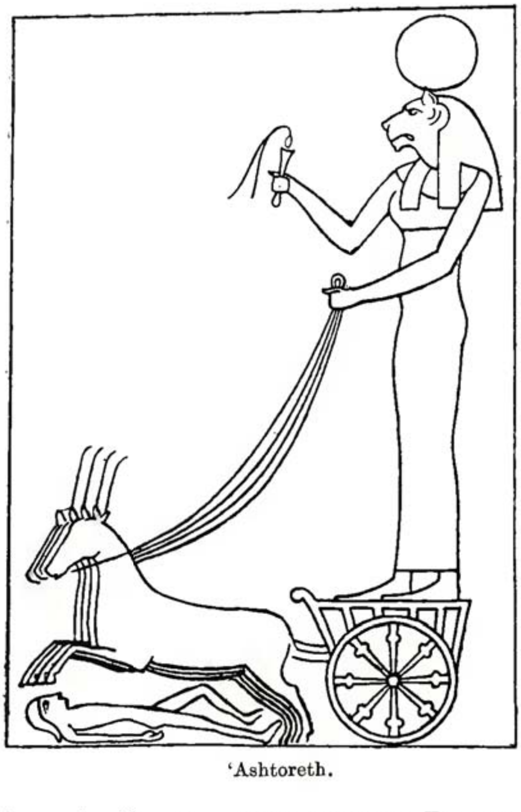
[1] See Müller, W. M., *Asien und Europa*, p. 195.

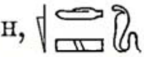
[2] *Tombeau de Khem* (*Mémoires Miss. Arch. Fr.*, tom. v., p. 368).

[3] See *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1869, p. 3 ff.; Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, pl. 4.

Tushratta, king of Mitani, to this king he refers to the going down of "Ishtar of Nineveh (i.e., Ashtoreth, or Āsthȧrthet), lady of the world," into Egypt, both during his own reign and that of his father,[1] and he seems to indicate that her worship in Egypt had declined, and begs Ȧmen-ḥetep to make it to increase tenfold. From this it would appear that the Egyptians adopted the worship of the Syrian goddess at or about the time when Thothmes III. was engaged in conquering Ruthennu and Palestine and Syria. In Egypt Āsthȧrthet, or Ashtoreth, or Ishtar, was identified with one of the forms of Hathor, or Isis-Hathor, early in the XVIIIth Dynasty, and she was regarded both as a Moon-goddess, and as a terrible and destroying goddess of war. As a war-goddess she was the driver of the rampant war-maddened horses and the guide of the rushing chariot on the field of battle, and this consideration shows that as a goddess of horses she was unknown in Egypt before the XVIIIth Dynasty. The Egyptians learned to employ the horse in war from the Semites of the Eastern Desert, and their knowledge of the value of that animal for charging and for drawing war-chariots is not older than about B.C. 1800.



'Ashtoreth.

Closely akin to Āsthȧrthet was the goddess QEṬESH, ,[2] who was also called the "mistress of all the gods, the eye of Rā,

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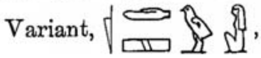
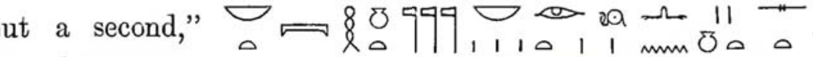
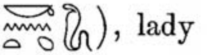
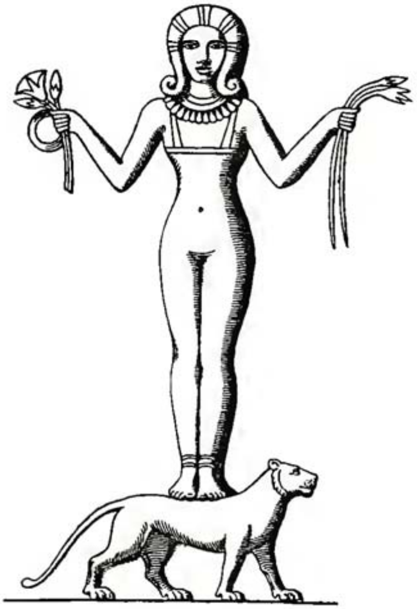
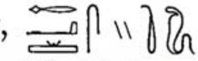
[1] *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, p. xlii.

[2] Variant, , QEṬSHU.

without a second," . She, like Ȧsthȧrthet, was regarded in Egypt as a form of Hathor, the goddess of love and beauty, and as a Moon-goddess. She is represented in the form of an absolutely naked woman, who stands upon a lion; on her head she wears a crescent and disk, , which prove her connexion with the Moon. The later representations of Qeṭesh depict her in the same attitude, but they give her the peculiar headdress of Hathor, and she wears a deep necklace or collar and a tight-fitting garment which is held up on her shoulders by two straps, and which extends to her ankles. In her right hand she holds lotus flowers and a mirror (?), and in her left two serpents. It is important to note that, like Bes, she is always represented full face. On a stele in the British Museum (No. 191), we see the goddess, who is here called "KENT (), lady of heaven," standing on a lion between Ȧmsu, , or Min, and Reshpu, and with these gods she appears to form a Semitic triad, but it is not clear which of these two gods was her son, and which was her husband. In any case, Qeṭesh must have been worshipped as a nature goddess, and it was probably the licentiousness of her worship, at all events in Syria, which gave to the Hebrew word קְדֵשָׁה the meaning which it bears in the Bible.[1]



Qeṭesh.

Another foreign goddess of interest is ĀĀSITH, , who is represented in the form of a woman, armed with shield and club, riding a horse into the battle field. In her Müller[2] sees a female form of the hunter Esau, עֵשָׂו, who, under the form Usoos, was regarded as a god who wore skins and was appeased by means of blood offerings. That she was a goddess of war and of the desert is clear from a relief, which is found on a stele near the building beside the temple set up by Seti I. at Redêsîyeh in the Eastern Desert, on the road to the gold mines of Mount Zâbărâ.

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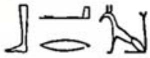
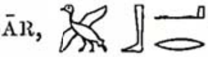
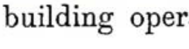
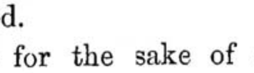
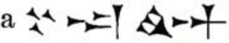
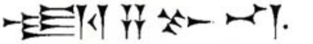
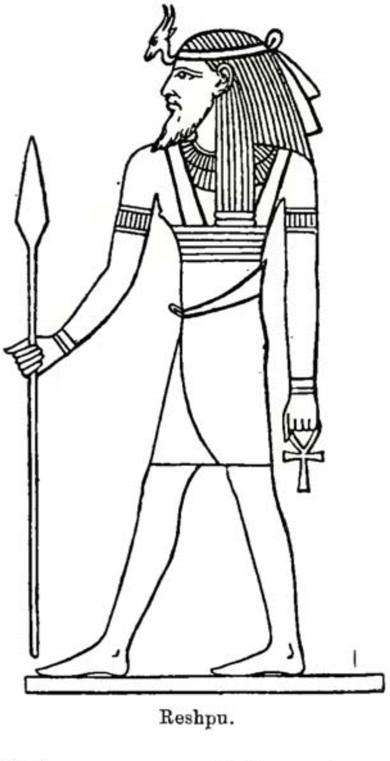
[1] Gen. xxxviii. 21, 22; Deut. xxiii. 18; Numbers xxv. 1; Hosea iv. 14.

[2] *Asien und Europa*, p. 316.

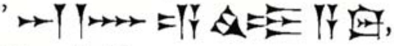
The greatest of all the Syrian gods known to the Egyptians was BĀR, , or PA-BĀR, , i.e., Baal, the הַבַּעַל, of the Hebrews. Bār appears to have been a god of the mountain and the desert, and his worship was introduced into Egypt under the XVIIIth Dynasty. Like most of the Semitic gods and goddesses he was primarily a god of war and battle, and he may have been a personification of the burning and destroying heat of the sun and blazing desert wind. To the Egyptians of the Delta he soon became familiar, and as he was supposed to be the god who supported their foes the Syrians in many a hard-fought battle they regarded him with a certain awe and reverence. Of his form and worship we know nothing, but the Egyptians placed after their transliterations of his name a figure of the fabulous animal in which the god Set became incarnate, and it is clear that they must have believed Bār and Set to have qualities and attributes in common. Rameses II. boasts in his triumphal inscriptions that when he put on his panoply of war, and mounted his chariot, and set out to attack the Kheta soldiery he was like the god Bār, and we are justified in assuming from this and similar passages that the king of Egypt was proud to compare himself to the mighty Syrian war-god. Bār was worshipped in the Delta, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Tanis, where Rameses II. carried out such extensive building operations, and where a temple of the god existed.

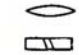
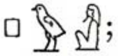
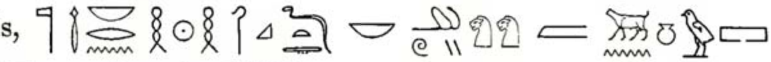
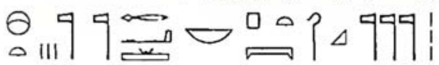
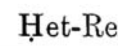
Here for the sake of convenience may be mentioned the goddess BĀIRTHȦ, , i.e., Ba'alath, or Bêltis, of Tchapuna, , in full Bāirthȧ Tchapuna or Ba'alath-Sĕphôn, who may be regarded as the female counterpart of the Ba'al-Sĕphôn of the Hebrew Scriptures, but not as the wife of Bār.

The city here referred to is on the borders of Egypt (see Exodus xiv. 2). Another city or district of the same name was situated in "Northern Phoenicia,"[1] and is mentioned in an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser II. under the form Ba-'-li Ṣa-pu-na  . In a fragmentary inscription of Esarhaddon (Kuyunjik fragment, No. 3500, col. iv., line 10) the god Ba'al-Sĕphôn is mentioned, together with other Phoenician gods, in a series of curses, and these are invoked to bring down upon the ships an evil wind which shall destroy both them and their rigging.



Reshpu.

In this fragment allusion is also made to Baal Sameme (בַּעַל שָׁמַיִם) and Baal Malagî, and all three are said to be the "gods across the river," , *ilâni ebir nâri.*[2]

On the stele in the British Museum, No. 191, as has already been said, we meet with another Syrian god called Reshpu,  ; his cult enjoyed a wide popularity in Syria, where he was regarded as a god of war. Signor Lanzone compares him to the Apollo Amyclaeus of the Greeks.[3] In the Egyptian texts he is described as the "great god, the lord of eternity, "the prince of everlastingness, the "lord of two-fold strength among "the company of the gods; great god, lord of heaven, governor of "the gods,  . The chief centre of his worship was at Ḥet-Reshp, , in the Delta, but it is very probable that he was specially worshipped at many small provincial shrines on the eastern frontier of Egypt. He is represented in the form of a warrior who holds a shield and spear in his left hand, and a club in his right; on his head he wears the White Crown, round the base of which is bound a turban. Above his forehead, projecting from his turban, is the head of a gazelle, which appears to be a very ancient symbol of the god, and to indicate his sovereignty over the desert. Reshpu is connected with the god who was known to the Phoenicians under the name of רֶשֶׁף, and was, no doubt, a god of burning and destructive fire, and of the lightning. Opinions differ as to the pronunciation of the name רֶשֶׁף, some reading "Reshef," i.e., "lightning," and others "Rashshâf," i.e., "he who shoots out fire and lightning"; the egyptian transcription Reshpu supports the first opinion, and from every point of view it seems to be the correct one.

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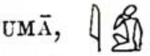
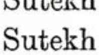
[1] Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 315.

[2] I owe this reference to Mr. R. C. Thompson of the British Museum.

[3] *Dizionario*, p. 483.

The existence of yet another Syrian god has been pointed out by Müller,[1] who in the Egyptian Ȧtumā, , or Ȧthumā, , sees the equivalent of the אֱדֹם of the Hebrew Scriptures; the female counterpart of the god appears under the form of Ȧtumā, . Finally, among the Western Syrians Müller has quoted the existence of two goddesses called Ennukaru, , and Ȧmāit, .

In the list of the gods whose names are found at the end of the copy of the treaty which Rameses II. made with Kheta-sar, the prince of the Kheta, are found a number of Sutekh, , gods of various cities, among them being Sutekh of Ȧrenna, Sutekh of Thapu-Ȧrenuta, Sutekh of Paireqa, Sutekh of Khisasapa, Sutekh of Saresu, Sutekh of Khirepu (Aleppo), Sutekh of Rekhasua, and Sutekh of Mukhipaina. In the paragraphs on the god Set it has been shown that for all practical purposes Sutekh and Set were one and the same god in the eyes of the Egyptians, and the fabulous Set animal was as much a symbol of Sutekh as he was of

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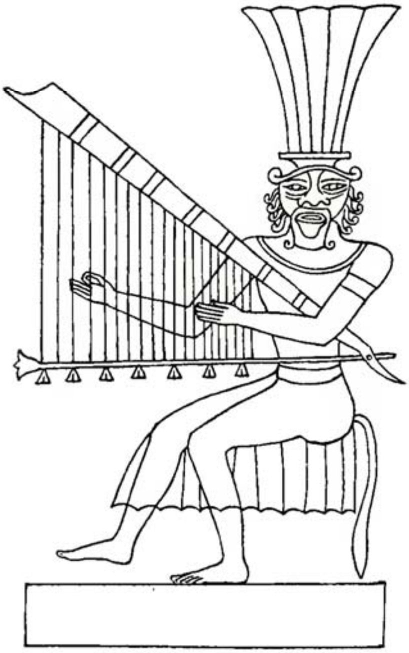
[1] *Asien und Europa*, p. 316.

Set. Sutekh was supposed to be, more or less, a god of evil, but the Egyptians attempted to obtain his favour, even as they did that of Set, by means of offerings and prayers.

Among the foreign gods known to the Egyptians is usually mentioned Bes, , who according to some is of Semitic, and according to others of African origin;[1] we may note, however, that the name of the god appears to be Egyptian, and it seems to have been bestowed upon him in very early times because of the animal's skin which he wore; the animal itself was called "Besa" or "Basu."[2] He is usually depicted in the form of a dwarf with a huge bearded head, protruding tongue, flat nose, shaggy eyebrows and hair, large projecting ears, long but thick arms, and bowed legs; round his body he wears the skin of an animal of the panther tribe, and its tail hangs down and usually touches the ground behind him; on his head he wears a tiara of feathers, which suggests a savage or semi-savage origin. He is sometimes drawn in profile, like the other Egyptian gods, but usually he appears full face, like the goddess Qeṭesh. As a god of music and the dance he is sometimes represented playing upon a harp;[3] as a god of war and slaughter, and as a destroying force of nature he carries two knives in his hands; as a warrior he appears in a short military tunic, which is fastened round his body by a belt, and he



Bes.

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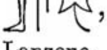
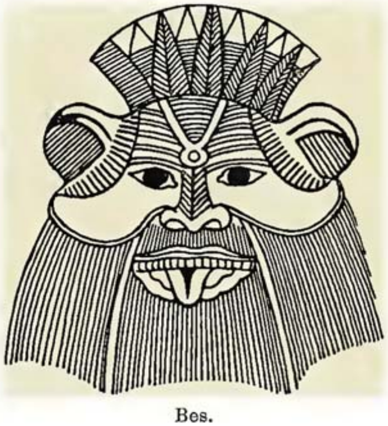
[1] Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 310; Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 159.

[2] , Bes, , Basu = Felis Cynailurus; see *Aeg. Zeit.* ii. 10.

[3] Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pll. 76, 77.

holds in his left hand a shield and a short sword in his right. Figures of Bes are found carved upon the handles of mirrors, on *kohl* vessels, and on pillows, all of which indicate that in one aspect at least he was associated with rest, and joy, and pleasure. From a number of scenes on the walls of the temples and from bas-reliefs we see that Bes was supposed to be present in the chambers and places wherein children were born, and he seems to have been regarded as a protector of children and youths, and a god who studied to find them pleasure and amusement.

According to Müller,[1] two figures of the god were found at Kahûn, and, if these really belong to the period when that city was flourishing, Bes must have been honoured there as early as the XIIth Dynasty. Taken by itself, however, this evidence is not worth a great deal, because the figures may have been placed in the tombs at Kahûn during burials of a much later date. One of the oldest representations of Bes, as Prof. Wiedemann has pointed out, is found in a relief in the famous temple of Ḥātshepset at Dêr al-Baḥarî, where he appears in the chamber wherein the birth of the great queen is supposed to be taking place. In this chamber Meskhent, the goddess of birth, presides, and we see the goddesses who act as midwives to the queen of Thothmes I., and those who are nurses, and the gods of the four quarters of the earth, etc., waiting to minister to Ḥātshepset and to her Ka, or double, which was, of course, born when she was. By the side of the couch stand Bes and Ta-urt, the former with his well-known attributes, and the latter represented in the form of a hippopotamus standing on her hind legs, and leaning with her fore legs upon the emblem of magical protection, 𓎃. What Bes and Ta-urt were to do for the princess is not apparent, but as we find one or both of these deities



Bes.

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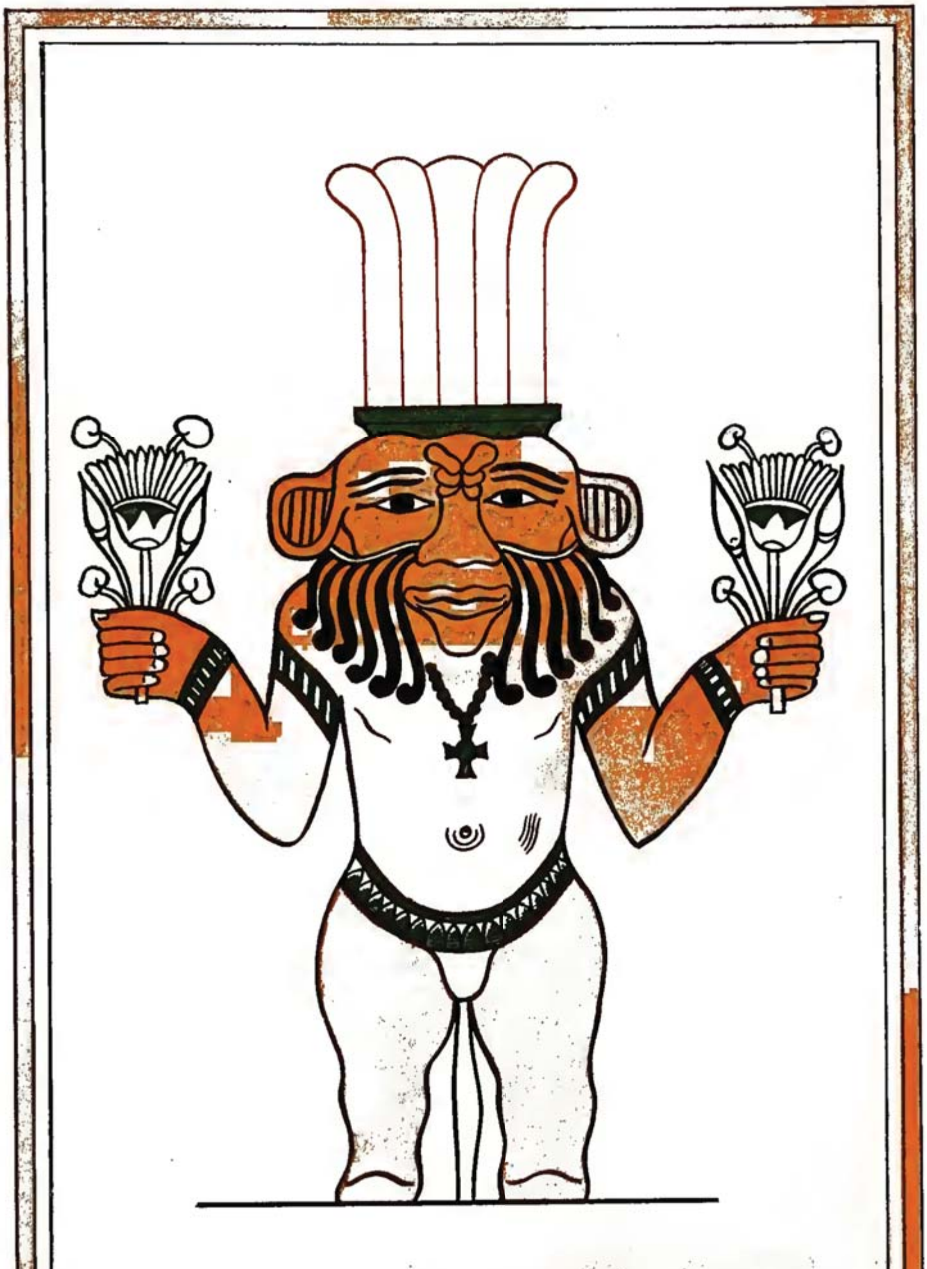
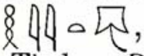
[1] Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 310.

represented in the lying-in rooms of Egyptian queens, it is clear that their presence was considered to be of great importance both to mother and child. In the Heliopolitan and Theban Recensions of the *Book of the Dead* the name of Bes does not occur, but in one of the vignettes to the cxlvth Chapter (§ xxi.) of the Saïte Recension this god is seen guarding one of the pylons of the house of Osiris in the Underworld. At some period under the New Empire the original attributes of Bes were modified, and he assumed the character of a solar god and became identified with Horus the Child, or Harpocrates; little by little he was merged in other forms of the Sun-god, until at length he absorbed the characteristics of Horus, Rā, and Temu. As Horus, or Harpocrates, he wore the lock of hair, which is symbolic of youth, on the right side of his head, and as Rā-Temu he was given the withered cheeks and attributes of an old man. On the Metternich Stele we see the head of the "Old Man who renews his youth, and the Aged One "who maketh himself once again a boy," placed above that of Horus, the god of renewed life and of the rising sun, to show that the two heads represent, after all, only phases of one and the same god.

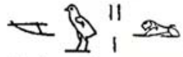
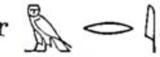
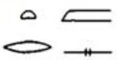
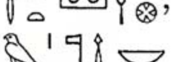
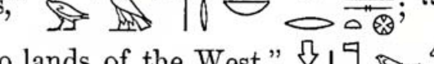
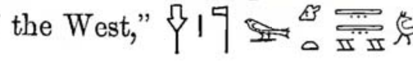
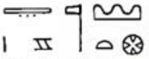
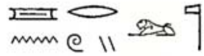
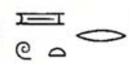
After the XXVIth Dynasty and during the Ptolemaïc period we find from certain bronze figures, numerous examples of which are found in the various Museums of Europe, that Bes was merged wholly in Horus, and that the Egyptians bestowed upon him the body and wings of a hawk united to the body of a vigorous young man, who, however, had the head of a very aged man surmounted by the group of heads with which we are familiar from the Cippi of Horus. On the Metternich Stele (see above, p. 273) we see him wearing the plumes of Shu and of the other gods of light and air, and the horns of Ȧmen or of the Ram of Mendes, and above these are eight knives and the emblem of million of years, and he holds in his hands all the emblems of sovereignty and dominion which Osiris holds, besides serpents, which he crushes in his grasp. He stands upon an oval wherein are grouped specimens of all the Typhonic beasts, and we may gather from his attitude that he is lord of them all. In the vignette to the xxviiith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* a monster, who somewhat resembles Bes, is



THE GOD BES.

seen standing before the deceased, though apparently not in a threatening attitude; he holds a knife close to his breast in his right hand, and he clasps the root of his tail with his left. There is no indication in the text to show who this monster is, but it seems very probable that it is Bes. In the vignette under consideration the creature has a huge head with long and shaggy hair, but, although his body is large and his limbs massive, he is not represented as a dwarf; he has, apparently, come with his knife to cut out the heart of the deceased, and to carry it away from him. The papyrus in which it is found, viz., that of Nefer-uben-f, which is preserved in Paris, probably dates from the XVIIIth Dynasty, and if the monster be really Bes, or some such form of him as Ḥit, , it is important to note that he had found a place in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* at that early period of its history.

It is difficult to understand the change of view on the part of the Egyptians which turned the god of mirth, and laughter, and pleasure into an avenging deity, but it may be explained by assuming that he only exhibited his terror and ferocity to the wicked, while to the good in the Underworld he was a true friend and merry companion. In the texts, especially those of the late period, Bes is sometimes mentioned in connexion with Neter Ta, or the "Divine Land," or "Land of the God," i.e., Arabia, and as this name is also used in connexion with Punt, and is applied to the adjacent lands, attempts have been made to prove that the god is of Arabian origin. This is, however, extremely improbable, for his characteristics are much more those of an African than Asiatic deity. The figure of Bes suggests that his home was a place where the dwarf and pygmy were held in esteem, whilst his head-dress resembles those head-dresses which were, and still are, worn by the tribes of Equatorial Africa, and this would lead us to place his home in that portion of it which lies a few degrees to the north of the Equator. The knowledge of the god, and perhaps figures of him, were brought from this region, which the Egyptians called the "Land of the Spirits," to Egypt in the early dynastic period, when kings of Egypt loved to keep a pygmy at their courts. The earthly kinsmen of the god who lived to the south of Egypt were, no doubt, well known even to the predynastic Egyptians, and as the dynastic Egyptians were at all times familiar with the figure of Bes those of the late period may be forgiven for connecting him with the "Land of the God," or Punt, whence, according to tradition, came the early people who invaded the Nile Valley from the east, or south-east, and settled in Egypt at no great distance from the modern city of Ḳena. Bes wears an animal's tail, which is a striking characteristic of the early men of Punt, but so does every Egyptian god, and every god, when once he had been included among the gods of Egypt, whether originally Libyan, or Syrian, or Nubian, was endowed with an animal's tail and a plaited beard, which are the traditional attributes of the people of Punt. In his original conception Bes is certainly African, and his cult in Egypt is coeval with dynastic civilization; the name of the god continued in use long after he himself was forgotten, and some famous Copts bore it, among them being Bêsa, the disciple of the great monk Shenûti, ϣⲉⲛⲟⲩϯ.

A Nubian god of interest and of some local importance is MERUL or MERIL, , or , who was the son of Horus and Isis; he was the third member of the triad of the city of Termes, or Telmes, , a city the site of which is marked by the modern village of Kalâbsheh in Nubia, situated about thirty-five miles to the north of Syene. At Dabôd also he was the third member of the local triad, which consisted of Seb, Nut, and Merul. In the figures of the god reproduced by Lanzone[1] he is depicted in the form of a man, with or without a beard, and he wears the White Crown with plumes, or the triple crown with horns and uraei, or a crown composed of a pair of horns, with two plumes and a solar disk between them, and uraei. His titles are:—"Great god, governor (or dweller in) the White Mountain," ; "son of Horus, great god, lord of Telmes," ; "Great Sekhem, governor of the two lands of the West," ; "Beautiful boy who proceedeth from the son of Isis," ; and "holy child of the son of Osiris," . A text quoted by Brugsch[1] speaks of Merul as coming from Ta-neter, , i.e., the land on both sides of the southern end of the Red Sea, and the coast of Africa which is further to the south. Thus it seems that Merul is not of Egyptian origin, and it is probable that the worship of the god is very ancient. The variant forms of his name are:— , or , , and , i.e., Menruil, Menlil, and Meruter; from the first two of these was formed the classical name of the god—Mandulis. The centres of the worship of the god were at Telmes and Philae; at the former place the temple of Merul was rebuilt by Augustus on the site of an earlier building, but the ruins of the little shrine of the god at Philae, which stood behind the colonnade of the Temple of Ȧri-ḥes-nefer, suggests that the building was the work of one of the early Ptolemies, perhaps of Philadelphus.

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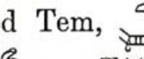
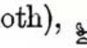
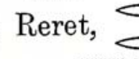
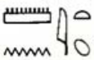
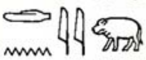
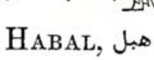
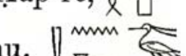
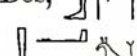
[1] *Dizionario*, pll. 122, 123.

In connexion with the question of the cult of foreign gods in Egypt, and of the gods of Egypt in foreign lands, reference may here be made to a theory which has recently been put forward[2] to the effect that several of the gods of Egypt were worshipped as idols by the Arabs of the pre-Islamic times. According to this the Egyptian god Tem, , = the Arabic idol TÎM, تيم; Teḥuti (Thoth), , = ṬÂʻÛT, طاغوت; Iusāās, , = YAʻÛTH, يغوث; Reret, , = LÂT, اللات; Uatchit, , = ʻAZZA, العزى; Menȧt, , = MENĀT, مناة; Meṭeni, , = MEDÂN, المدان; Ḥāp-re, , = HABAL, هبل; Bes, , = BUSS, بسّ; Bennu, , = BUWÂNAT, بوانة; Bār, , = BAʻAL, بعل; and so on. The theory is of interest, but beyond a certain similarity between the Egyptian and Arabic names little proof has been brought forward in support of it. It is, of course, quite possible that the knowledge of several of the gods and goddesses of Egypt should have found its way into Arabia in early times; indeed this is only what is to be expected. We know that already in the IIIrd Dynasty the turquoise mines of Sinai were worked for the benefit of the kings of Egypt, and that the goddess Hathor was especially worshipped in the Peninsula of Sinai long before the close of the VIth Dynasty. From Sinai the knowledge of Hathor, and Sepṭ, and of other Egyptian gods worshipped at Ṣarbût al-Khâdem and other mining centres would spread to the north and south, and it is tolerably certain that it would reach every place where the caravans carried torquoises for barter. Under the Middle and New Empires this knowledge would become very widespread, and might have reached the tribes in the extreme south of the Arabian Peninsula. On the other hand, we have no proof that the pre-Islamic Arabs adopted Egyptian gods, or that they even attempted to understand their attributes and cult. Before the theory already referred to can be accepted it must be shown that the Egyptian and Arabian gods whose names are quoted above are really identical, and that it has more to rest upon than similarities of names. The pre-Islamic gods were probably indigenous, and the pre-Islamic tribes being Semitic, their gods would be, naturally, of a character quite different from that of the gods of Egypt, and the attributes of the Semitic gods would be entirely different from those of the Egyptian gods. Whatsoever borrowing of gods took place under the early dynasties was from Egypt by Arabia and not from Arabia by Egypt, and this is true for all periods of Egyptian history, with the exception of the late Ptolemaïc period, when a few local and unimportant Arabian gods appear to have been adopted at certain places in Egypt. The pre-Islamic Arabs were worshippers of stocks and stones, and it is exceedingly doubtful if they were sufficiently developed, either mentally or spiritually, before the period of the XXVIth Dynasty to understand the gods of Egypt and their attributes, or to adopt their cult to their spiritual needs which, after all, can only have been those of nomadic desert tribes.

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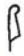
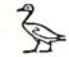
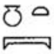
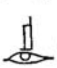
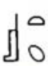
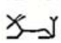
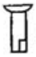
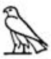
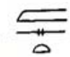
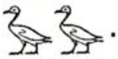
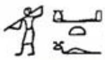
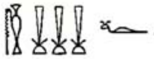
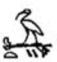
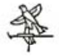
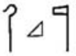
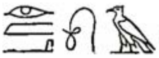
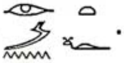
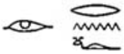
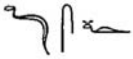
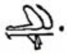
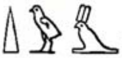
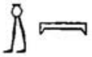
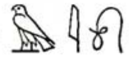
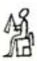
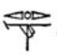
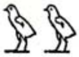
[1] See Brugsch, *Géographie*, p. 954.

[2] See Ahmed-Bey Kamal, *Les Idoles Arabes et les Divinités Égyptiennes* (Recueil, xxiv., p. 11 ff.).

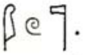
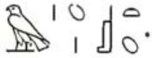
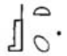
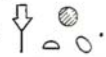
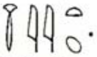
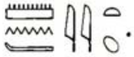
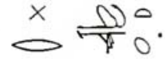
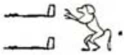
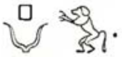
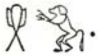
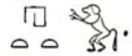
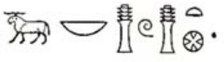
CHAPTER XIX

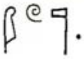
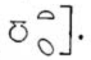
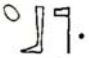
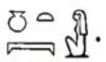
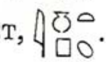
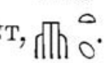
MISCELLANEOUS GODS

I.—The Gods of the Twenty-eight finger-breadths of the Royal Cubit

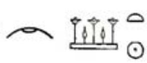
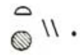
1. Rā, ⊙.
2. Shu, .
3. Khent, .
4. Seb, .
5. Nut, .
6. Åsår, .
7. Åst, .
8. Set, .
9. Nebt-ḥet, .
10. Ḥeru, .
11. Mest, .
12. Ḥāp, .
13. Ṭuamātef, .
14. Qebḥsennu-f, .
15. Teḥuti, .
16. Sep, .
17. Ḥeq, .
18. Årmāua, .
19. Maa-en-tef, .
20. År-ren-f-tchesef,  
21. Ḥak (?) .
22. Sepṭu, .
23. Seb, ★.
24. Ån-Ḥer, .
25. Ḥer-åua, .
26. Sheps, .
27. Åmsu (or Min), .
28. Uu, .

II.—The Gods and Goddesses of the Days of the Month.

1. Ist hour of the Ist day of the Moon: Shu, .
2. IInd ,, ,, IInd ,, ,, Ḥeru-sa-Ȧst, .
3. IIIrd ,, ,, IIIrd ,, ,, Ȧst, .
4. IVth ,, ,, IVth ,, ,, Sekhet, .
5. Vth ,, ,, Vth ,, ,, Uatchit, .
6. VIth ,, ,, VIth ,, ,, Menḥit, .
7. VIIth ,, ,, VIIth ,, ,, Ur-ḥeket, .
8. VIIIth ,, ,, VIIIth ,, ,, Āā [n], .
9. IXth ,, ,, IXth ,, ,, Ȧp, .
10. Xth ,, ,, Xth ,, ,, Sa, .
11. XIth ,, ,, XIth ,, ,, Hetet, .
12. XIIth ,, ,, XIIth ,, ,, Ba-neb-Ṭeṭṭu, .

1. Ist hour of the night of the XIIIth day of the Moon: Shu, .
2. IInd ,, ,, XIVth ,, ,, [Tefnut, ].
3. IIIrd ,, ,, XVth ,, ,, Seb (Qeb), .
4. IVth ,, ,, XVIth ,, ,, Nut, .
5. Vth ,, ,, XVIIth ,, ,, Ȧnpet, .
6. VIth ,, ,, XVIIIth ,, ,, Khent, .

III.—The Gods and Goddesses of the Months of the Year.

Month		Deity	
1. ⲑⲱⲟⲩⲧ	= .	Goddess Tekhi[1]	.

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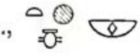
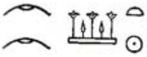
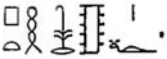
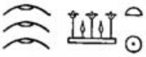
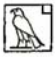
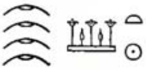
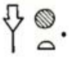
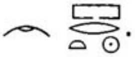
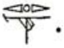
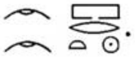
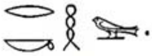
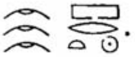
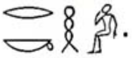
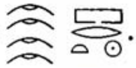
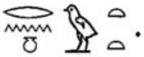
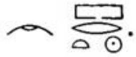
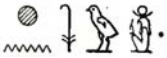
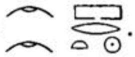
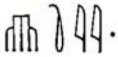
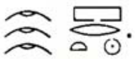
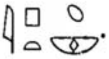
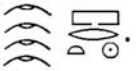
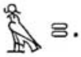
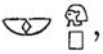
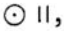
[1] Var., , Tekh-ḥeb.

Month			Deity	
2. ⲡⲁⲟⲡⲓ	=  .	God	PTAḤ-ȦNEB-RES-F[1]	 .
3. ⲁⲑⲱⲣ	=  .	Goddess	ḤET-ḤERT	
4. ⲭⲟⲓⲁⲕ	=  .	Goddess	SEKHET[2]	 .
5. ⲧⲱⲃⲓ	=  .	God	ȦMSU, or MIN[3]	 .
6. ⲙⲉⲭⲓⲣ	=  .	God	REKEḤ-UR[4]	 .
7. ⲫⲁⲙⲉⲛⲱⲑ	=  .	God	REKEḤ-NETCHES	 .
8. ⲫⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲑⲓ	=  .	Goddess	RENNUTET	 .
9. ⲡⲁⲭⲱⲛ	=  .	God	KHENSU	 .
10. ⲡⲁⲱⲛⲓ	=  .	God	KHENTHI[5]	 .
11. ⲉⲡⲏⲡ	=  .	Goddess	ȦPT[6]	 .
12. ⲙⲉⲥⲱⲣⲏ	=  .	God	ḤERU-KHUTI[7]	 .

IV.—THE BIRTHDAYS OF THE GODS AND GODDESSES OF THE FIVE EPAGOMENAL DAYS.

1. Day I. . , The Birthday of Osiris.
2. Day II. . , The Birthday of Horus.

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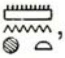
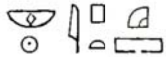
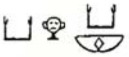
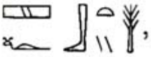
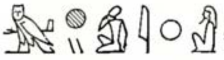
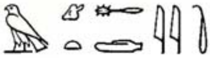
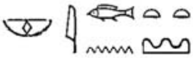
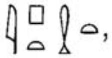
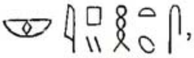
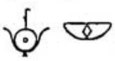
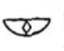
[1] Variants, , MENKHET and , ḤEB-ȦPT.

[2] Var., , KA-ḤER-KA-ḤEB. [3] Var., , SHEF-BETI.

[4] Var., , MĀKHIȦR.

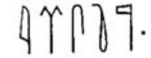
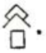
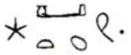
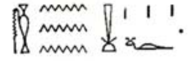
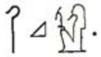
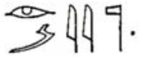
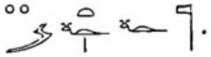
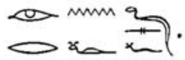
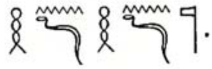
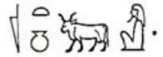
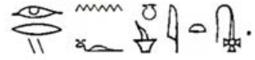
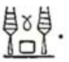
[5] Variants, , ḤERU-KHENT-KHAṬITH and , ḤEB-ȦNTET.

[6] Variants, , ȦPT-ḤENT and , ḤEB-ȦPI-ḤENT-S.

[7] Variants, , ȦPT-RENPIT and , ḤEB-ṬEP.

3. Day III. .	⊙ III,	The Birthday of Set.
4. Day IV. .	⊙ IIII,	The Birthday of Isis.
5. Day V. .	⊙ IIIII,	The Birthday of Nephthys.

V.—The Gods and Goddesses of the Hours of the Day.

1. First Hour . .	Ȧmseth . . .	
2. Second Hour .	Ḥāp	
3. Third Hour . .	Ṭua-māt-f . .	
4. Fourth Hour .	Qebḥ-sennu-f .	
5. Fifth Hour . .	Ḥeq	
6. Sixth Hour . .	Ȧrmai	
7. Seventh Hour .	Maa-tef-f . .	
8. Eighth Hour .	Ȧr-ren-f-tchesef .	
9. Ninth Hour . .	Ḥentch-ḥentch .	
10. Tenth Hour . .	Qeṭ	
11. Eleventh Hour .	Ȧri-nef Nebȧt.[1] .	
12. Twelfth Hour .	Mātcheṭ . . .	

VI.—The Gods and Goddesses of the Hours of the Night.

The deities of the hours of the night are the same as those of the hours of the day, and their names follow each other in the order in which they occur as gods of the hours of the day.

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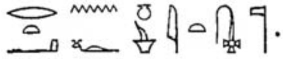
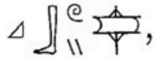
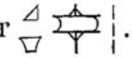
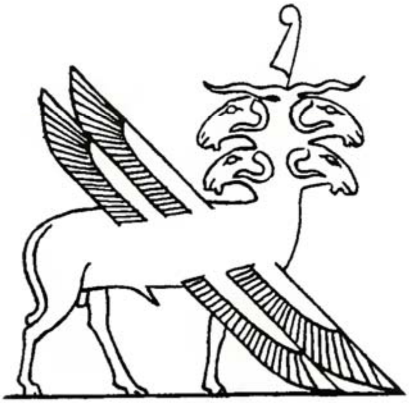
[1] Var., An-ertā-nef-nebȧt, .

VII.—The Gods and Goddesses who watch before and behind Osiris-Serapis during the Twelve Hours of the Day and of the Night.

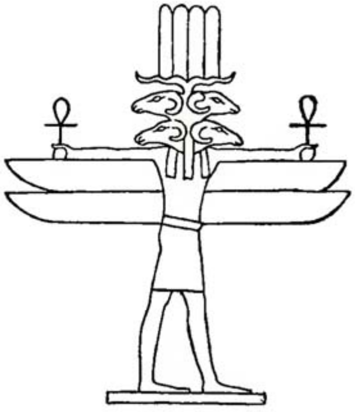
By Day	Before Osiris	Behind Osiris	By Night	Before Osiris	Behind Osiris
Hour 1.	Mātcheṭ	Ȧmseth	Hour 1.	Thoth and Ȧnep	Ȧmseth
,, 2.	Ȧmseth	Ḥāp	,, 2.	Ȧnep and Ȧp-uat	Ḥāp
,, 3.	Ḥāp	Ṭuamutef	,, 3.	Ḥeru and Thoth	Ṭuamutef
,, 4.	Ṭuamutef	Qebḥsennu-f	,, 4.	Ḥeru and Ȧst	Qebḥsennu-f
,, 5.	Qebḥsennu-f	Ḥeq	,, 5.	Ȧst and Nebt-ḥet	Ḥeq
,, 6.	Ḥeq	Ȧrmāiu	,, 6.	Shu and Seb	Ȧrmāiu
,, 7.	Ȧrmāiu	Maa-tef-f	,, 7.	Thoth and Ȧnep	Maa-tef-f
,, 8.	Maa-tef-f	Ȧri-ren-f-tchesef	,, 8.	Ḥeru and those in his train	Ȧr-ren-f tchesef
,, 9.	Ȧri-ren-f-tchesef	Ḥentch-ḥentch	,, 9.	. . . .	Ḥentch-ḥentch
,, 10.	Ḥentch-ḥentch	Qeṭ	,, 10.	Ḥeru and those in his train	Qeṭ
,, 11.	Qeṭ	Ȧn-ertā-nef-nebȧt	,, 11.	Neteru ent ḥa-ābt	Ȧn-erta-nef-nebȧt
,, 12.	Ȧn-ertā-nef-nebȧt		,, 12.	Ḥeru and Seb	Mātcheṭ

VIII.—The Gods of the Four Winds.

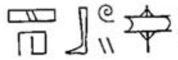
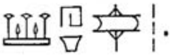
1. The North Wind was called Qebui, , or .

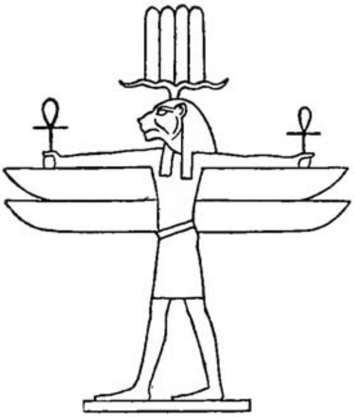


North Wind.

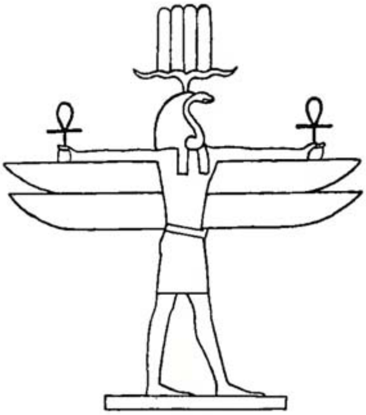


North Wind.

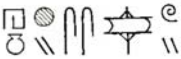
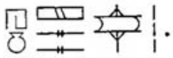
2. The South Wind was called SHEHBUI, , or .

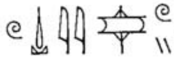
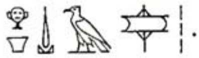


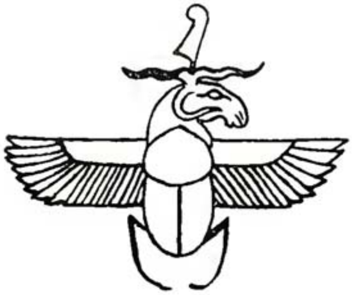
South Wind.



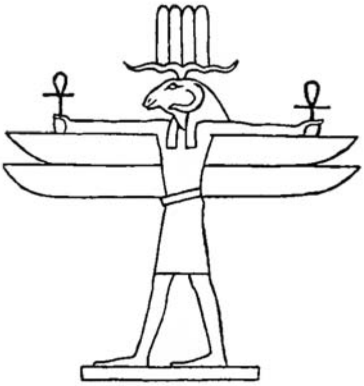
West Wind.

3. The East Wind was called HENKHISESUI, , or .

4. The West Wind was called ḤUTCHAIUI, , or .

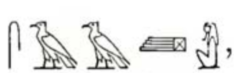


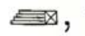
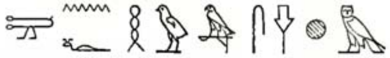
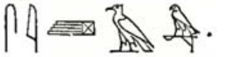
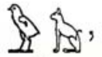
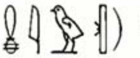
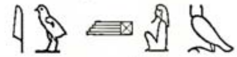
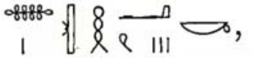
East Wind.

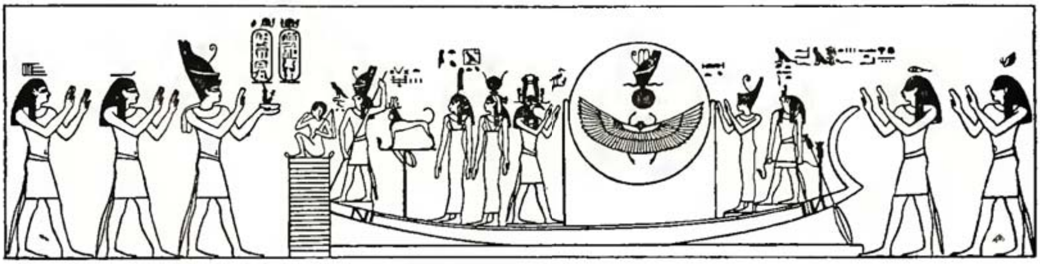


East Wind.

IX.—THE GODS OF THE SENSES.

1. SAA, , the god of the sense of Touch or Feeling and of knowledge and understanding, is depicted in the

ordinary form of a man-god, and he has upon his head the sign , which is the symbol of his name. One of the earliest mentions of this god occurs in the text of Unȧs (line 439), where it is said that the dead king has "taken possession of Ḥu and hath gained the mastery over Sȧa,"  . In the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, Saa, or Sȧa, appears in the Judgment Scene among the gods who watch the weighing of the heart of the deceased in the Great Balance, and he is mentioned in the xviith Chapter as one of the gods who came into being from the drops of blood which fell from Rā when he mutilated himself. From the same Chapter we learn that it was he who made the pun on the name of Rā, the Cat, which he declared to be "Mȧu," , because it was "like" (*mȧu*, ) that which he made. Saa with Thoth, and Sheta, and Tem formed the "souls of Khemennu" (Hermopolis),[1] and Saa had a place in the Boat of Rā (cxxxvi.B 12), with Ḥu and other gods. In Chapter clxix. (line 19), Saa is declared to protect the members of the deceased by his magical powers,  , although what he was exactly supposed to do for him is unknown; in this passage he is mentioned in connexion with the goddess Sesheta, the "lady of writing," and one of the female counterparts of Thoth. In Chapter clxxiv. (line 2), Saa is said to have been begotten by Seb, and to have been brought forth by


God of Touch.
God of the Intelligence.
God of Seeing.
God of Hearing.

The gods of the Senses.

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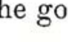
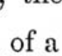
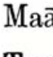
[1] See Chapter cxvii.

the company of the gods, and this statement supplies us with the reason why he is grouped among the gods of the cycle of Osiris. The texts make it clear that Saa was the personification of the intelligence, whether of a god or of a human being, and the deceased coveted the mastery over this god because he could give him the power to perceive, and to feel, and to understand. At the end of the clxxivth Chapter (lines 16, 17), a "Great Intelligence," , SAAU-UR, and an "Intelligence of the Ȧmenti of Rā," , Sȧa-Ȧmenti-Rā, are mentioned.

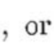
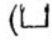
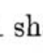
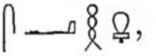
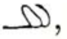
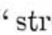
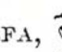
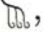
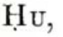
2. ḤU, , or , the god of the sense of TASTE is depicted in the ordinary form of a man-god, and he also has upon his head the sign , which is the symbol of his name. He is mentioned in the text of Unȧs with Saa, and he appears with him in the Judgment Scene, and he was present together with Ȧmen, Thoth, Nekhebet, Uatchet, and Saa, when Isis brought forth her son Horus in the papyrus swamps of the Delta. Like Saa, the god Ḥu came into existence from a drop of blood which fell from Rā when he mutilated himself. Ḥu was, however, not only the personification of the sense of taste in god and man, but also became the personification of the divine food upon which the gods and the beatified saints lived in heaven. Thus in the lxxxth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* the deceased says, "I "have taken possession of Ḥu in my city, for I found him therein," and in Chapter clxix. (line 22) it is said to the deceased, "Ḥu is in thy mouth." In some passages it is difficult to decide whether the *ḥu* mentioned in the texts refers to the god of the sense of Taste, or to the divine food *ḥu*.

3. MAA, , the god of the sense of SIGHT, is depicted in the ordinary form of a man-god, who has upon his head an eye, , which is both the emblem of his chief attribute and the symbol of his name.

4. SETEM, , the god of the sense of HEARING, is depicted in the ordinary form of a man-god, who has upon his head an ear, , which is both the emblem of his chief attribute and the symbol

of his name. The gods of the Four Senses appear together in a relief which was made for Ptolemy IV. at Edfû. In this we have the Sun's disk on the horizon placed in a boat wherein are the gods Ḥeru-merti, Àp-uat, Shu, Hathor, Thoth, Neith, and Ḥeru-khent-khathet; the king stands in front of the boat and is offering Maāt, , to the god. Behind him are the gods of the senses of Taste and Touch, and behind the boat stand the gods of the senses of Sight and Hearing. An interesting variant form of the god Setem is reproduced by Signor Lanzone, from which we see that he sometimes had the head of a bull with the body of a man; the text which accompanies the figure describes the god as "the dweller in Pa-Shu" (i.e., Dendera), and calls him the "bull, lord of strength."[1]

X.—The Soul-God.

The mythological and religious texts contain indications that the Egyptians believed in what may be described as a "World-Soul," which they called Ba, ; its symbol was a bearded man-headed hawk, and it was identified with more than one god, for there was a Soul of Rā, a Soul of Shu,[2] a Soul of Seb, a Soul of Tefnut, a Soul of Osiris, and "the Soul of the Great Body which is in Saïs, [i.e.,] Neith." In the *Book of the Dead* (xvii. 109 ff.) we find that the Soul of Rā and the Soul of Osiris together form the double divine soul which inhabited the Tchafi, , who dwelt in Ṭeṭṭu. The existence of a World-Soul presupposed the existence of a World-Body, which is of course the material universe; and the type of this was, according to the priests of Heliopolis, the body of Osiris, and according to the priests of Saïs, the goddess Neith; in other cities the priests, no doubt, identified the World-Body with their local gods. Men and gods were supposed to contain the same component parts. Man possessed:—1. A physical body (, *khat*). 2. A soul (, or , *ba*). 3. A heart (, *àb*). 4. A double (, *ka*). 5. An intelligence (, *khu*). 6. Power (, *sekhem*). 7. A shadow (, *khaibit*). 8. A spiritual body (, *sāḥ*). 9. A name (, *ren*); and the gods possessed divine counterparts of all these. Thus Kheperȧ was "strong in his heart"[1] when he began to create the world, and according to one version of the Egyptian legend of Creation this god was united to his shadow. A god had only one heart and one shadow, etc., but he might possess several souls and "doubles," and we know that the souls of Rā were seven in number, and his doubles fourteen. The names of these last were:—1. Ḥeq, , "intelligence." 2. Nekht, , "strength." 3. Khu, , "splendour." 4. Usr, , "power." 5. Uatch, , "vigour." 6. Tchefa, , "abundance." 7. Sheps, , "wealth." 8. Senem, , "interment." 9. Sept, , "provision." 10. Ṭeṭ, , "stability." 11. Maa, , "sight." 12. Setem, , "hearing." 13. Sa, , "intelligence." 14. Ḥu, , "taste." Similarly the texts show that the Egyptians believed in the existence of a divine Khu, and of a divine Sekhem, etc.

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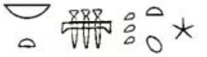
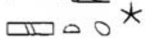
[1] *Dizionario*, pl. 384, No. 2.

[2] Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 776.

XI. Goddesses and Gods of the Twelve Hours of the Night.

Goddesses.

Hour	I.		Nebt-theḥent.
,,	II.		Sārset.
,,	III.		Seḥer-ṭut.
,,	IV.		Āa-sheft.

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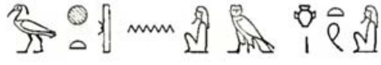
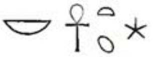
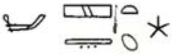
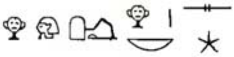
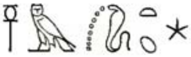
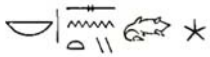
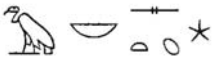
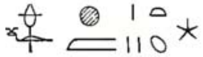
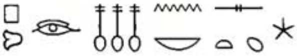
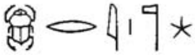
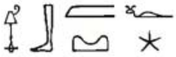
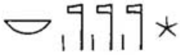
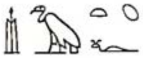
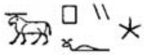
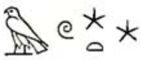
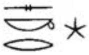
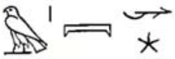
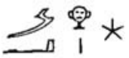
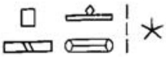
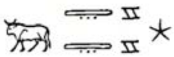
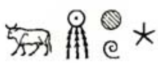
[1] 

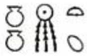
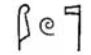
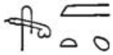
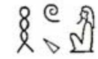
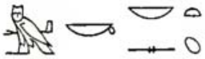
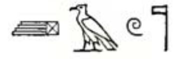
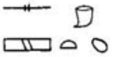
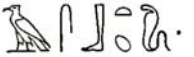
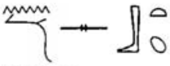
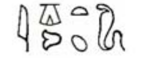
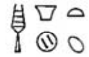
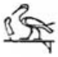
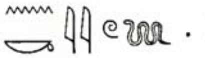
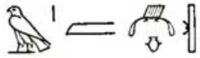
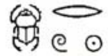
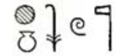
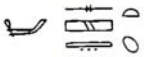
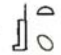
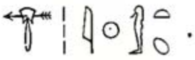
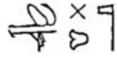
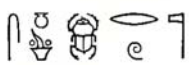
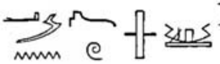
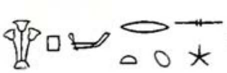
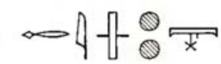
Goddesses.

Hour	V.		NEB-ĀNKHET.
,,	VI.		TCHESER-SHETAT.
,,	VII.		ḤER-ṬEP-ĀḤA-ḤER-NEB-S.
,,	VIII.		MERT.
,,	IX.		NEB-SENTI.
,,	X.		MUT-NEB-SET.
,,	XI.		KHESEF-KHEMT.
,,	XII.		PAR-NEFERU-EN-NEB-SET.

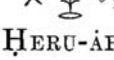
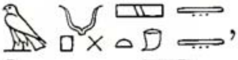
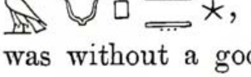
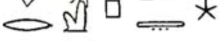
Gods.

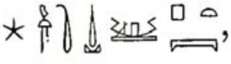
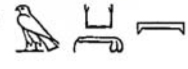
Hour	I.		KHEPERȦ.
,,	II.		ĀB-EM-ṬU-F.
,,	III.		NEB-NETERU.
,,	IV.		ȦN-MUT-F.
,,	V.		BAPI-F.
,,	VI.		ḤERU-SBATI.
,,	VII.		SEKER.
,,	VIII.		ḤERU-ḤER-KHET.
,,	IX.		MAĀ-ḤRȦ.
,,	X.		PESH-ḤETEP-F.
,,	XI.		KA-TAUI.
,,	XII.		KA-KHU.

XII.—The Goddesses and Gods of the Twelve Hours of the Day.

Hour.	Goddesses.	Gods.
I.	 Nunut.	 Shu.
II.	 Semt.	 Ḥu.
III.	 Māk-nebt-s.	 Sau.
IV.	 Seshetat.	 Asbet.
V.	 Nesbet.	 Ȧḳert.
VI.	 Āḥābit.	 Teḥuti.
VII.	 Nekiu.	 Ḥeru-em-Āu-ȧb.
VIII.	 Kheperu.	 Khensu.
IX.	 Tcheser-shetat.	 Ȧst.
X.	 Sati-ȧrut.	 Ḥeq-ur.
XI.	 Senb-kheperu.	 Maā-ennu-ȧm-uȧa.
XII.	 Ḥap-tcheserts.	 Āa-ȧm-khekh.

XIII.—The Planets and their Gods.[1]

1. Jupiter, the "star of the South," , was called under the XIXth and XXth Dynasties Ḥeru-ȧp-sheta-taui, , and in the Graeco-Roman period Ḥeru-ȧp-sheta, , or Ḥeru-pe-sheta, . This planet was without a god.

2. Saturn, the "star of the West which traverseth heaven," , was called "Ḥeru-ka-pet," , i.e.,

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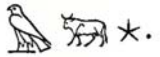
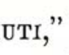
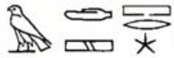
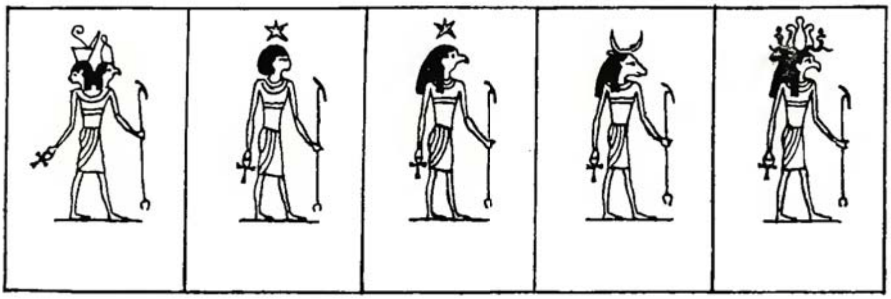
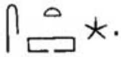
[1] See Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 65 ff.; *Aegyptologie*, p. 336.

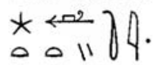
"Horus, Bull of heaven," under the XIXth and XXth Dynasties, and in the Graeco-Roman period Ḥeru-p-ka and Ḥeru-ka, , and . The god of this planet was Horus.

3. Mars, the "star of the East of heaven," , which is described as the "[star] which journeyeth backwards in travelling," , was called "Ḥeru-khuti," , under the XIXth and XXth Dynasties, and in the Graeco-Roman period "Ḥeru-ṭesher," , i.e., "the Red Horus." The god of this planet was Rā, ⊙.



Venus. Mercury. Mars. Saturn. Jupiter.

4. Mercury was called Sebḳu, , under the XIXth and XXth Dynasties, and Sebeḳ, , or Sebek, ,[1] in the Graeco-Roman period. The god of this planet was Set, .

5. Venus was called the "star of the ship of the Bennu-Àsàr," , under the XIXth and XXth Dynasties, and "Pi-neter-Ṭuau," i.e., the "god of the morning," in the Graeco-Roman period. The god of this planet was Osiris. As an evening star Venus was called Sbat uātithà, .

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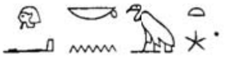
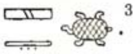
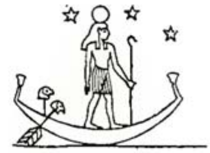
[1] Var., .

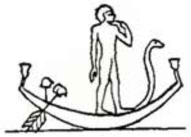
XIV.—The Dekans and their Gods.[1]

The Dekans. Ptolemaïc Variants.[2]

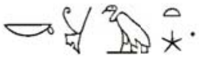
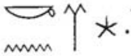
1. ṬEPĀ-KENMUT . .  [3]

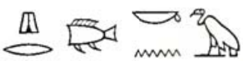
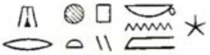


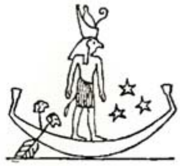
1. Ṭepā-Kenmut.



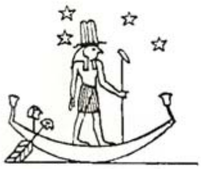
2. Kenmut.

2. KENMUT . . . .  [4]

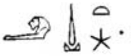
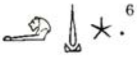
3. KHER-KHEPT-KENMUT  [5]

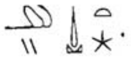
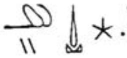


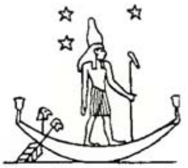
3. Kher-khept-Kenmut.



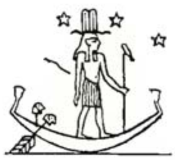
4. Ḥā-tchat.

4. ḤĀ-TCHAT . . .  [6]

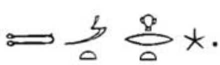
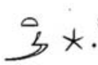
5. PEḤUI-TCHAT . .  [7]



5. Peḥui-tchat.



6. Themat-ḥert.

6. THEMAT-HERT . .  [8]

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[1] See Lepsius, *Chronologie*, p. 69; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 137 ff.; *Aegyptologie*, p. 340.

[2] The Greek transcriptions are as follows:—

[3] CIT

[4] XNOYMIC

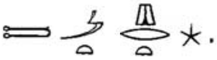
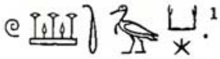
[5] XAPXNOYMIC

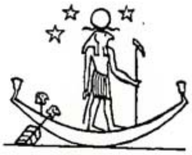
[6] HTHT

[7] ΦOYTHT

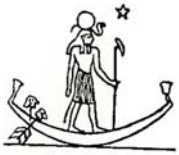
[8] TωM

The Dekans. Ptolemaïc Variants.

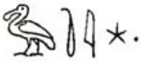
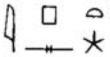
7. THEMAT-KHERT . .  [1]

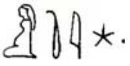
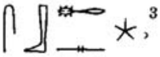


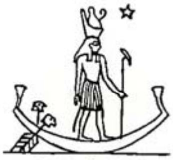
7. Themat-khert.



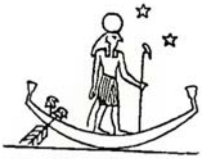
8. Usthȧ.

8. USTHȦ. . . . .  [2]

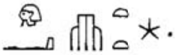
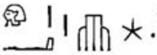
9. BEKATHȦ . . . .  [3]

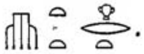
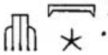


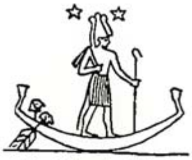
9. Bekatha.



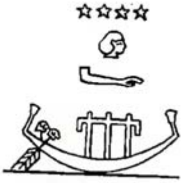
10. Ṭepā-Khentet.

10. ṬEPĀ-KHENTET . .  [4]

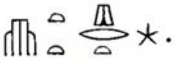
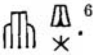
11. KHENTET-ḤERT . .  [5]

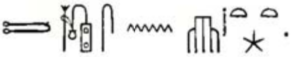
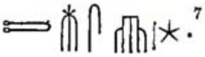


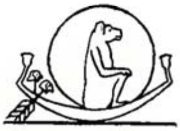
11. Khentet-ḥert.



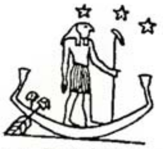
12. Khentet-khert.

12. KHENTET-KHERT .  [6]

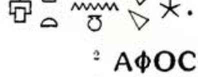
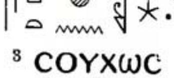
13. THEMES-EN-KHENTET  [7]



13. Themes-en-khentet.

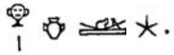
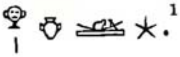


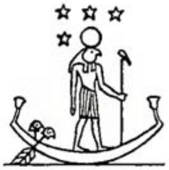
14. Sapt-khennu.

14. SAPT-KHENNU . .  [8]

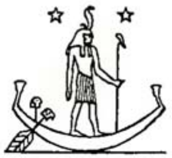
[1] ⲞⲨⲈⲤⲦⲈ—ⲂⲒⲔⲰⲦⲒ [2] ⲀⲪⲞⲤⲞ [3] ⲤⲞⲨⲬⲰⲤ
[4] ⲦⲠⲎⲬⲞⲚⲦⲒ [5] ⲬⲞⲚⲦⲀⲢⲈ [6] ⲬⲞⲚⲦⲀⲬⲢⲈ
[7] . . . . . . [8] ⲤⲠⲦⲬⲚⲈ

The Dekans. Ptolemaïc Variants.

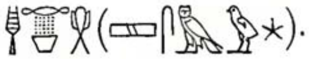
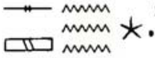
15. ḤER-AB-UÅA . . . .  [1]

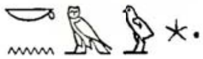
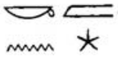


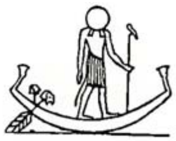
15. Ḥer-àb-uàa.



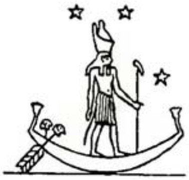
16. Shesmu.

16. SHESMU . . . .  [2]

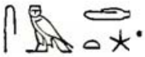
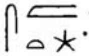
17. KENMU . . . .  [3]

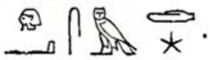
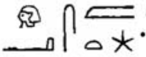


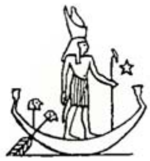
17. Kenmu.



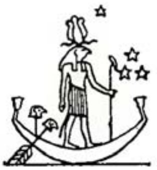
18. Semṭet.

18. SEMṬET . . . .  [4]

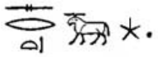
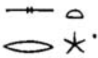
19. ṬEPĀ-SEMṬ . . .  [5]

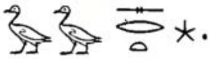
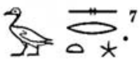


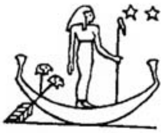
19. Ṭepā-semṭ.



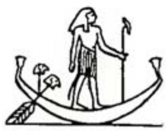
20. Sert.

20. SERT . . . . .  [6]

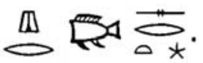
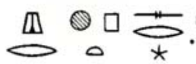
21. SASA-SERT . . .  [7]



21. Sasa-Sert.



22. Kher-khept-sert.

22. KHER-KHEPT-SERT .  [8]

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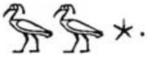
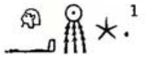
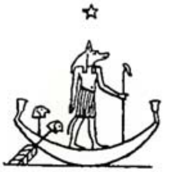
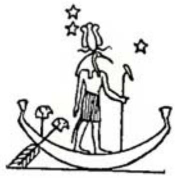
[1] ʽPHOYω [2] CECME, CICECME [3] KONIME [4] CMAT
[5] . . . . [6] CPω [7] CICPω [8] . . . .

The Dekans. Ptolemaïc Variants.

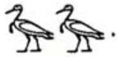
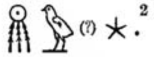
23. KHUKHU . . . .  [1]

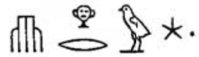
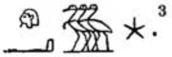


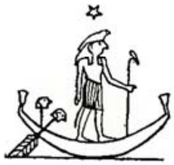
23. Khukhu.



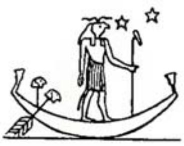
24. Baba.

24. BABA . . . . . .  [2]

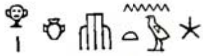
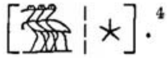
25. KHENT-ḤERU . . .  [3]

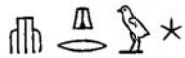
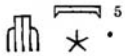


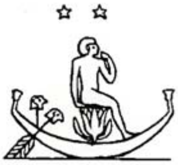
25. Khent-ḥeru.



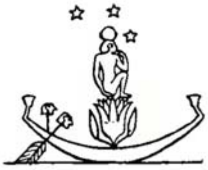
26. Ḥer-âb-khentu.

26. ḤER-ÂB-KHENTU . .  [4]

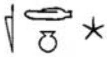
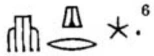
27. KHENT-KHERU . .  [5]

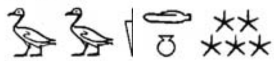
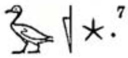


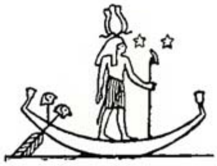
27. Khent-kheru.



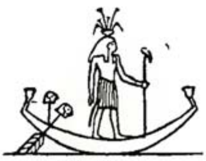
28. Qeṭ.

28. QEṬ . . . . . .  [6]

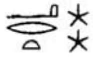
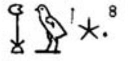
29. SASAQEṬ . . . .  [7]



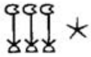
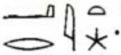
29. Sasaqeṭ.

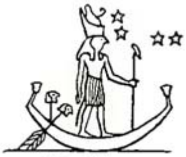


30. Ārt.

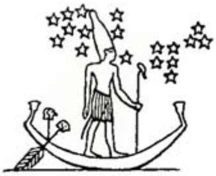
30. ĀRT . . . . . .  [8]

[1] ⲦⲠⲎⲬⲨ [2] ⲬⲨ [3] ⲦⲠⲎⲂⲒⲞⲨ [4] ⲂⲒⲞⲨ, ⲦⲠⲒⲂⲒⲞⲨ
[5] ⲬⲞⲚⲦⲀⲢⲈ [6] ⲬⲞⲚⲦⲀⲬⲢⲈ [7] ⲤⲒⲔⲈⲦ [8] ⲬⲰⲞⲨ

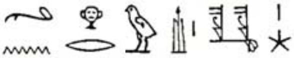
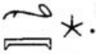
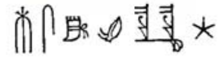
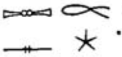
	The Dekans.	Ptolemaïc Variants.
31. KHAU		[1]

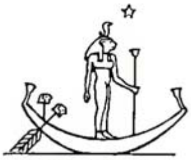


31. Khau.

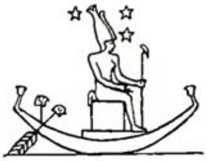


32. Remen-ḥeru-ȧn-Saḥ.

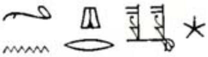
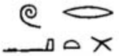
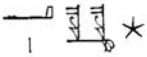
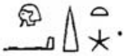
32. REMEN-ḤERU-AN-SAḤ		[2]
33. MESTCHER-SAḤ . . .		[3]

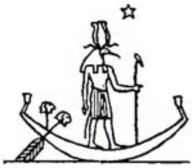


33. Mestcher-Saḥ.

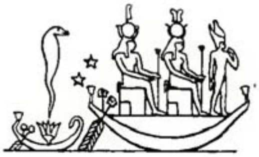


34. Remen-kher-Saḥ.

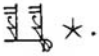
34. REMEN-KHER-SAḤ .		[4]
35. A-SAḤ		

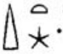


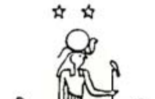
35. Ā-Saḥ.



36. Saḥ.

36. SAḤ . . . . . . 

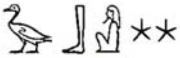
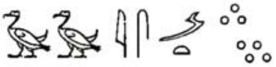
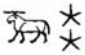
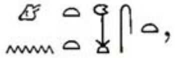
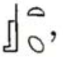
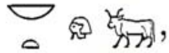
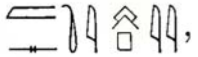
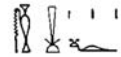
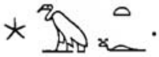
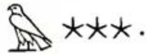
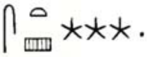
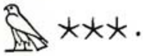
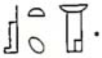
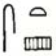
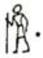
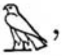
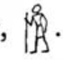
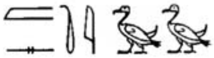
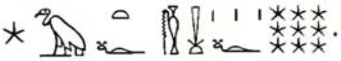
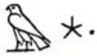
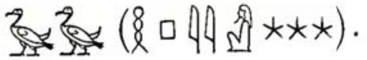
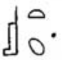
37. SEPṬET . . . . . [5]



37. Sepṭet.

[1] ⲈⲢⲰ, ⲀⲢⲞⲨ [2] ⲢⲈⲘⲈⲚⲀⲀⲢⲈ [3] ⲐⲞⲤⲞⲖⲔ
[4] ⲞⲨⲀⲢⲈ [5] ⲤⲰⲐⲒⲤ

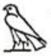
The Gods of the Dekans.

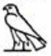
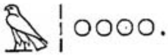
1. Seb, , or Ḥāpi-Åsmat, , or Ḥāpi-Mesthȧ.
2. Ba, , or Isis.
3. Khentet-khast, , or Isis, or the Children of Horus.
4. Åst (Isis), , or Ṭuamutef, or the Children of Horus.
5. Nebt-ṭep-åḥet, , or the Children of Horus.
6. Mesthȧ-Ḥāpi, , or Ṭuamutef.
7. Qebḥ-sennuf, , or Ṭuamutef.
8. Ṭuamutef, .
9. Ṭuamutef, Qebḥsennuf, or Ḥāpi.
10. Ṭuamutef, Ḥāpi.
11. Ḥeru, .
12. Set, .
13. Ḥeru, .
14. Åst Nebt-ḥet, .
15. Set, , or Ur, .
16. Ḥeru, , or Ur, .
17. Mesthā, Ḥāpi, Ṭuamutef, Qebḥsennuf,  .
18. Ḥeru, .
19. Ḥāpi, .
20. Åst, .
21. Ṭuamutef, Qebḥsennuf.
22. Qebḥsennuf.

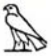
23. . . . .

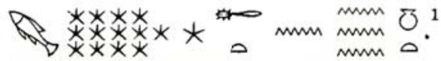
24. ṬUAMUTEF, QEBḤSENNUF.

25. MESTHȦ, ḤĀPI.

26. ḤERU, 

27. ḤERU,  or .

28. ḤERU, 

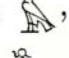
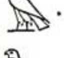
29. . . . . [1]

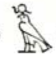
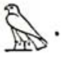
30. MESTHȦ, ḤĀPI, QEBḤSENNUF, ṬUAMUTEF, QEBḤSENNUF, ḤĀPI.

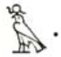
31. ḤĀPI.

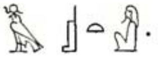
32. MESTHȦ.

33. ṬUAMUTEF, QEBḤSENNUF.

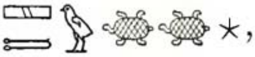
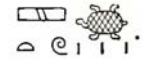
34. MAAT-ḤERU, ḤERU, , .

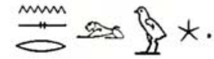
35. MAAT-ḤERU, ḤERU, , .

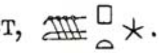
36. MAAT-ḤERU, .

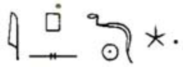
37. MAAT-ḤERU ȦST, .

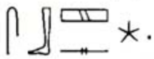
XV.—THE STAR-GODS BEHIND SOTHIS AND ORION.

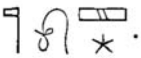
1. SHETHU, , or SHETU, .

2. NESRU, .

3. SHEPET, .

4. ȦPSETCH, .

5. SEBSHES, .

6. UASH-NETER, .

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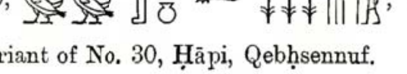
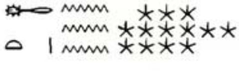
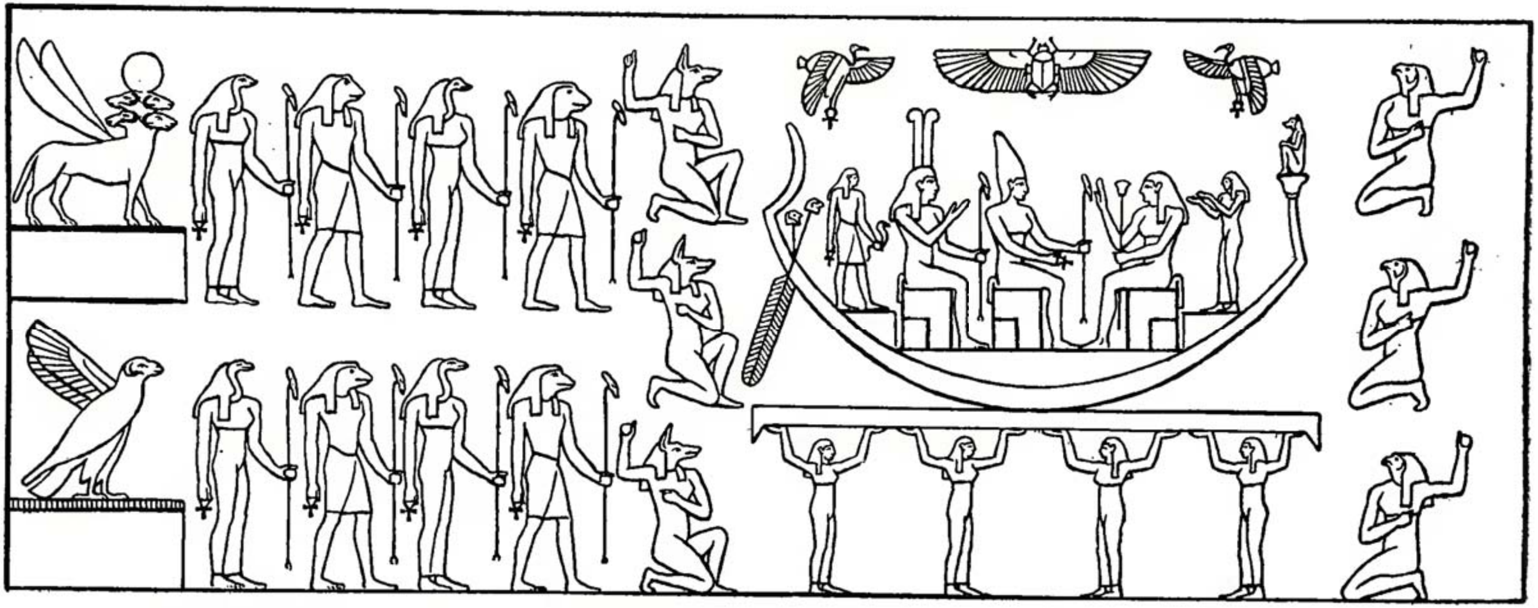
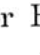
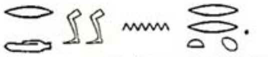
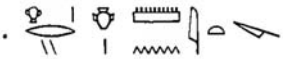
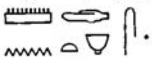
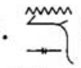
[1] Variant for Nos. 29 and 30, ; variant of No. 29, ; variant of No. 30, Ḥāpi, Qebḥsennuf.



The bark of Osiris sailing over heaven, which is supported by four pillars, in the form of goddesses. On the right are three hawk-headed spirits, and on the left are:—1. Three jackal-headed spirits; 2. The eight primeval gods of Khemennu, frog-headed and snake-headed; 3. The four-headed ram of the North wind; and, 4. The Ram-headed hawk of the East wind.

XVI.—The Star-gods of the Southern and Northern Heavens.

(*See p.* 313.)

1. The hippopotamus Ḥesamut, , or Reret, , up the back of which climbs a crocodile without name; Dr. Brugsch identifies this representation with Draco. In a list of the hours the various parts of the body and members of the hippopotamus goddess are mentioned, e.g., 1. . 2. . 3. . 4. . 5. . 6. . 7. . 8. . 9. .

2. The bull Meskheti, ; this was the Egyptian equivalent of our Great Bear.

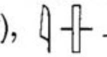
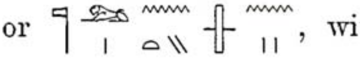
3. Horus the Warrior Ān, , who holds in his hand a weapon with which he is attacking the Great Bear.

4. A man standing upright and wearing a disk on his head; without name.

5. A man standing upright; he holds a spear which he is driving into a crocodile. This figure is without name.

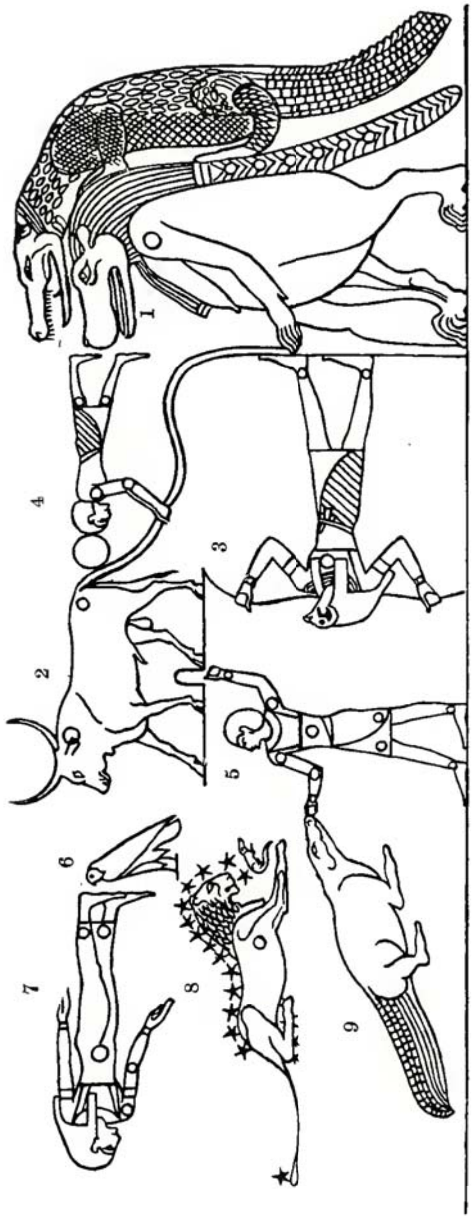
6. A hawk; without name.

7. The goddess Serqet, , in the form of a woman.

8. The lion Åm (?), , or , with eighteen stars.

9. The crocodile Serisa, .

XVII.—From the famous circular representation of the heavens, commonly known as the "Zodiac of Dendera," which was formerly in the second room of the Temple Roof at Dendera, but which is now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, we learn that the Egyptians had a knowledge of the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac. It is wrong, however, to conclude from this, as some have done, that the Egyptians were the inventors of the Zodiac, for they borrowed their knowledge of the Signs of the Zodiac, together with much else, from the Greeks, who had derived a great deal of their astronomical lore from the Babylonians; this is certainly so in the matter of the Zodiac. It is at



The Star-gods near the North Pole.

present a subject for conjecture at what period the Babylonians first divided the heavens into sections by means of the constellations of the Zodiac, but we are fully justified in assuming that the earliest forms of the Zodiac date from an exceedingly primitive time. The early dwellers in Babylonia who observed the heavens systematically wove stories about the constellations which they beheld, and even went so far as to introduce them into their national religious literature, for Babylonian astrology and theology are very closely connected. Thus in the Creation Legend the brood of monsters which were spawned by Tiamat and were intended by her to help her in the fight which she was about to wage against Marduk, the champion of the gods, possessed astrological as well as mythological attributes, and some of them at least are to be identified with Zodiacal constellations. This view has been long held by Assyriologists, but additional proof of its accuracy has recently been furnished by Mr. L. W. King in his "Seven Tablets of Creation,"[1] wherein he has published an interesting Babylonian text of an astrological character, from which it is clear that Tiamat, under the form of a constellation in the neighbourhood of the Ecliptic, is associated with a number of Zodiacal constellations in such a manner that they may be identified with members of her mythical monster brood. The tablet in the British Museum from which Mr. King has obtained this text is not older than the Persian period; but there is little doubt that the beliefs embodied in it were formulated at a far earlier time. That certain forms of the Creation Legends existed as early as B.C. 2300 there is satisfactory evidence to show, and the origins of the systematized Zodiac as used by the later Babylonians and by the Greeks are probably as old; whether the Babylonians were themselves the inventors of such origins, or whether they are to be attributed to the earlier, non-Semitic, Sumerian inhabitants of the country cannot be said. It is, however, quite certain that the Greeks borrowed the Zodiac from the Babylonians, and that they introduced it into Egypt, probably during the Ptolemaïc period. The following are the forms of the Signs of the Zodiac as given at Dendera.

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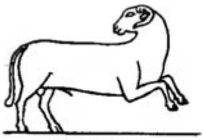
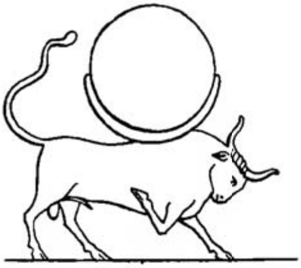
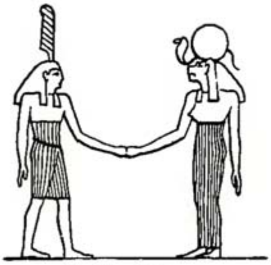
[1] Vol. I., page 204.



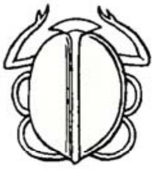
1. Aries.



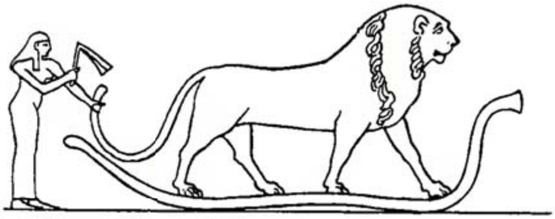
2. Taurus.



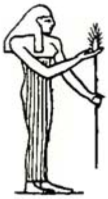
3. Gemini.



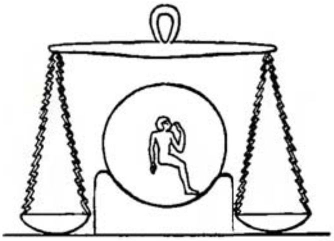
4. Cancer.



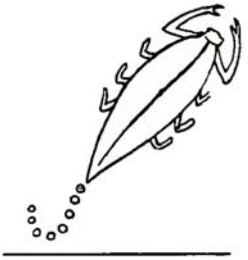
5. Leo.



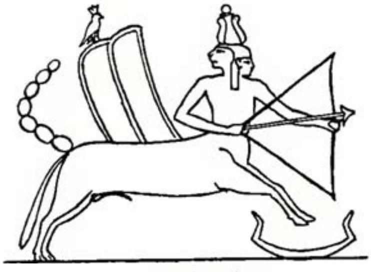
6. Virgo.



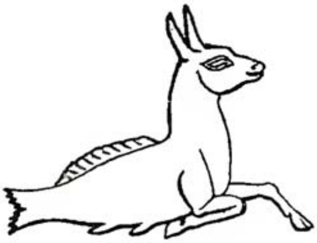
7. Libra.



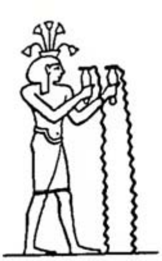
8. Scorpio.



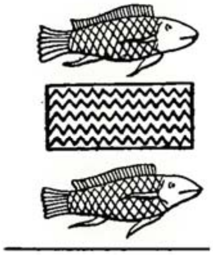
9. Sagittarius.



10. Capricornus.

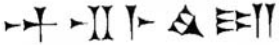
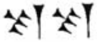
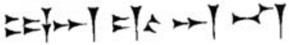
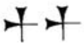
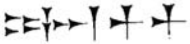
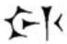
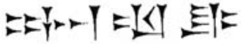
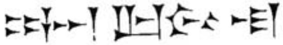
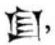
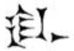
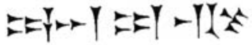
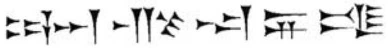
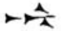
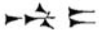
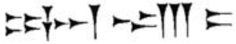
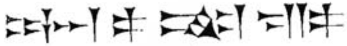
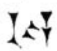
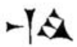
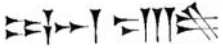
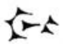
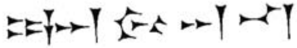
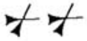
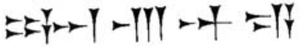


11. Aquarius.



12. Pisces.

Inasmuch as the idea of the Zodiac is Babylonian, it is well to give here a list of its Signs as they are found in late Babylonian, and their renderings in Assyrian.[1]

	BABYLONIAN	ASSYRIAN		
1. Aries	KU		ILU	En-me-shar-ra.
2. Taurus	TE, or  TE TE		Kakkabu	Gud-an-na.
3. Gemini	MĀSHU, or  MASH-MASHU		„	Tuāmu.
4. Cancer	 NANGARU		„	Al-lul.
5. Leo	A		„	Ur-gu-la.[2]
6. Virgo	, or  SHERU		„	Ab-sin.[3]
7. Libra	ṢAB, NURU (?)		„	Zi-ba-ni-tum.
8. Scorpio	 GIR, or  GIR-TAB		„	Gir-tab.
9. Sagittarius	PA		„	Pa-bil-sag.
10. Capricornus	 =  BIR (?), LALŪ (?)		„	Uz, Enzu.
11. Aquarius	 GU		„	Gu-an-na.
12. Pisces	, ZIB, or  NUNU	 (?)	„	Nun-shame.

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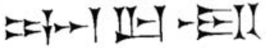
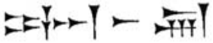
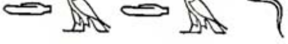
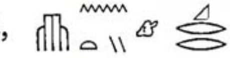
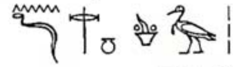
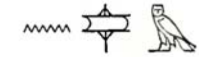
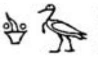
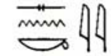
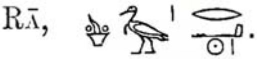
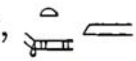
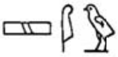
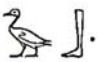
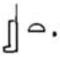
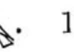
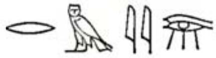
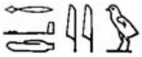
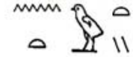
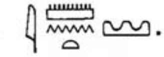
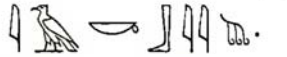
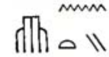
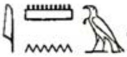
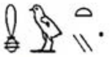
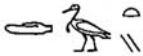
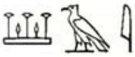
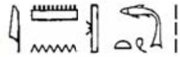
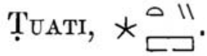
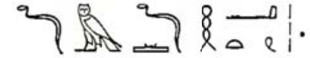
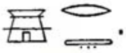
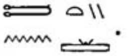
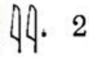
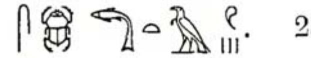
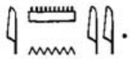
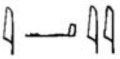
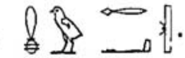
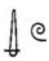
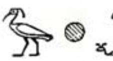
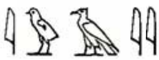
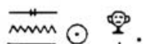
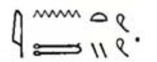
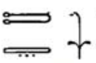
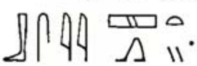
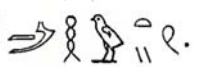
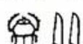
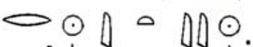
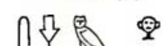
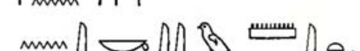
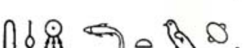
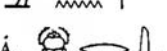
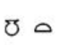
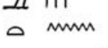
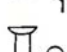
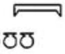
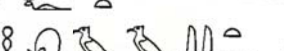
[1] See Strassmaier and Epping, *Astronomisches aus Babylon*, p. 7, at end; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 57 ff.; R. C. Thompson, *Magicians and Astrologers*, p. xxiii. ff.

[2] Or  Ur-maḫ.

[3] Or  Dil-gan.

XVIII.—In the Second Corridor of the Tomb of Seti I. are the following names of gods, with figures:[1]—1. ṬEMṬEMTCH, . 2. KHENTI-QERER, . 3. NETCH-BAIU, . 4. NEF-EM-BAIU,  . 5. SENKI, . 6. BA-RĀ, . 7. TEM, . 8. SHU, . 9. SEB, . 10. ÅST, . 11. ḤERU, . 12. REMI, . 13. ĀAṬIU, . 14. ENTUTI, . 15. ÅMENT, . 16. ÅAKEBI, . 17. KHENTI-ÅMENTI,  . 18. MÅUTI, . 19. ṬEBATI, . 20. SHAI, . 21. ÅMEN-KHAT, . 22. ṬUATI, . 23. TCHEMTCH-ḤĀT, . 24. ĀPER (?) -TA, . 25. THENTI, . 26. KHEPI, . 27. SEKHEPER-KHATI, . 28. ÅMENI, . 29. ÅĀI, . 30. MÅU-ĀA, . 31. METU-KHUT-F,  . 32. ÅUAI, . 33. SENK-ḤRÅ, . 34. ÅNTHETI, . 35. THETA-ENEN, . 36 BESI-SHEMTI, . 37. SEMAĀḤUT, . 38. KHEPERI, . 39. RĀ-ÅTENI, . 40. SEKHEM-ḤRÅ, . 41. NÅKIU-MENÅT, . 42. SEḤETCH-KHATU, . 43. KHEPERÅ, . 44. NUT, . 45. TEFNUT, . 46. NEBT-ḤET, . 47. NU, . 48. ḤUAAITI, . 49. NETHERT,

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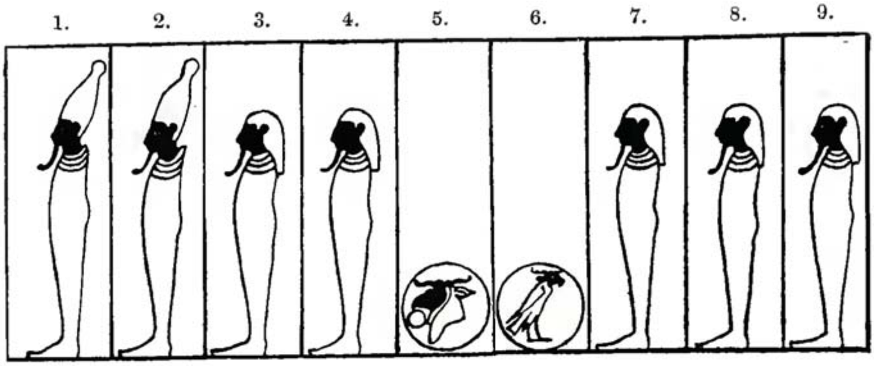
[1] See Lefébure, *Les Hypogées Royaux de Thèbes*, Paris, 1886, pt. i., pl. 15 ff.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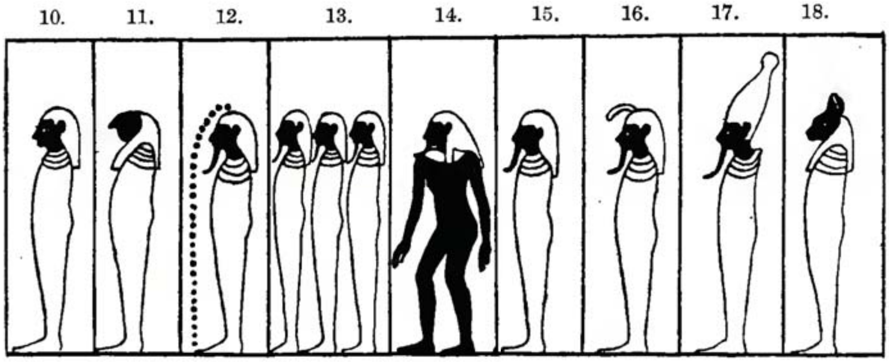
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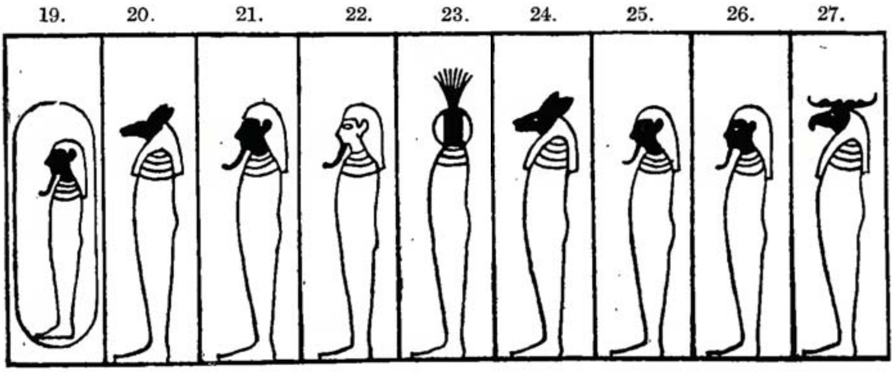
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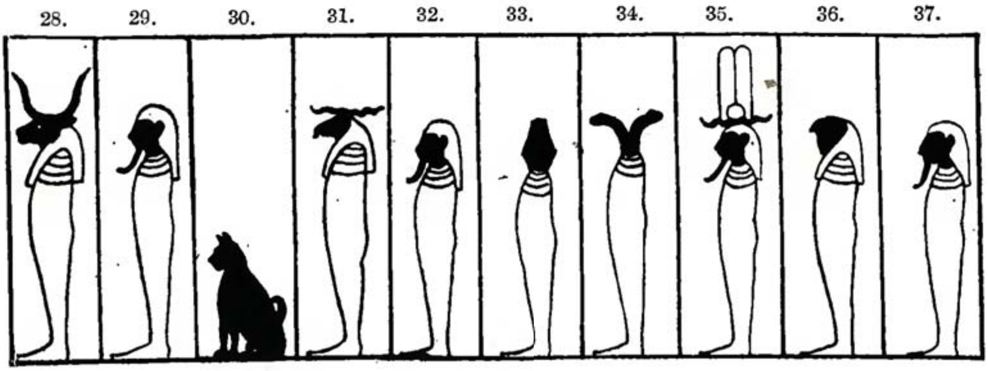
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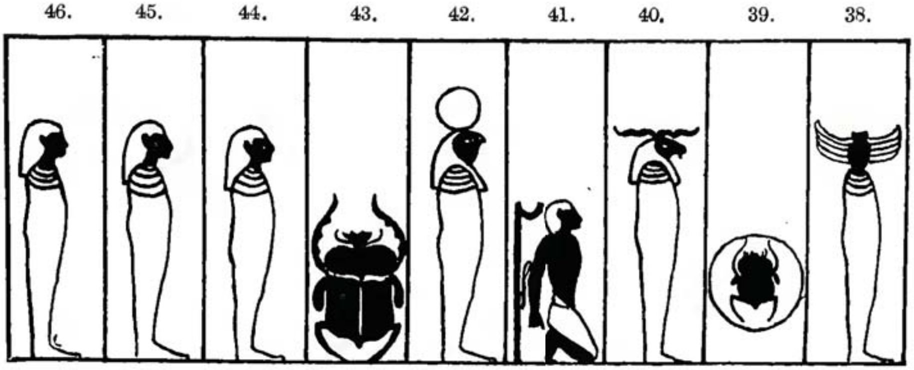
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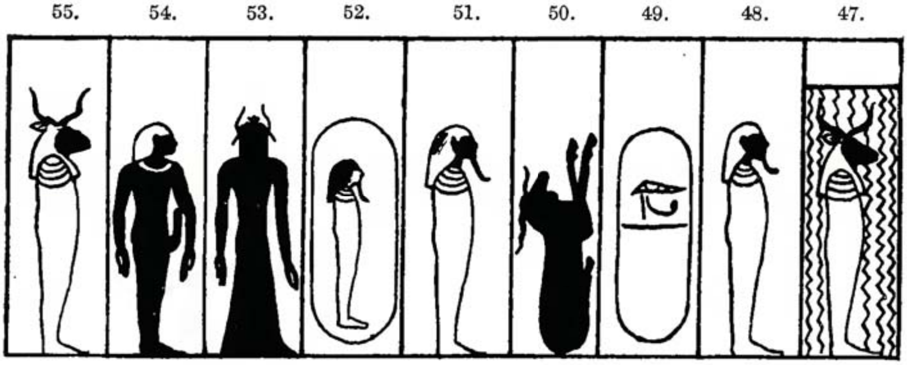
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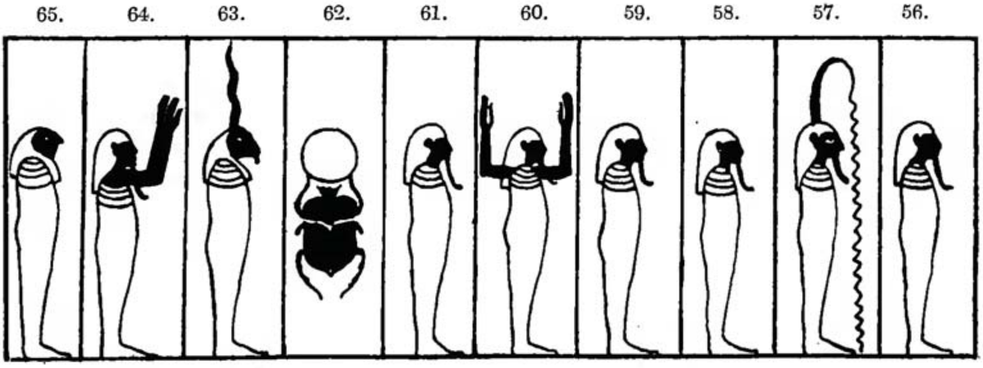
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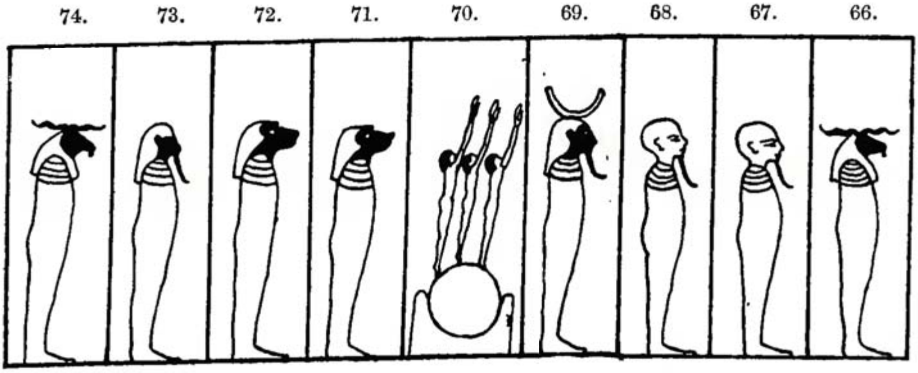
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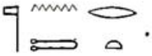
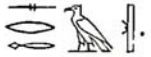
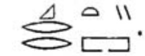
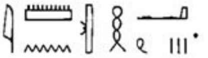
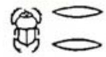
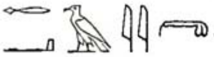
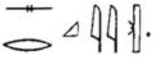
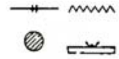
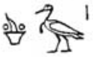
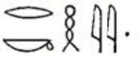
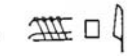
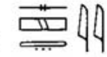
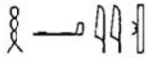
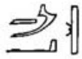
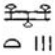
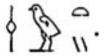
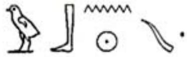
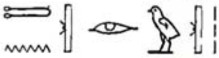
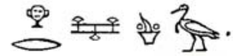
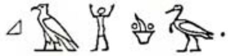
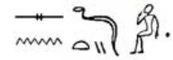
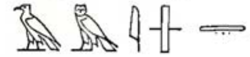
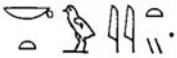
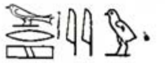
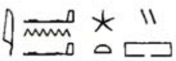
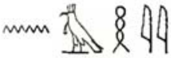
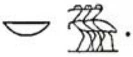
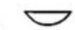
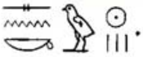
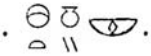
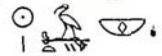
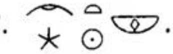
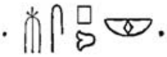
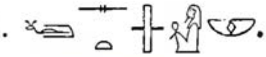
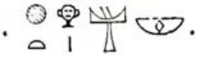
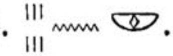
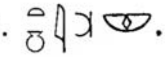
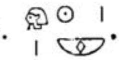
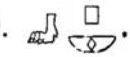
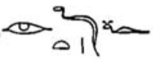
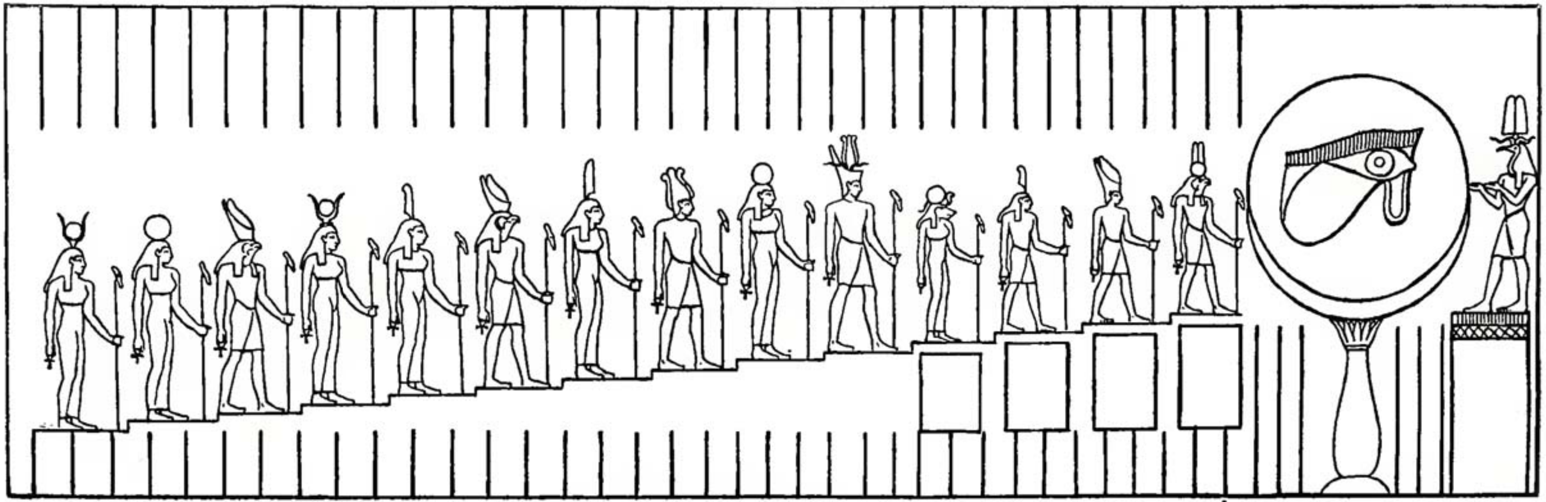
. 50. SERĀA, . 51. QERERTI, . 52. ȦMEN-ḤĀ, . 53. KHEPRER, . 54. ĀĀAI, . 55. SERQI, . 56. SEKHEN-BA,  . 57. REKHI, . 58. SHEPI, . 59. SESHETAI, . 60. ḤĀI, . 61. MAĀ-UAT,  . 62. ḤETCHUTI, . 63. UBEN, . 64. THEN-ȦRU, . 65. ḤER-BA, . 66. QA-BA, . 67. NETCHESTI, . 68. AMȦM-TA, . 69. KETUITI, . 70. URSHIU, . 71. ȦĀNĀ-ṬUATI, . 72. NEḤI, . 73. NEB-BAIU, . 74. NEB-SENKU,  .

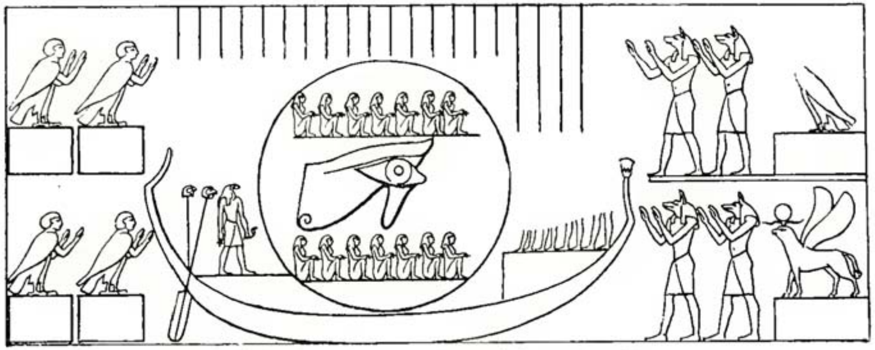
XIX.—THE NAMES OF THE DAYS OF THE MONTH AND THEIR GODS.

1. .	Ḥeb-enti-paut, or .	Day of Thoth.
2. .	Ḥeb-ȧbet.	Day of Ḥeru-netch-tef-f.
3. .	Ḥeb-mesper.	Day of Osiris.
4. .	Ḥeb-per-setem.	Day of Ȧmset.
5. .	Ḥeb-khet-ḥer-khau.	Day of Ḥāpi.
6. .	Ḥeb-en-sȧs.	Day of Ṭuamutef.
7. .	Ḥeb-tenȧ.	Day of Qebḥsennuf.
8. .	Ḥeb-ṭep-[ȧbet]	Day of Maa-tef-f.
9. .	Ḥeb-kep.	Day of Ȧri-tchet-f, 

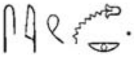
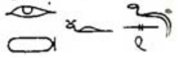
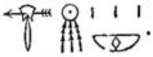
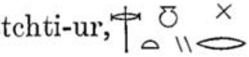
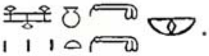
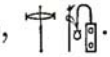
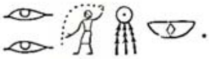
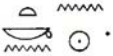
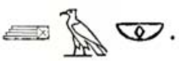
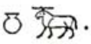
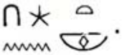
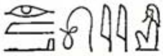
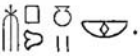
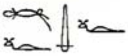
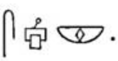
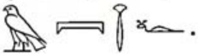
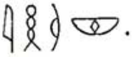
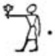
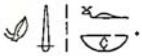
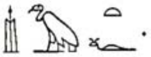
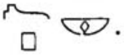
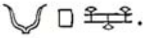
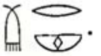
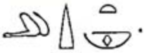
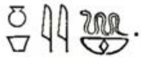
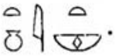
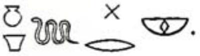
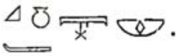
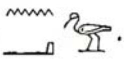
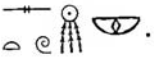
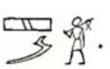
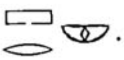
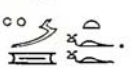
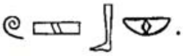
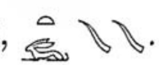
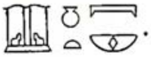
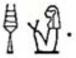
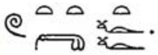
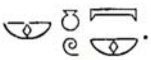
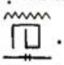


The Gods of the fourteen days of the waxing Moon.

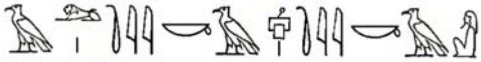
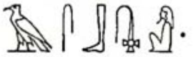
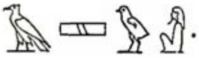
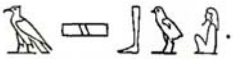
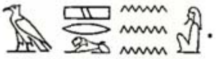
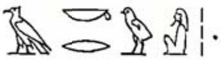
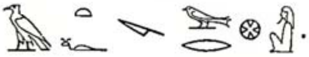
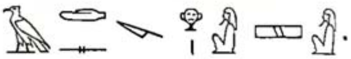
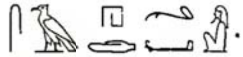
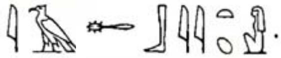
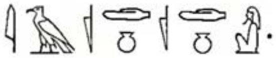
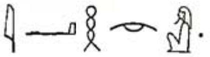
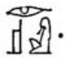
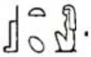
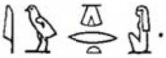
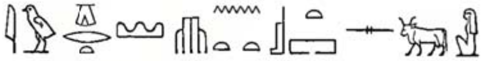
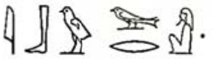
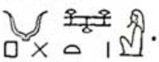
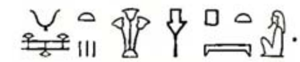
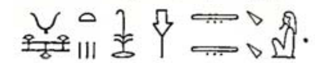
The Moon on the fourteenth day.



The Gods of the fonrteen days of the waning Moon.

10.	.	Ḥeb-saf.	Day of Ȧri-ren-f-tchesef, .
11.	.	Ḥeb-satu.	Day of Netchti-ur, 
12.	.	Ḥeb-Ḥeru-en-......	Day of Netch-ān (?), .
13.	.	Ḥeb-maa-set.	Day of Teken-en-Rā, .
14.	.	Ḥeb-sa.	Day of Ḥen-en-ba, .
15.	.	Ḥeb-ent-met-ṭua.	Day of Ȧrmāuai, 
16.	.	Ḥeb-mesper-sen.	Day of Sheṭ-f-meṭ-f, 
17.	.	Ḥeb-sa.	Day of Ḥeru-ḥer-uatch-f, .
18.	.	Ḥeb-ȧāḥ.	Day of Ȧḥi, .
19.	.	Ḥeb-setem-meṭu-f.	Day of Ȧn-mut-f, .
20.	.	Ḥeb-ānep.	Day of Ȧp-uat, .
21.	.	Ḥeb-āper	Day of Ȧnpu (Anubis).
22.	.	Ḥeb-peḥ-Sepṭ.	Day of Nāi, .
23.	.	Ḥeb-tenȧt.	Day of Nā-ur, .
24.	.	Ḥeb-qenḥ.	Day of Nā-ṭesher, .
25.	.	Ḥeb-setu.	Day of Shem, .
26.	.	Ḥeb-pert.	Day of Ma-tef-f, .
27.	.	Ḥeb-usheb.	Day of Tun-ābui, .
28.	.	Ḥeb-seṭ-ent-pet.	Day of Khnemu.
29.	.	Ḥeb-ȧri-sekhem (?)	Day of Utet-tef-f, .
30.	.	Ḥeb-nu-pet.	Day of Ḥeru-netch-tef-f or Nehes .

XX. The gods and mythological beings who are mentioned in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead.*[1]

Arethi-ka-sa-thika	
Aseb	
Ashu	
Ashbu	
Asher	
Akeru	
Atef-ur	
Aṭes-ḥrȧ-she	
Ȧaheṭ	
Ȧakhabit	
Ȧaqeṭqeṭ	
Ȧāḥ	
Ȧsȧr	
Ȧst	
Ȧuḳert	
Ȧuḳert-khentet-ȧst-s	
Ȧbu-ur	
Ȧp-uat	
Ȧp-uat-meḥt-sekhem-pet	
Ȧp-uat-resu-sekhem-taui	

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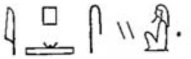
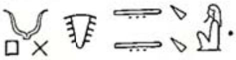
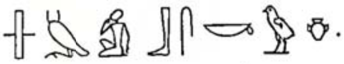
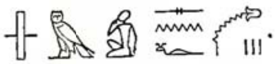
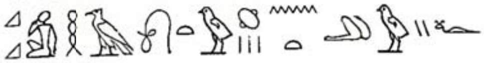
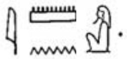
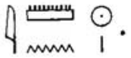
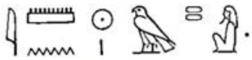
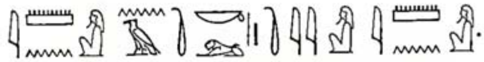
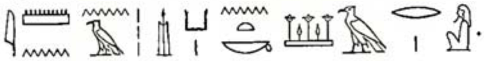
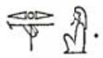
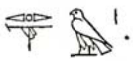
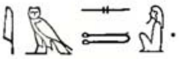
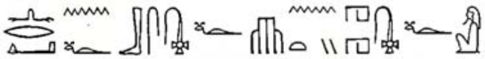
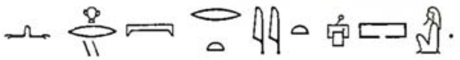
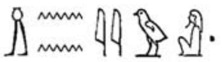
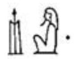
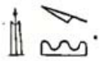
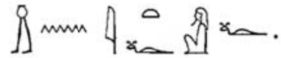
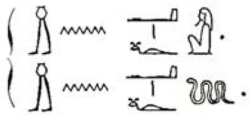
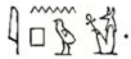
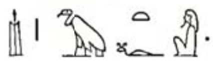
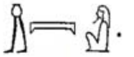
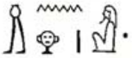
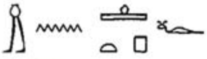
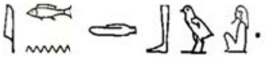
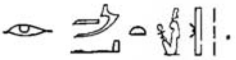
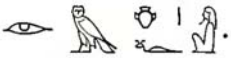
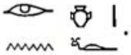
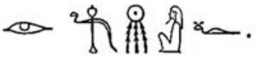
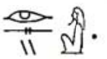
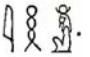
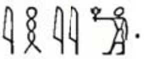
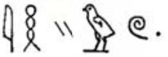
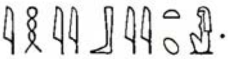
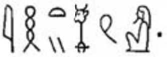
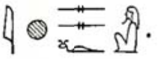
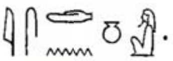
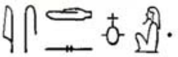
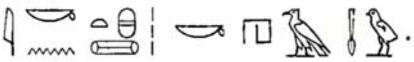
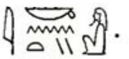
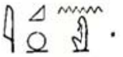
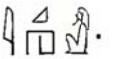
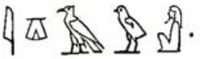
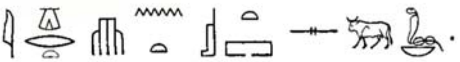
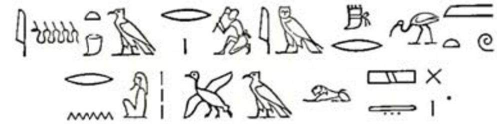
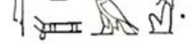
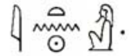
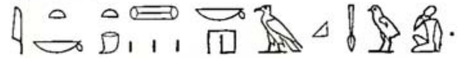
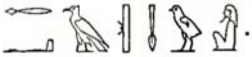
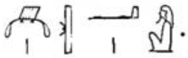
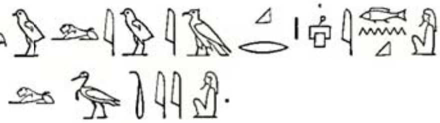
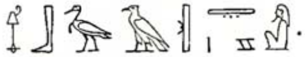
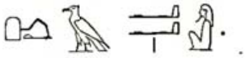
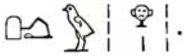
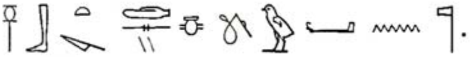
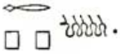
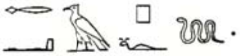
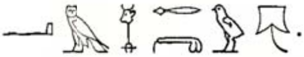
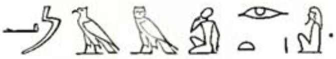
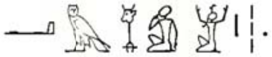
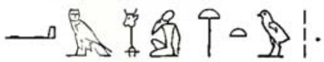
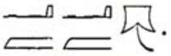
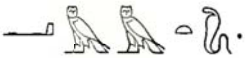
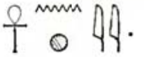
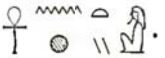
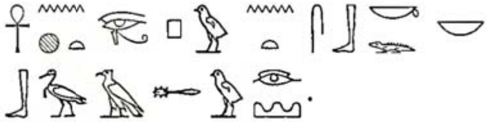
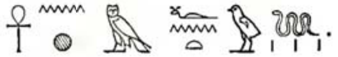
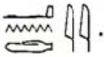
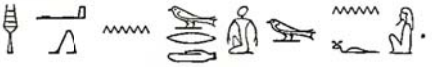
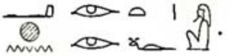
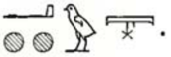
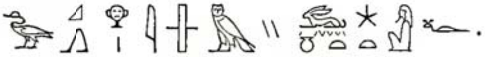
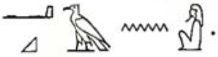
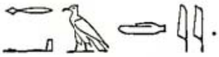
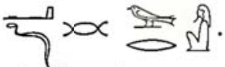
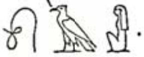
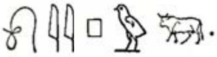
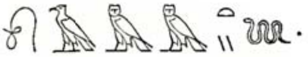
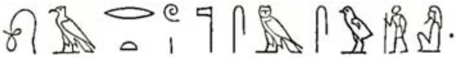
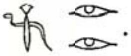
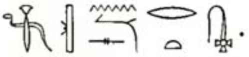
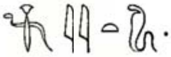
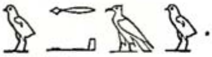
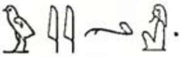
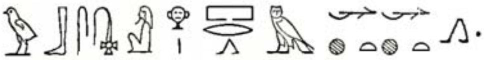
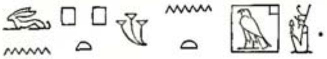
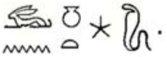
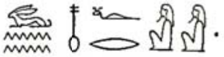
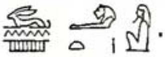
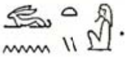
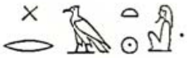
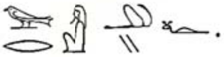
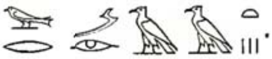
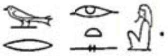
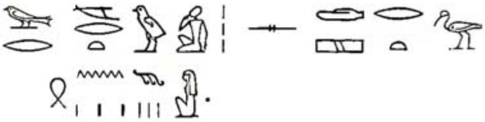
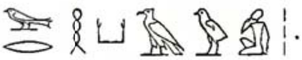
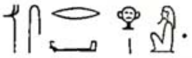
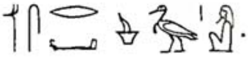
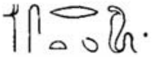
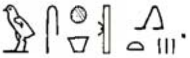
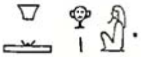
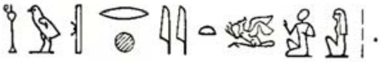
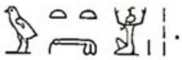
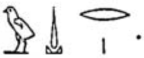
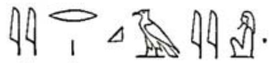
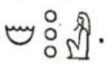
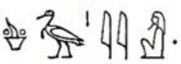
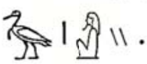
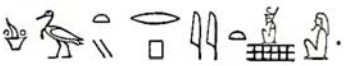
[1] The passages in which these names occur are given in the *Vocabulary* to my edition of the *Book of the Dead.* (*Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, London, 1898.)

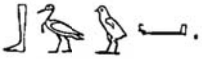
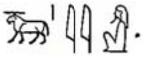
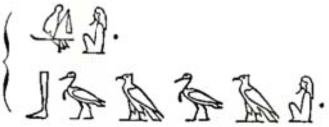
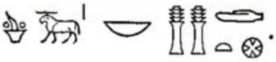
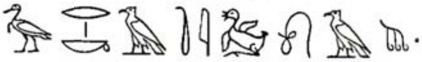
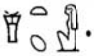
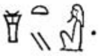
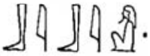
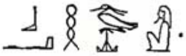
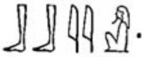
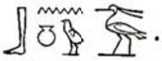
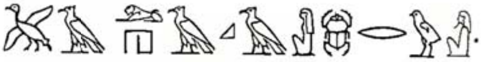
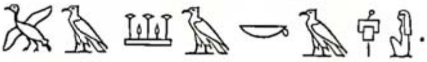
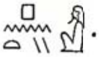
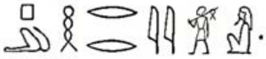
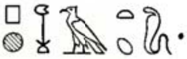
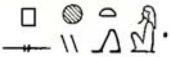
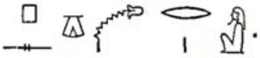
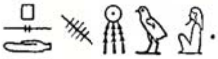
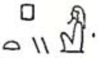
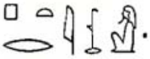
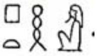
Ȧp-si	
Ȧp-shāṭ-taui	
Ȧm-beseku	
Ȧm-snef	
Ȧm-ḥauatu-ent-peḥui-f	
Ȧmen	
Ȧmen-Rā	
Ȧmen-Rā-Ḥeru-khuti	
Ȧmen-nathek-rethi-Ȧmen	
Ȧmen-na-ȧn-ka-entek-share	
Ȧmsu (*or*, Min)	
Ȧmsu-Ḥeru	
Ȧmseth	
Ȧn-erṭā-nef-bes-f-khenti-heh-f	
Ȧn-ḥeri-ertit-sa	
Ȧneniu	
Ȧn	
Ȧn-ṭemt	
Ȧn-ȧtef-f	
Ȧn-ā-f	
Ȧnpu	
Ȧn-mut-f	

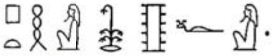
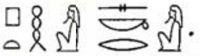
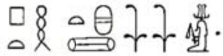
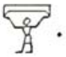
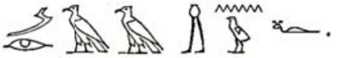
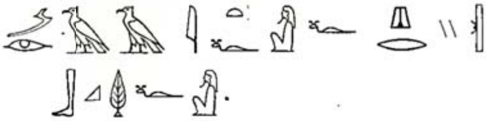
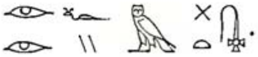
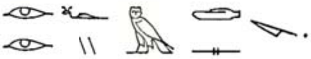
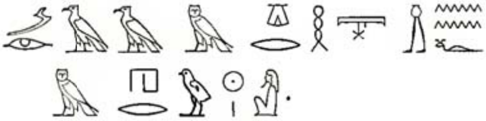
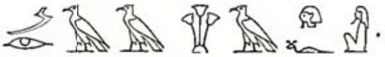
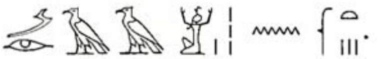
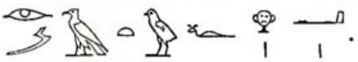
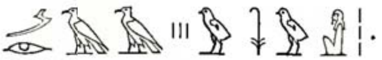
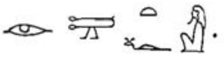
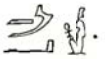
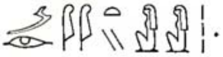
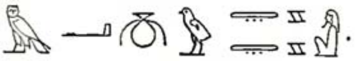
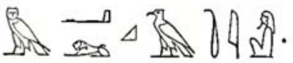
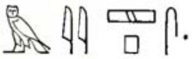
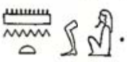
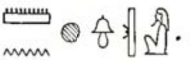
Ån-Ḥer	
Ån-ḥrå	
Ån-ḥetep-f	
Ån-ṭebu	
Åri-Maāt	
Åri-em-åb-f	
Åri-en-åb-f	
Åri-ḥetch-f	
Åri-si	
Åḥ	
Åḥi	
Åḥiu	
Åḥibit	
Åḥeti	
Åkhsesef	
Åsṭennu	
Åsṭes	
Åken-tau-k-ha-kheru	
Åkenti	
Åqen	
Åqeh	
Åḳau	
Åḳert-khent-åst-s	

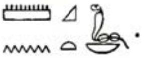
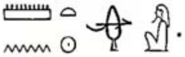
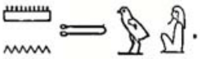
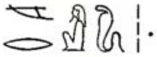
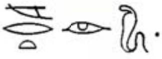
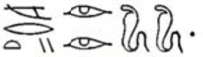
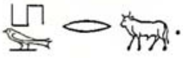
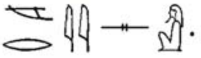
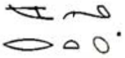
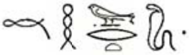
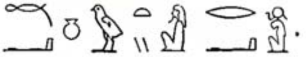
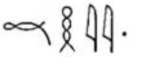
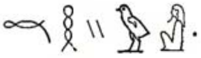
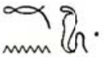
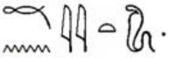
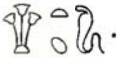
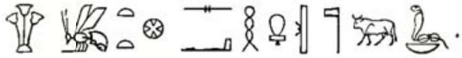
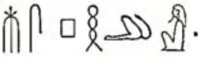
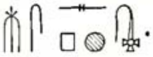
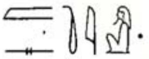
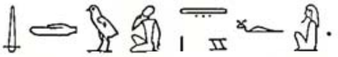
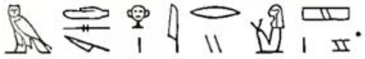
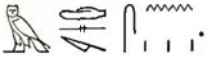
Ȧta-re-ȧm-tcher-qemtu-ren-par-sheta	
Ȧtem	
Ȧten	
Ȧtek-tau-kehaq-kheru	
Āa-kheru	
Āu-ā	
Āurȧu-ȧaqer-sa-ȧnq-re-bathi	
Āba-ta	
Āḥa-āāui	
Aḥau-ḥrȧu	
Ȧbt-ṭesi-ruṭ-en-neter	
Āpep	
Āapef	
Ām-āāu	
Āmam-maat	
Ām-ḥeḥ	
Am-khebitu	
Āmām	
Āmemet	
Ānkhi	
Ānkhti	

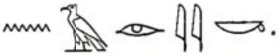
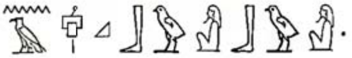
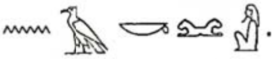
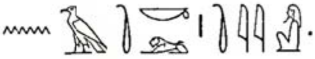
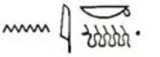
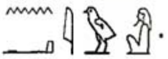
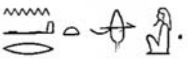
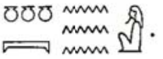
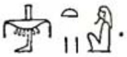
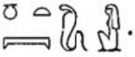
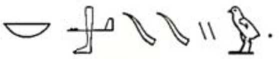
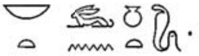
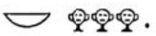
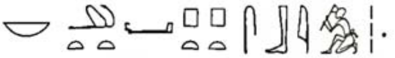
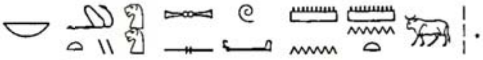
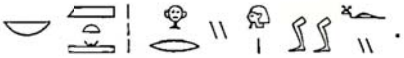
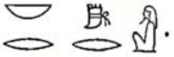
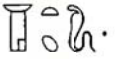
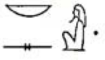
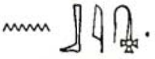
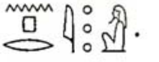
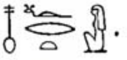
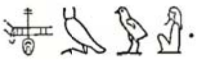
Ānkhet-pu-ent-Sebek-neb-Bakhau	
Ānkh-em-fentu	
Ānṭi	
Āḥā-ȧn-urṭ-nef	
Ākhen-maati-f	
Ākhekhu	
Āq-ḥer-ȧmi-unnut-f	
Āqan	
Āaṭi	
Ātch-ur	
Ua	
Uaipu	
Uamemti	
Uart-neter-semsu	
Uatch-Maati	
Uatch-Nesert	
Uatchit	
Uāau	
Ui	
Ubes-ḥrȧ-per-em-khetkhet	
Unpepet-ent-Ḥet-Ḥeru	
Unnut	

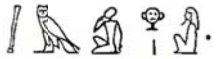
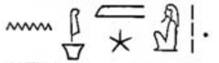
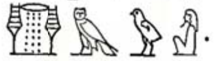
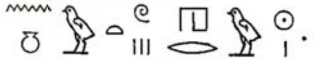
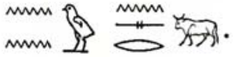
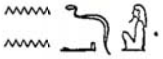
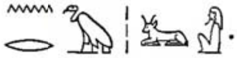
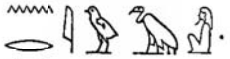
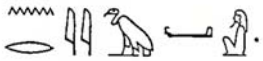
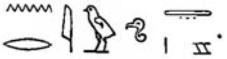
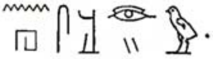
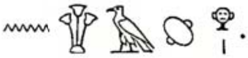
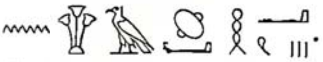
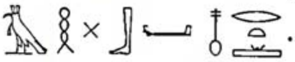
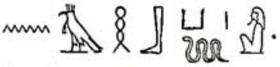
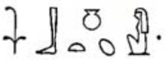
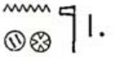
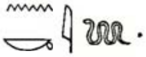
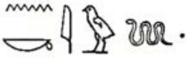
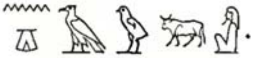
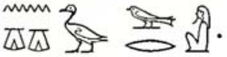
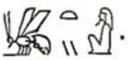
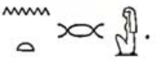
Unen-nefer	
Un-ḥāt	
Unti	
Ur-at	
Ur-peḥui-f	
Ur-maat	
Ur-maat-s	
Ur-mertu-s-ṭeshert-sheni	
Ur-ḥekau	
User-àb	
User-ba	
Usert	
Usekh-nemt	
Usekh-ḥrà	
Utu-rekhit	
Utet-ḥeḥ	
Utcha-re	
Ireqai	
Ba	
Bai	
Bati	
Bati-erpit	

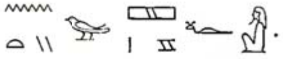
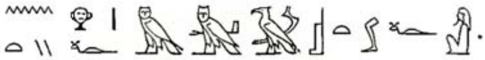
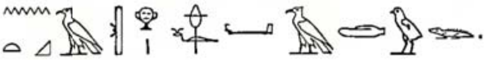
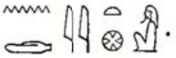
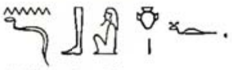
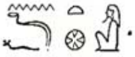
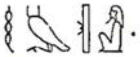
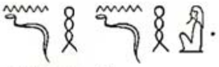
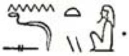
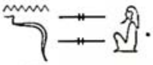
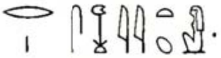
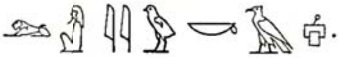
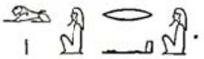
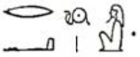
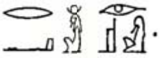
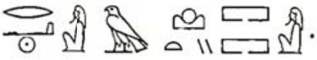
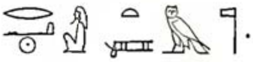
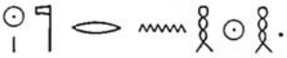
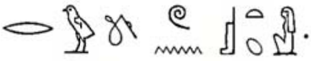
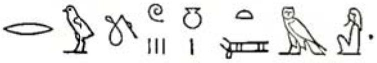
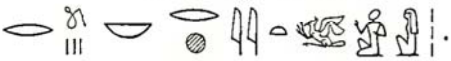
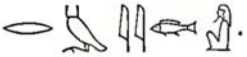
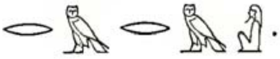
Bau	
Bai	
Baba	
Ba-neb-Ṭeṭṭeṭ	
Barekathȧtchaua	
Bast	
Basti	
Bȧbȧ	
Bāḥ	
Bebi	
Bennu	
Pa-rehaqa-kheperu	
Pa-shakasa	
Penti	
Peḥreri	
Pekhat	
Peskheti	
Pesek̦-re	
Pesṭu	
Peti	
Petrȧ	
Ptaḥ	

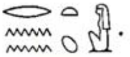
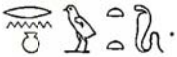
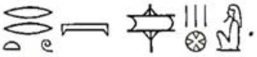
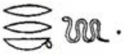
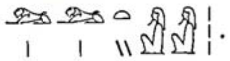
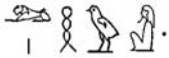
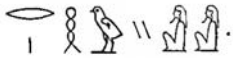
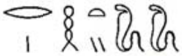
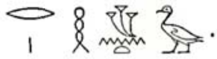
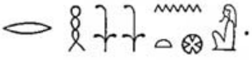
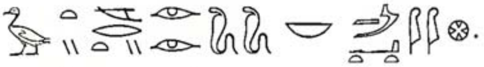
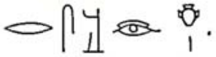
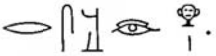
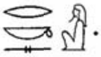
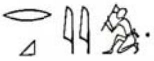
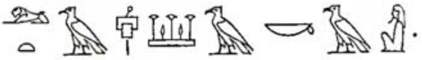
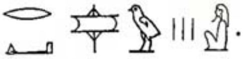
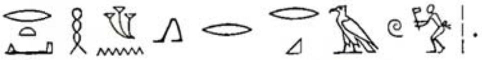
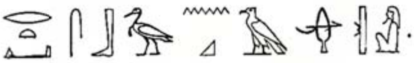
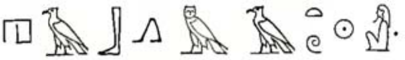
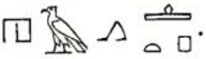
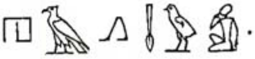
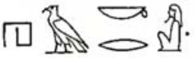
Ptaḥ-åneb-res-f	
Ptaḥ-Seker	
Ptaḥ-Tanen	
Fa-pet	
Maa-ånuf	
Maa-åtef-f-kheri-beq-f . .	
Maati-f-em-shet . . .	
Maati-f-em-ṭes . . .	
Maa-em-ḳerḥ-ån-nef-em-hru.	
Maa-ḥa-f	
Maa-ḥeḥ-en-renpit . .	
Maatuf-ḥer-ā . . .	
Maaiu-su (?) . . .	
Maa-thet-f	
Maāt	
Maāti	
Māāu-taui	
Mārqathå	
Mi-sheps	
Ment	
Menkh	

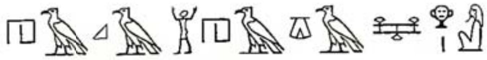
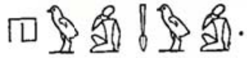
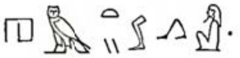
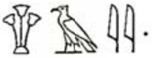
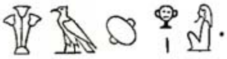
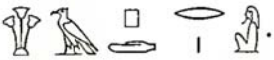
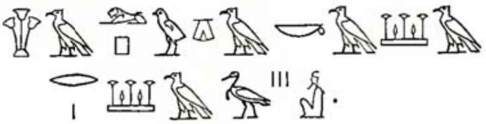
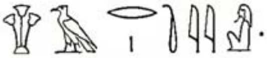
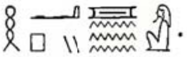
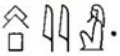
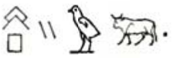
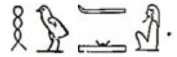
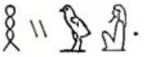
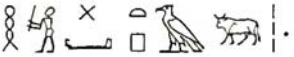
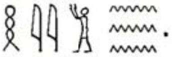
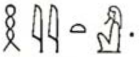
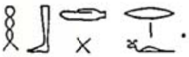
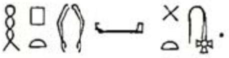
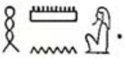
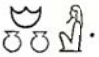
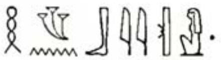
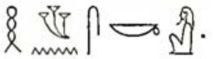
Menqet	
Ment	
Menthu	
Mer	
Mert	
Merti	
Mer-ur	
Meris	
Mert	
Meḥ-urt	
Mehānuti-Rā	
Meḥi	
Meḥiu	
Meḥen	
Meḥenit	
Meḥt	
Meḥt-khebit-sāḥ-neter	
Mes-peḥ	
Mes-sepekh	
Mesthȧ	
Meṭu-ta-f	
Meṭes-ḥrȧ-ȧri-she	
Meṭes-sen	

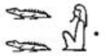
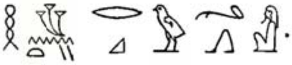
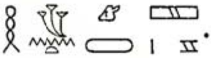
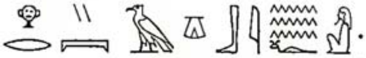
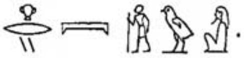
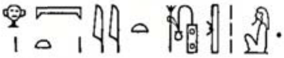
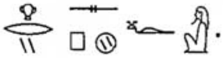
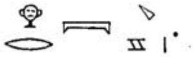
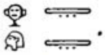
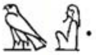
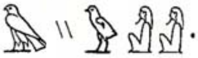
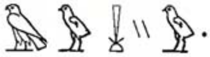
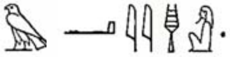
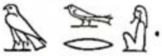
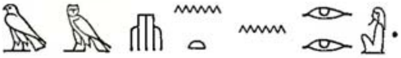
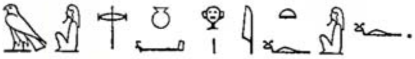
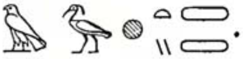
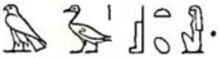
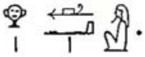
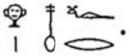
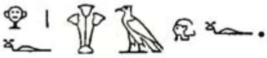
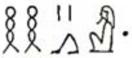
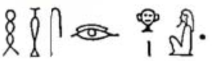
Naȧrik	
Nasaqbubu	
Nak	
Nathkerthi	
Nȧk	
Nāȧu	
Nārt	
Nu	
Nubti	
Nut	
Neb-ābui	
Nebt-unnut	
Neb-ḥrȧu	
Neb-peḥtet-petpet-sebȧ	
Neb-peḥti-thes-menment	
Neb-maāt-ḥeri-ṭep-reṭui-f	
Neb-er-tcher	
Nebt-ḥet	
Neb-s	
Nebȧ	
Neperȧ	
Nefert	
Nefer-Temu	

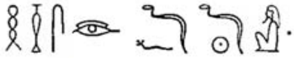
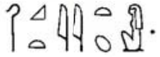
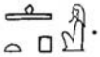
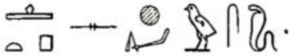
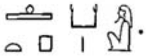
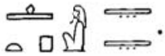
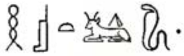
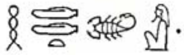
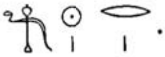
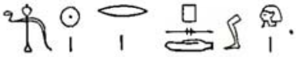
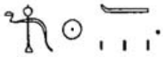
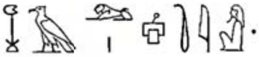
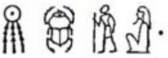
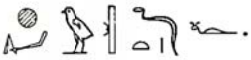
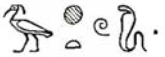
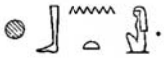
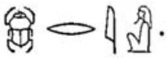
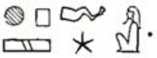
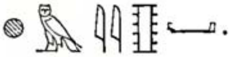
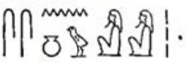
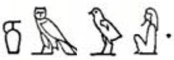
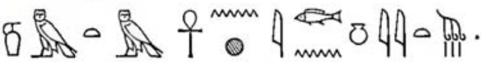
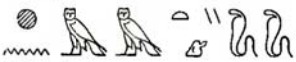
Nem-ḥrȧ	
Nem	
Nemu	
Nenutu-hru	
Nen-unser	
Nentchā	
Ner	
Nerȧu	
Neri	
Nerȧu-ta	
Nehesiu	
Neḥa-ḥrȧ	
Neḥa-ḥāu	
Neḥeb-nefert	
Neḥeb-ka	
Nekhebet	
Nekhen	
Nekȧ	
Nekȧu	
Neḳau	
Neḳeḳ-ur	
Neti (?)	
Net (Neith)	

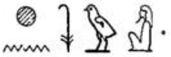
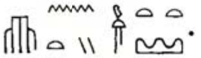
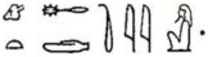
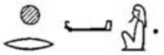
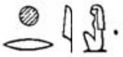
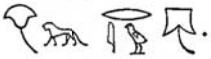
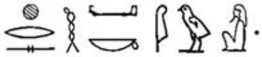
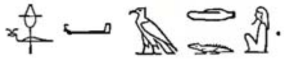
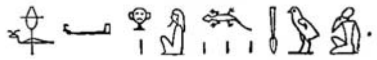
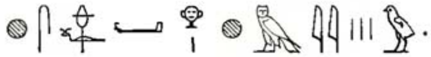
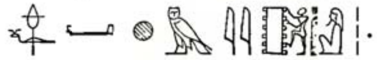
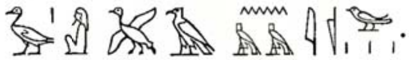
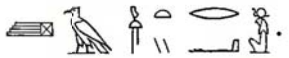
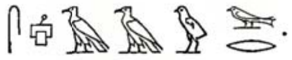
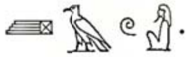
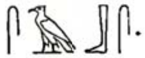
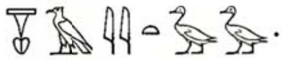
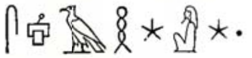
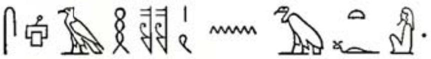
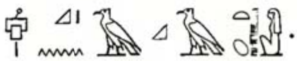
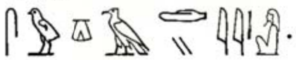
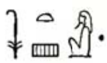
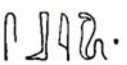
Neti-she-f	
Neti-ḥrȧ-f-emmā-mast-f	
Neteqa-ḥrȧ-khesef-aṭu	
Neṭit	
Netcheb-ȧb-f	
Netchefet	
Netchem	
Netcheḥ-netcheḥ	
Netchesti	
Netchses	
Re-Sekhait	
Re-iukasa	
Re-Rā	
Rā	
Rā-Ȧsȧr	
Rā-Ḥeru-khuti	
Rā-Tem	
Rā-er-neḥeḥ	
Ruṭ-en-Ȧst	
Ruṭu-nu-Tem	
Ruṭu-neb-rekhit	
Remi	
Remrem	

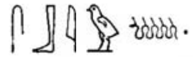
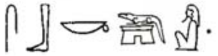
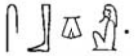
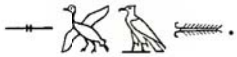
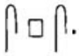
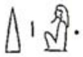
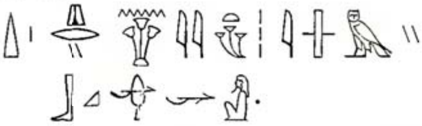
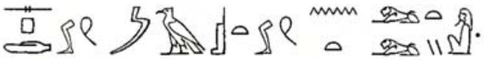
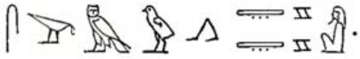
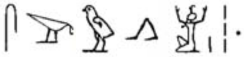
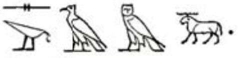
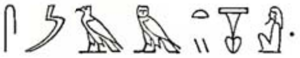
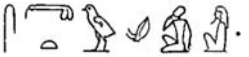
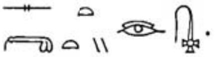
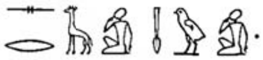
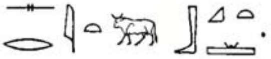
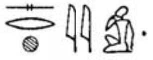
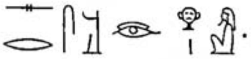
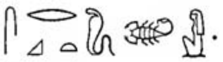
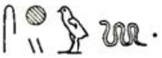
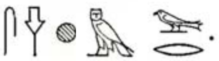
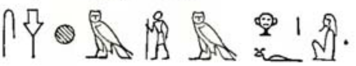
Renenet	
Rennutet	
Rertu-nifu	
Rerek	
Rerti	
Reḥu	
Reḥui	
Reḥti	
Re-ḥent	
Re-ḥenenet	
Rekhti-merti-neb-Maāti	
Res-ȧb	
Res-ḥrȧ	
Rekes (?)	
Reqi	
Retasashaka	
Retā-nifu	
Reṭā-ḥen-er-reqau	
Reṭā-sebanqa	
Hab-em-atu	
Ha-ḥetep	
Ha-kheru	
Haker	

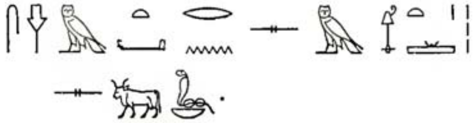
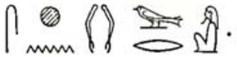
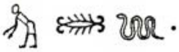
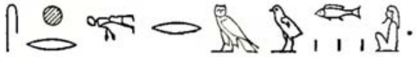
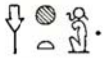
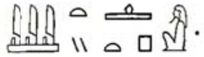
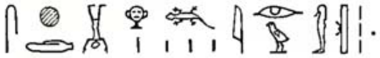
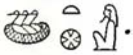
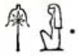
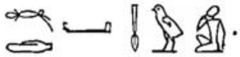
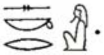
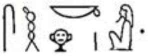
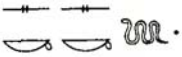
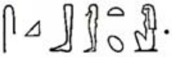
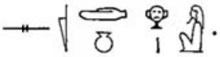
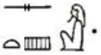
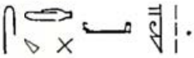
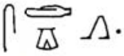
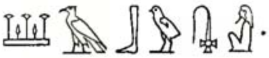
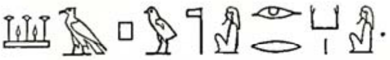
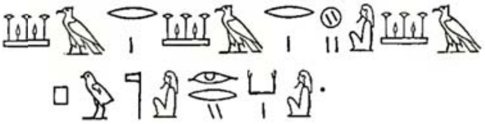
Haqa-haḳa-ua-ḥrȧ	
Hu-kheru	
Hemti	
Ḥai	
Ḥa-ḥrȧ	
Ḥapṭ-re	
Ḥarpuḳakashareshabaiu	
Ḥarethi	
Ḥāpi (Nile)	
Ḥāpi	
Ḥāpiu (Apis)	
Ḥu	
Ḥui	
Ḥu-tepa	
Ḥi-mu	
Ḥit	
Ḥebṭ-re-f	
Ḥept-seshet	
Ḥemen	
Ḥem-nu (?)	
Ḥenbi	
Ḥensek	

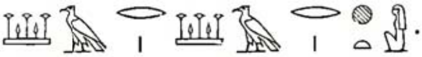
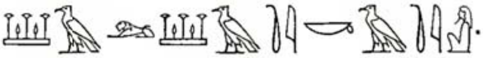
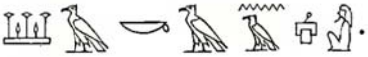
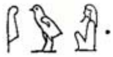
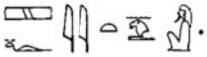
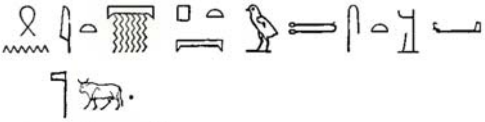
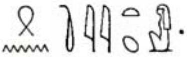
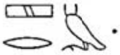
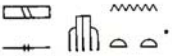
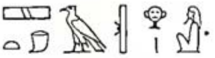
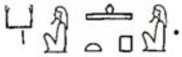
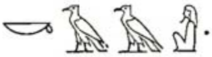
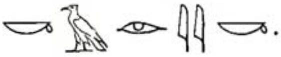
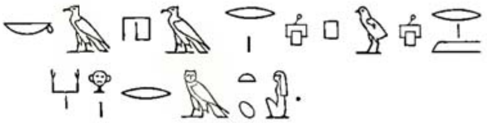
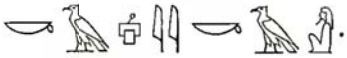
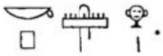
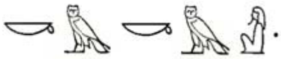
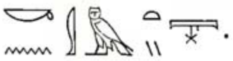
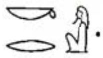
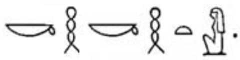
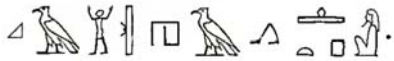
Ḥenti (Osiris)	
Ḥenti-requ	
Ḥent-she	
Ḥeri-akebȧ-f	
Ḥeri-uru	
Ḥertit-ān	
Ḥeri-sep-f	
Ḥer-ta	
Ḥer-taui	
Ḥeru	
Ḥerui (Horus and Set)	
Ḥerui-senui (Horus and Set)	
Ḥeru-āi (?)	
Ḥeru-ur	
Ḥeru-em-khent-ȧn-maati	
Ḥeru-netch-ḥrȧ-ȧtef-f	
Ḥeru-khuti	
Ḥeru-sa-Ȧst	
Ḥrȧ-uā	
Ḥrȧ-nefer	
Ḥrȧ-f-ḥa-f	
Ḥeḥi	
Ḥes-ḥrȧ	

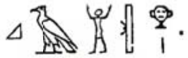
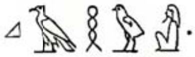
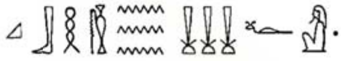
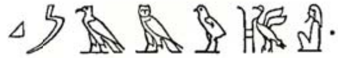
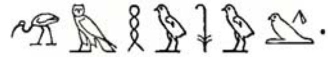
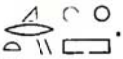
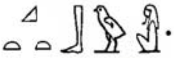
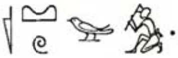
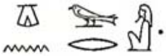
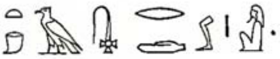
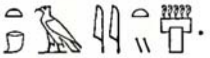
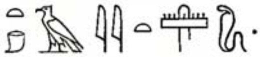
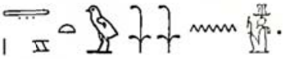
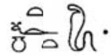
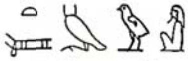
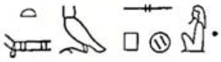
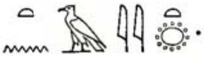
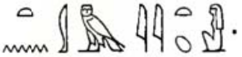
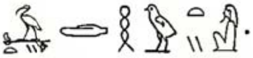
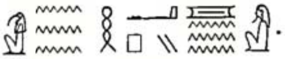
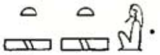
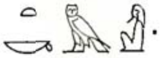
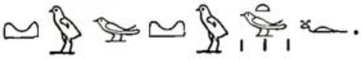
Ḥes-tchefetch	
Ḥeqtit	
Ḥetep	
Ḥetep-sekhus	
Ḥetep-ka	
Ḥetep-taui	
Ḥetemet	
Ḥeṭeṭet	
Ḥetch-re	
Ḥetch-re-pesṭ-ṭep	
Ḥetch-ȧbeḥu	
Kharsathȧ	
Khu-kheper-ur	
Khu-tchet-f	
Khut	
Khebent	
Kheperȧ	
Khepesh	
Khemi	
Khemennu	
Khnemu	
Khnemet-em-ānkh-ȧnnuit	
Khenememti	

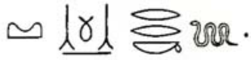
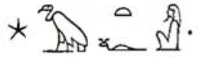
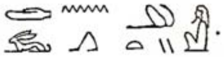
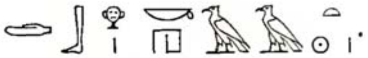
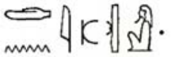
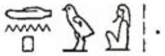
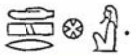
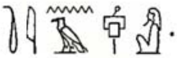
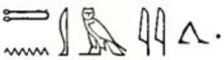
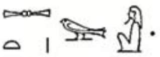
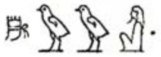
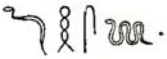
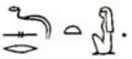
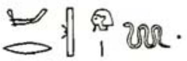
Khensu	
Khenti-Åmentet	
Khenti-Khaṭṭhi	
Kher	
Kherå	
Kherseråu	
Khersek-Shu	
Khesef-aṭ	
Khesef-ḥrå-āsh-kheru	
Khesef-ḥrå-khemiu	
Khesef-khemiu	
Sa-pa-nemmå	
Sa-Åmenti-Rā	
Saau-ur	
Sau	
Sabes	
Samait	
Saḥ (Orion)	
Saḥ-en-mut-f	
Saqenaqat	
Sukaṭi	
Sut	
Sebå	

Sebȧu	
Sebek	
Sebeḳ	
Sepa	
Sepes	
Sepṭ	
Sepṭ-kheri-neḥait-ȧmi-beq	
Sepṭ-mast-en-Ṛerti	
Semu-taui	
Semu-ḥeḥ	
Smam	
Smamti	
Smetu	
Smetti	
Ser-kheru	
Serȧt-beqet	
Serekhi	
Seres-ḥrȧ	
Serqet	
Sekhiu	
Sekhem-ur	
Sekhem-em-ȧb-f	

Sekhemet-ren-s-em-ābut-s	
Sekhen-ur	
Sekher-āṭ	
Sekher-remu	
Sekhet	
Sekhti-ḥetep	
Sekheṭ-ḥrȧ-āsh-ȧru	
Seshet	
Sesheta	
Sesheṭ-kheru	
Seker	
Sek-ḥrȧ	
Seksek	
Seqebet	
Seqeṭ ḥrȧ	
Set	
Seṭ-qesu	
Seṭek	
Shabu	
Shapuneterȧrika	
Shareshareshapuneterȧrika	

Sharesharekhet	
Shareshathåkathå	
Shakanasa	
Shu	
Shefit	
Shenåt-pet-utheset-neter	
Shenthit	
Sherem	
Shes-khentet	
Sheta-ḥrå	
Ka-ḥetep	
Kaa	
Kaårik	
Kaharesapusaremkaḥerremt	
Kasaika	
Kep-ḥrå	
Kemkem	
Kenemti	
Ker	
Keḥkeḥet	
Qa-ha-ḥetep	

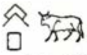
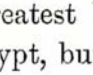
Qa-ḥrȧ	
Qaḥu	
Qebḥ-sennuf	
Qemamu	
Qemḥusu	
Qerti	
Qetetbu	
Qeṭu	
Ḳen-ur	
Ta-reṭ	
Taiti	
Tait	
Tatunen	
Tefnut	
Temu	
Tem-sep	
Tenait	
Tenemit	
Teḥuti	
Teḥuti-Ḥāpi	
Teshtesh	
Tekem	
Ṭuṭu-f	

Ṭu-menkh-rerek	
Ṭuamutef	
Ṭun-peḥti	
Ṭeb-ḥrȧ-keha-at	
Ṭenȧ	
Ṭenpu	
Ṭesher	
Thȧnasa	
Thenemi	
Thest-ur	
Tcheruu	
Tcheḥes	
Tchesert	
Tcheser-ṭep	

CHAPTER XX

SACRED ANIMALS AND BIRDS, ETC.

THE Egyptian texts prove beyond all doubt that the Egyptians worshipped individual animals, and birds, and reptiles from the earliest to the latest times, and in spite of the statements to the contrary which are often made this custom must be regarded as a survival of one of the most popular forms of the religion of the predynastic peoples of the Nile Valley. At first animals were worshipped for their strength and power, and because man was afraid of them, but at a later period the Egyptians developed the idea that individual animals were the abodes of gods, and they believed that certain deities were incarnate in them. This idea is extremely ancient, and the Egyptian saw no absurdity in it, because at a very early period he had made up his mind that a god was always incarnate in the king of Egypt, and if this were so there was no reason why the gods should not become incarnate in animals. Animals which formed the abodes of gods, or were beloved by them, were treated with especial reverence and care, and apartments for their use were specially constructed in the temples throughout the country. When a sacred animal, i.e., the abode of a god, died, he was buried with great ceremony and honour, and, in dynastic times at least, his body was mummified with as much care as that of a human being. Immediately after the death of a sacred animal in a temple another beast was chosen and, having been led into the temple and duly installed there, the homage and worship of his predecessor were transferred to him. The new animal was a reincarnation of the god, i.e., a new manifestation and reappearance of the deity of the temple, and as such he was the visible symbol of a god. Of the manner in which sacred animals were thought to make known the will of the gods who were incarnate in them little can be said, but the priests of each animal must have formulated some system which would satisfy the devout, and they must have had some means of making the animals move in such a way that the beholder would be made to think that the will of the god incarnate was being revealed to him. We may assume, too, that when sacred animals became too old and infirm to perform their duties they were put to death either by the priests or at their command, and also that care was taken, so far as possible, to keep in reserve an animal which could take the place of that which was in the temple in the event of its sudden death. The monuments of the predynastic and archaic periods of Egyptian history which have been discovered during the last few years prove that Neith, Hathor, and Osiris were worshipped in the earliest times, and the traditions recorded by Greek and Roman writers supplement this first-hand evidence by a series of statements about the cult of animal gods in Egypt which is of the greatest importance for our purpose here.

One of the oldest animal cults in Egypt was that of ḤĀP, , whom the Greeks call APIS, and whose worship is coeval with Egyptian civilization. Apis was, however, one of many bulls which were worshipped by the Egyptians throughout the Nile Valley, and it is greatly to be regretted that the circumstances which led up to his occupation of such an exalted position among the animal gods of Egypt are unknown. According to Ælian,[1] Ḥāpi, or Apis, was held in the greatest honour in the time of Menȧ, the first historical king of Egypt, but Manetho[2] says that it was under Kaiekhôs, i.e., Ka-kau, , a king of the IInd Dynasty, that Apis was appointed to be a god. Herodotus (iii. 28) and Ælian call Apis Ἔπαφος, and the former describes him as the "calf of a cow which is incapable of conceiving another offspring; "and the Egyptians say that lightning descends upon the cow from

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[1] Λέγει δέ τις τῶν προφητῶν λόγος οὐ πᾶσιν ἔκπυστος, ὅτι ἄρα [Μῆνις] ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ἐπενόησε ζῶον ὥστε σέβειν ἔμφυχον, εἶτα μέντοι προείλετο ταῦρον, ἁπάντων ὡραιότατον εἶναι αὐτὸν πεπιστευκώς. *De Nat. Animal.* xi. 10.

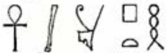
[2] See Cory's *Ancient Fragments.*

"heaven, and that from thence it brings forth Apis. This calf, "which is called Apis, has the following marks: it is black, and "has a square spot of white on the forehead; and on the back the "figure of an eagle; and in the tail double hairs; and on the "tongue a beetle." Pliny relates (viii. 72) that the Apis Bull was distinguished by a conspicuous white spot on the right side, in the form of a crescent, and he adds that when the animal had lived a certain number of years, it was destroyed by being drowned in the fountain of the priests. A general mourning ensued upon this, and the priests and others went with their heads shaven until they found a successor; this, however, Pliny says, did not take long, and we may therefore assume that an Apis was generally kept in reserve. As soon as the animal was found, he was brought to Memphis, where there were two Thalami set apart for him; to these bed-chambers the people were wont to resort to learn the auguries, and according as Apis entered the one or the other of these places, the augury was deemed favourable or unfavourable. He gave answers to its devotees by taking food from the hands of those who consulted him. Usually Apis was kept in seclusion, but whensoever he appeared in public he was attended by a crowd of boys who sang hymns to him. Once a year a cow was presented to him, but it is said that she was always killed the same day that they found her. The birthday of Apis was commemorated by an annual festival which lasted seven days, and during this period no man was ever attacked by a crocodile. In front of the sanctuary of Apis was a courtyard which contained another sanctuary for the dam of the god, and it was here that he was turned loose in order that he might be exhibited to his worshippers (Strabo, xvii. 31). Diodorus tells us (i. 85) that Apis, Mnevis, the Ram of Mendes, the crocodile of Lake Moeris, and the lion of Leontopolis were kept at very considerable cost, for their food consisted of cakes made of the finest wheat flour mixed with honey, boiled or roasted geese, and live birds of certain kinds.

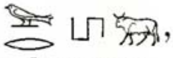
The sacred animals were also washed in hot baths, and their bodies were anointed with precious unguents, and perfumed with the sweetest odours; rich beds were also provided for them to lie upon. When any of them died the Egyptians were as much concerned as if they had lost their own children, and they were wont to spend largely in burying them; when Apis died at Memphis of old age in the reign of Ptolemy Lagus his keeper not only spent everything he had in burying him, but also borrowed fifty talents of silver from the king because his own means were insufficient. Continuing his account of Apis Diodorus says, "After the splendid "funeral of Apis is over, those priests that have charge of the "business seek out another calf as like the former as possibly they "can find; and when they have found one, an end is put to all "further mourning and lamentation, and such priests as are "appointed for that purpose, lead the young ox through the city "of Nile, and feed him forty days. Then they put him into a "barge, wherein is a golden cabin, and so transport him as a god "to Memphis, and place him in Vulcan's grove. During the forty "days before mentioned, none but women are admitted to see him, "who being placed full in his view, pluck up their coats and "expose their persons. Afterwards they are forbidden to come "into the sight of this new god. For the adoration of this ox, "they give this reason. They say that the soul of Osiris passed "into an ox; and therefore, whenever the ox is dedicated, to this "very day, the spirit of Osiris is infused into one ox after another, "to posterity. But some say, that the members of Osiris (who "was killed by Typhon) were thrown by Isis into an ox made of "wood, covered with ox-hides, and from thence the city Busiris "was called."

In his account of Apis (xi. 10) Ælian states that Apis was recognized by twenty-nine distinct marks, which were known to the priests, and that when it was known that he had appeared they went to the place of his birth and built there a house towards the East, and the sacred animal was fed therein for four months. After this period, at the time of new moon, the priests made ready a barge and conveyed the new Apis to Memphis, where fine chambers were set apart for him, and spacious courts for him to walk about in, and where moreover, a number of carefully chosen cows were kept for him. At Memphis a special well of water was provided for Apis and he was not allowed to drink of the waters of the Nile because they were supposed to be too fattening.

Curiously enough the animals which were sacrificed to Apis were oxen, and according to Herodotus (ii. 38, 41) if a single black hair was found upon any one of them the beast was declared to be unclean. "And one of the priests appointed for this purpose "makes this examination, both when the animal is standing up "and lying down; and he draws out the tongue, to see if it is pure "as to the prescribed marks. . . . . He also looks at the hairs of "his tail, to see whether they grow naturally. If the beast is "found pure in all these respects, he marks it by rolling a piece of "byblus round the horns, and then having put on it some sealing "earth, he impresses it with his signet; and so they drive him "away. Anyone who sacrifices an unmarked animal is punished "with death." When an ox of this class was to be offered up to Apis it was led to the altar and was slain after a libation of wine had been poured out; its head was next cut off and its body was flayed. If the head was not sold it was thrown into the river and the following words were said over it:—"If any evil be about to "befal either those who now sacrifice, or Egypt in general, may "it be averted on this head." Plutarch (*De Iside*, § 56) and Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. 14, 7) agree in stating that Apis was only allowed to live a certain number of years, which was probably twenty-five, and it seems that if he did not die before the end of this period he was killed and buried in a sacred well, the situation of which was known to a few privileged persons only.

The Egyptians connected Apis, both living and dead, with Osiris, and their beliefs concerning the two gods were very closely associated. The soul of Apis was thought to go to heaven after the death of the body in which it had been incarnate, and to join itself to Osiris, when it formed with him the dual god Ȧsȧr-Ḥāpi or Osiris-Apis. Early in the Ptolemaïc period the Greeks ascribed to Ȧsȧr-Ḥāpi the attributes of their god Hades, and Graecized the Egyptian name under the form "Serapis"; both Egyptians and Greeks accepted Serapis as the principal object of their worship, and after about B.C. 250 this god was commonly regarded as the male counterpart of Isis. It has already been said that the cult of Ḥāpi or Apis is very ancient, and there seems to be no doubt that in one place or another the bull was always worshipped in Egypt as the personification of strength and virility and of might in battle. Osiris, as a water god, poured the Nile over the land, and Ḥāpi provided the strength which enabled the Egyptians to plough it up; when theological systems began to be made in Egypt this ancient god was incorporated in them, and at Memphis we find that he was regarded as the "second life of Ptaḥ," , and also as the son of Osiris. From scenes on coffins, stelae, etc., we know that he possessed the attributes of Osiris the great god of the Underworld, especially after the XXVIth Dynasty, for he is often represented bearing a mummy upon his back, and "Bull of Amenti" is a common name of Osiris. Egyptian bronze figures of the Apis Bull represent the god as a very powerful beast, with massive limbs and body. A triangular piece of silver is fixed in the forehead, a disk and a uraeus are placed between the horns, above the fore and hind legs are cut in outline figures of vultures with outstretched wings, and on the back, also cut in outline, is a representation of a rectangular cloth with an ornamental diamond pattern. Herodotus (iii. 28) says that the patch of white on the forehead of Apis was square, *λευκὸν τετράγωνον*, and that the figure of an eagle was on the back, *ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ νώτου, αἰετὸν εἰκασμένον*; of the beetle which he says was on the tongue of Apis and the double hairs in the tail the bronze figures naturally show no traces.

Of the tombs in which the Apis bulls were buried under the Early and Middle Empires nothing is known, but the discovery of the famous Serapeum at Ṣaḳḳâra, called by Strabo (xvii. 1, § 33) the "temple of Sarapis," which, he says, was "situated in a very "sandy spot, where the sand is accumulated in masses by the "wind," revealed the fact that so far back as the XVIIIth Dynasty the bodies of the Apis bulls were mummified with great care, and that each was buried in a rock-hewn tomb, above which was a small chapel. In the reign of Rameses II. a son of this king, called Khā-em-Uast, made a subterranean gallery in the rock at Ṣaḳḳâra, with a large number of chambers, and as each of these was occupied by the mummied Apis in his coffin its entrance was walled up, and the remains of the sacred animals were thus preserved for a very long period. Psammetichus I. hewed a similar gallery in the rock, and its side-chambers were prepared with great care and thought; the two galleries taken together are about 1200 feet long, 18 feet high, and 10 feet wide. Above these galleries stood the great Temple of the Serapeum, and close by was another temple which was dedicated to Apis by Nectanebus II., the last native king of Egypt. In the Serapeum of Khā-em-Uast and Psammetichus I. a number of Egyptian holy men lived a stern, ascetic life, and it appears that they were specially appointed to perform services in connexion with the commemorative festivals of the dead Apis bulls. Details of the rules of the order are wanting, but it is probable that the scheme of life which they lived there closely resembled that of the followers of Pythagoras, many of whom were celibates, and that they abstained from animal food, and had all things in common.[1] It is interesting to note the existence of the monks of the Serapeum, because they form a connecting link between the Egyptian priests and the Christian ascetics and monks who filled Egypt in the early centuries of our era. The worship of Apis continued in Egypt until the downfall of paganism, which resulted from the adoption of Christianity by Constantine the Great and from the edicts of the Emperor Theodosius.

As Apis was the sacred Bull of Memphis and symbolized the Moon, so MNEVIS was the sacred Bull of Heliopolis and typified the Sun, of which he was held to be the incarnation. The ancient Egyptians called the Bull of Heliopolis UR-MER, , and described him as the "life of Rā"; he is usually depicted in the form of a bull with a disk and uraeus between his horns, but sometimes he appears as a man with the head of a bull. According to Manetho, the worship of Mnevis was established in the reign of Ka-kau, a king of the IInd Dynasty, together with that of Apis and the Ram of Mendes, but there is no doubt that it is coeval with Egyptian civilization, and that it was only a portion of the great system of adoration of the bull and cow as agricultural gods throughout Egypt. Strabo mentions (xvii. 1, § 22) that the people of Momemphis kept a sacred cow in their city just as Apis was maintained at Memphis, and Mnevis at Heliopolis, and adds, "these animals are regarded as gods, but there are other places, "and these are numerous, both in the Delta and beyond it, in "which a bull or a cow is maintained, which are not regarded as "gods, but only as sacred." Mnevis, like Apis, was consecrated to Osiris, and both Bulls were "reputed as gods generally by all the Egyptians;" Diodorus explains (i. 24, 9) this fact by pointing out that the bull was of all creatures the "most extraordinarily "serviceable to the first inventors of husbandry, both as to the "sowing of corn, and other advantages concerning tillage, of which "all reaped the benefit." The cult of Mnevis was neither so widespread nor so popular as that of Apis, and Ammianus Marcellinus says (xxii. 14, 6) that there is nothing remarkable related about him. A curious story is related by Ælian (*De Nat. Animal.* xii. 11) to the effect that king Bocchoris once brought in a wild bull to fight against Mnevis, and that the savage creature in attempting to gore the sacred animal miscalculated his distance, and having entangled his horns in the branches of a persea tree, fell an easy victim to Mnevis, and was slain by him. The Egyptians regarded this impious act with great disfavour, and probably hated him as they hated Cambyses for stabbing Apis.

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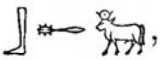
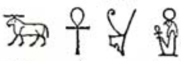
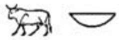
[1] See Zeller, *History of Greek Philosophy*, London, 1881, vol. i., pp. 306-352; Ritter and Preller, *Historia Phil-Graece et Romanae*, 1878.

Among the Egyptians another sacred bull was that of Hermonthis (Strabo, xvii. 1, 47) which, according to Macrobius (*Saturn.* i. 26) was called Bacchis (or Bacis, or Basis, or Pacis), and according to Ælian (xii. 11) Onuphis; the latter name is probably a corruption of some Egyptian name of Osiris Un-nefer. This bull was black in colour, and its hair turned a contrary way from that of all other animals, ἀντίαι δὲ αὐτῷ τρίχες ἤπερ οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰσίν; it was said to change its colour every hour of the day, and was regarded as an image of the sun shining on the other side of the world, i.e., the Underworld. The Egyptian equivalent of the name Bacis, or Bacchis, is Bakha, , and this bull is styled the "living soul of Rā," , and the "bull "of the Mountain of the Sunrise (Bakhau), and the lion of the "Mountain of the Sunset." He wears between his horns a disk, from which rise plumes, and a uraeus; over his hindquarters is the sacred symbol of a vulture with outspread wings.[1]

At several places in the Delta, e.g., Hermopolis, Lycopolis, and Mendes, the god Pan and a goat were worshipped; Strabo, quoting (xvii. 1, 19) Pindar, says that in these places goats had intercourse with women, and Herodotus (ii. 46) instances a case which was said to have taken place in the open day. The Mendesians, according to this last writer, paid reverence to all goats, and more to the males than to the females, and particularly to one he-goat, on the death of which public mourning is observed throughout the whole Mendesian district; they call both Pan and the goat Mendes, and both were worshipped as gods of generation and fecundity. Diodorus (i. 88) compares the cult of the goat of Mendes with that of Priapus, and groups the god with the Pans and the Satyrs. The goat referred to by all these writers is the famous Mendean Ram, or Ram of Mendes, the cult of which was, according to Manetho, established by Kakau, a king of the IInd Dynasty.

In the hieroglyphic texts he is called BA-NEB-ṬEṬ,  , from which name the Greek Mendes is derived, and he is depicted in the form of a ram with flat, branching horns which are surmounted by a uraeus; pictures of the god of this kind are, of course, traditional, and since goats of the species of the Ram of Mendes are not found on Egyptian Monuments after the period of the Ancient Empire, we can only conclude that they were originally copied from representations of the Ram which were in use before about B.C. 3500. Ba-neb-Ṭeṭ, or Mendes, was declared to be the "soul of Rā," but allowance must be made for the possibility that the Egyptians did not really believe this statement, which may only have resulted from a play upon the words *ba* "ram," and *ba* "soul." The cult of the Ram of Mendes was of more than local importance, and his priesthood was a powerful body. The ram which was adored at Mendes was distinguished by certain marks, even as was Apis, and was sought for throughout the country with great diligence; when the animal was found he was led to the city of Mendes, and a procession of priests and of the notables of the city having been formed he was escorted to the temple and enthroned therein with great honour. From the Stele of Mendes[1] we learn that Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, rebuilt the temple of Mendes, and that he assisted at the enthronement of two Rams, and in a relief on the upper portion of it two Ptolemies and an Arsinoë are seen making offerings to the Ram, and to a ram-headed god, and his female counterpart Ḥātmeḥit. The cult of the Ram lasted at Mendes until the decay of the city, after which for a short period it was maintained at Thmuis, a neighbouring city, which increased in importance as Mendes decreased. In primitive times the Ram of Mendes was a merely local animal god, or perhaps only a sacred animal, but as the chief city of its cult increased in importance the god was identified, first, with the great indigenous god Osiris, secondly, with the Sun-god Rā, and thirdly, with the great Ram-god of the South and of Elephantine, i.e., Khnemu.

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[1] See Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pl. 70.

Among the animals which were worshipped devoutly as a result of abject fear must be mentioned the crocodile, which the Egyptians deified under the name of SEBEK, 𓋴𓃀𓎡𓆋, or SEBEQ, 𓋴𓈎𓃀𓆋, and which was called SOUCHOS, Σοῦχος, by the Greeks. In primitive times when the canals dried up this destructive beast was able to wander about the fields at will, and to eat and kill whatsoever came into its way, and the Egyptians naturally regarded it as the personification of the powers of evil and of death, and the prince of all the powers of darkness, and the associate of Set, or Typhon. According to Herodotus (ii. 69), crocodiles were sacred in some parts of Egypt, but were diligently killed in others. At Thebes and near lake Moeris they were held to be sacred, and when tame the people put crystal and gold ear-rings into their ears, and bracelets on their fore paws, and they fed them regularly with good food; after death their bodies were embalmed and then buried in sacred vaults. Herodotus says they were called χάμψαι, a word which is, clearly, a transliteration of

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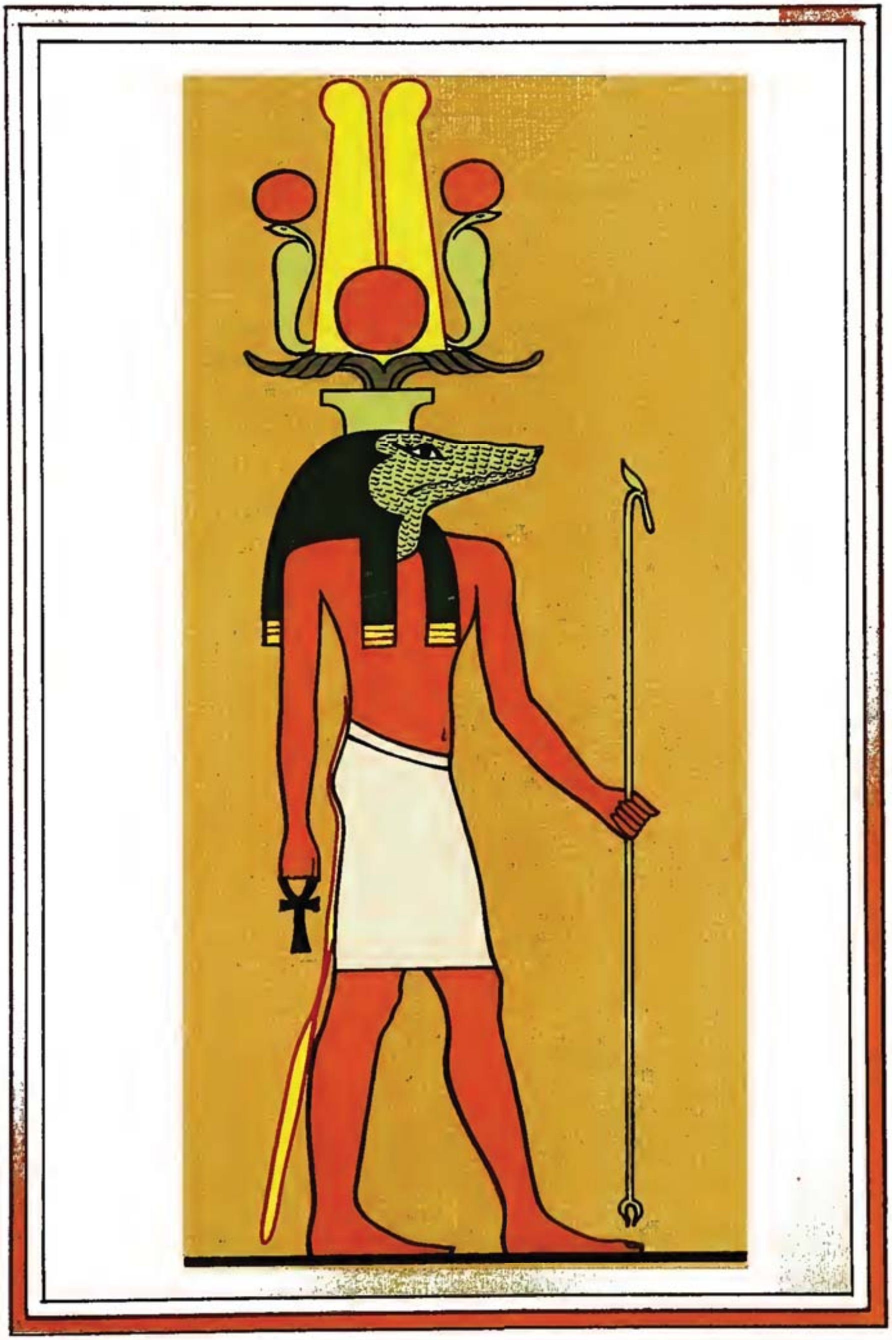
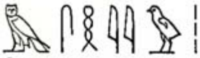
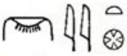
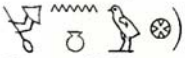
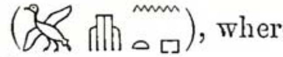
[1] Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 42; *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1871, pp. 81-85; 1875, p. 33.



SEBEK-RĀ.

the Egyptian word , *emseḥiu.* Strabo gives an interesting account of his visit to the famous city of Crocodilopolis, which in his day was known by the name Arsinoë, and was the centre of crocodile worship; and tells us (xvii. 1, § 38), that the sacred crocodile there "was kept apart by himself in a lake; it is "tame, and gentle to the priests, and is called Σοῦχος. It is fed "with bread, flesh, and wine, which strangers who come to see "it always present. Our host, a distinguished person, who was "our guide in examining what was curious, accompanied us to the "lake, and brought from the supper table a small cake, dressed "meat, and a small vessel containing a mixture of honey and milk. "We found the animal lying on the edge of the lake. The priests "went up to it; some of them opened its mouth, another put the "cake into it, then the meat, and afterwards poured down the "honey and milk. The animal then leaped into the lake, and "crossed to the other side. When another stranger arrived with "his offering, the priests took it, and running round the lake, "caught the crocodile, and gave him what was brought in the "same manner as before."

In their pictures and reliefs the Egyptians represented the god Sebek in the form of a crocodile-headed man who wore either a solar disk encircled with a uraeus, or a pair of horns surmounted by a disk and a pair of plumes; sometimes a small pair of horns appears above the large ram's horns. Frequently the god is depicted simply in the form of the animal which was sacred to him, i.e., as a crocodile. What exactly were the attributes of Sebek in early dynastic times we have no means of knowing, but it is probable that they were those of an evil and destructive animal; before the end of the VIth Dynasty, however, he was identified with Rā, the Sun-god, and with the form of Rā who was the son of Neith, and with Set the opponent and murderer of Osiris. According to the late Dr. Brugsch, Sebek was a four-fold deity who represented the four elemental gods, Rā, Shu, Seb, and Osiris, and this view receives support from the fact that in the vignettes to the xxxist and xxxiind Chapters of the *Book of the Dead*, the deceased is seen repulsing four crocodiles. The same scholar thought that the name of the god was derived from a root which signifies "to collect, to bring together," and that he was called "Sebek" because he was believed to gather together that which had been separated by the evil power of Set, and to give a new constitution and life to the elements which had been severed by death.[1] This view may be correct, but it certainly cannot be very old, and it cannot represent the opinions which the predynastic Egyptians held concerning the god. That, however, Sebek was believed to be a god who was good to the dead is clear, and it was held that he would do for them that which he had done in primitive times for Horus.

From the cviiith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, we learn that Sebek, Temu, and Hathor were the Spirits of the West, and that Sebek dwelt in a temple which was built on the Mount of the Sunrise, and that he assisted Horus to be re-born daily. In the Pyramid Texts, Sebek is made to restore the eyes to the deceased, and to make firm his mouth, and to give him the use of his head, and to bring Isis and Nephthys to him, and to assist in the overthrow of Set, the enemy of every "Osiris." He opened the doors of heaven to the deceased, and led him along the bypaths and ways of heaven and, in short, assisted the dead to rise to the new life, even as he had helped the child Horus to take his seat upon the throne of his father Osiris. The centre of the cult of Sebek was Ombos, , Nubit, where he was held to be the father of Ḥeru-ur, and was identified with Seb, and was called, "Father "of the gods, the mighty one among the gods and goddesses, the "great king, the prince of the Nine Bow Barbarians." As SEBEK-RĀ-TEMU he was the power of the sun which created the world, and he is styled, "the beautiful green disk which shineth ever, the "creator of whatsoever is and of whatsoever shall be, who proceeded "from Nu, and who possesses many colours and many forms."[2] Other important seats of the cult of Sebek were:—1. Silsila (Khennu, ), where he was adored with Tem, Nu, Ḥeru-ur, and Ḥeru-Beḥuṭet; 2. Pa-khent (), where he was worshipped with Ȧmen-Rā; 3. Latopolis, where he was identified

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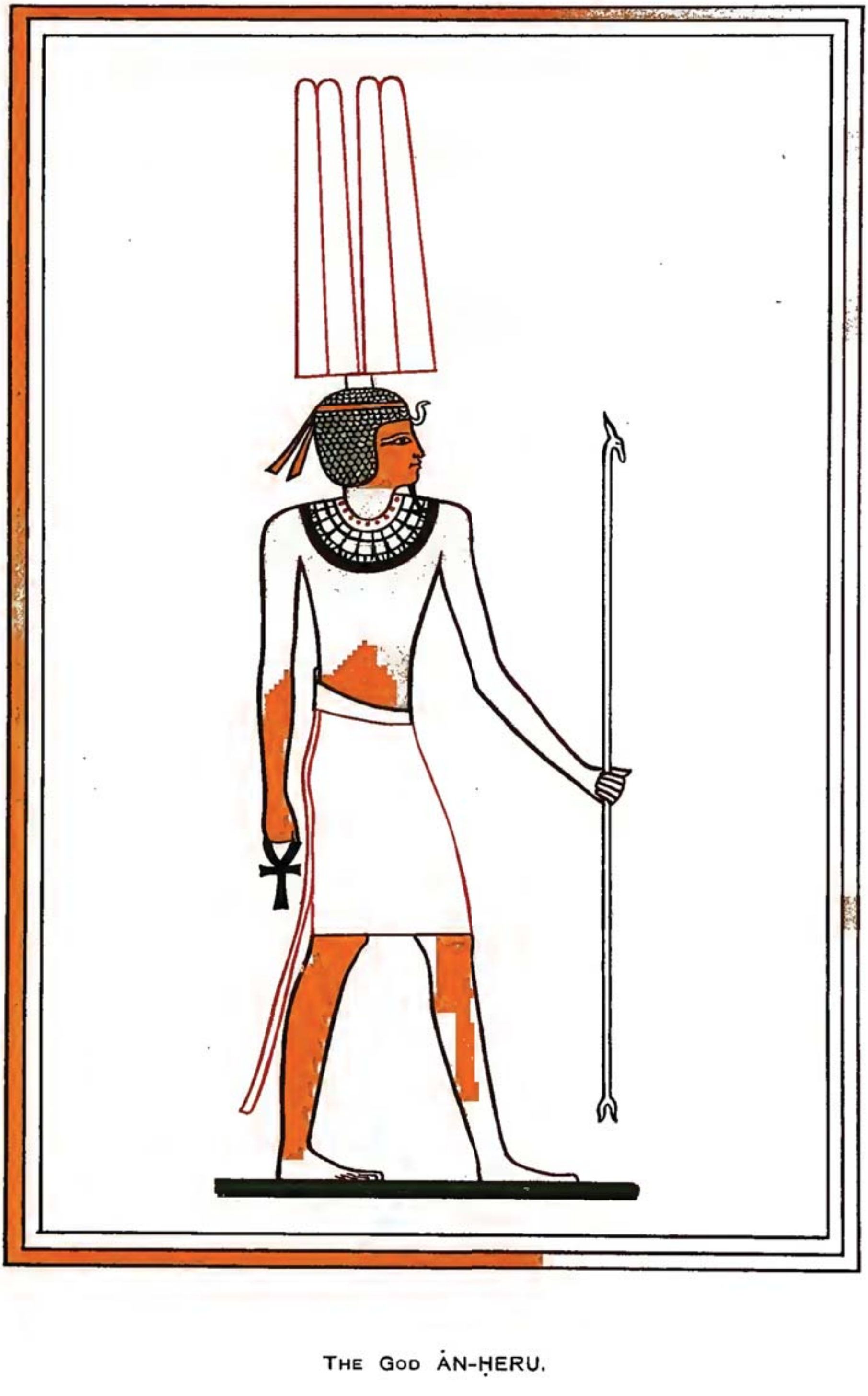
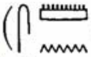
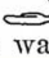
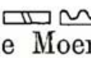
[1] *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 588.

[2] Brugsch, *Religion*, p. 591.



THE GOD ÅN-ḤERU.

with Ḥeqa, the son of Shu-Khnemu-Rā and Tefnut-Nebuut-Sekhet-Neith; 4. Smen (), where he was merged in Rā and was held to be the father of Horus; 5. Pa-Sebek, near Hermonthis, where he formed the chief member of the triad of Sebek-Seb, Nut-Hathor, and Khensu; 6. Hermonthis, where he was merged in Menthu, and as Sebek-Seb became the counterpart of Menthu-Rā and Ȧmen-Ra, and the head of the company of the gods of Hermonthis and Thebes; at Tuphium, near Thebes, where he was worshipped under the form of a crocodile, with a sun-disk and the feathers of Ȧmen upon his head; 7. Krokodilonpolis-Arsinoë, the Sheṭet, , and Ta-Shetet, , of the hieroglyphic texts, which was situated near Lake Moeris, and was called the "city of Sebek" *par excellence*. In the north of Egypt the chief sanctuaries of Sebek were Prosopis, Saïs, Metelis, Onuphis, and the city of Apis, which was situated in the Libyan nome;[1] in this last-named place Osiris was worshipped under the form of a crocodile, and Isis under the usual form of Isis.

From the statements made about the crocodile by classical writers, it is easy to see that several fantastic notions were current about the animal in the later period of dynastic history. Thus Ammianus Marcellinus, after describing the strength of the crocodile (xxii. 15) says, "savage as these monsters are at all "other times, yet as if they had concluded an armistice, they are "always quiet, laying aside all their ferocity, during the seven "days of festival on which the priests at Memphis celebrate the "birthday of Apis." Herodotus (ii. 68) and Diodorus (i. 35), like Aristotle, declare that the crocodile has no tongue, an error which was wide-spread in ancient times, and which was commonly believed even in the Middle Ages; it was also thought to eat no food during the coldest months of the year, and to be blind in the water. Many crocodiles were killed by an animal called the "hydrus" in the following manner. It is related that a little bird called the trochilus was in the habit of entering the mouth of the crocodile as it lay asleep with its jaws open "towards the west," and of picking out the leeches which clung to its teeth and gums. The hydrus, or ichneumon, perceiving this, would also enter the crocodile's mouth, and crawl along through the throat into its stomach, and having devoured its entrails, would crawl back again; the hydrus also is declared to have been in the habit of searching for the eggs of the crocodile, which were always laid in the sand, and of breaking the shell of every one which it found. Notwithstanding the reverence in which the crocodiles were held in many parts of Egypt numbers of people made a living by catching them and killing them. According to Herodotus (ii. 70) and other writers, a hook baited with the chine of a pig was let down by the fishermen into the river, while a young pig was held on the bank and beaten until it squealed; the crocodile, hearing the noise, made its way towards the sound of the little pig's cries, and coming across the bait on the hook, straightway swallowed it. Then the men hauled in the line and the crocodile was soon landed, and its eyes having been plastered up, it was slain. Crocodiles at one time were regarded as the protectors of Egypt, and Diodorus held the view (i. 35) that but for them the robbers from Arabia and Africa would swim across the Nile and pillage the country in all directions.

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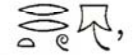
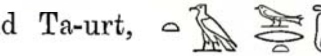
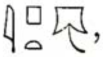
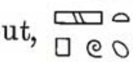
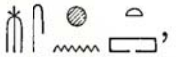
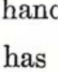
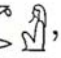
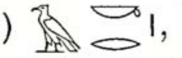
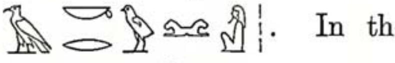
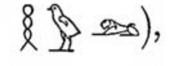
[1] For a list of Sebek shrines see Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pp. 1033-1036.

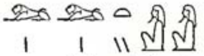
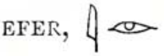
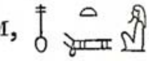
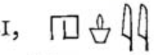
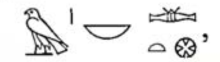
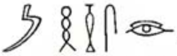
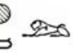
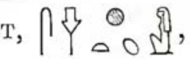
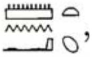
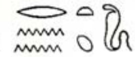
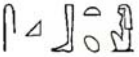
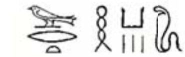
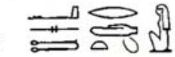
The crocodile played a prominent part in Egyptian mythology, in which it appears both as the friend and foe of Osiris; one legend tells how the creature carried the dead body of Osiris upon its back safely to land, and another relates that Isis was obliged to make the little ark in which she placed her son Horus of papyrus plants, because only by this means could she protect her son from the attack of the crocodile god Sebek. The later Egyptian astrologers always considered the animal to be a symbol of the Sun, and it is probable that to its connexion with the Sun-god the statements of Ælian (x. 21) are due. This writer remarks that the female crocodile carried her eggs for sixty days before she laid them, that the number of the eggs was sixty, that they took sixty days to hatch, that a crocodile had sixty vertebrae in its spine, and sixty nerves, and sixty teeth in its mouth, that its life was sixty years, and that its annual period of fasting was sixty days. Among other curious but mistaken views about the crocodile, Plutarch (*De Iside*, § 75) mentions that the animal was looked upon as the image of God, and he explains the supposed absence of a tongue by saying that "divine reason needeth not speech." He credits the animal with great wisdom and foreknowledge, in proof of which he declares that in whatsoever part of the country the female lays her eggs, so far will be the extent of the inundation for that season. All the above mentioned views are interesting as showing how legends of the animal gods and their powers grew up in the later period of dynastic history, and how mythological ideas were modified in the course of the centuries which witnessed the decay of the old religion of Egypt.

Like the crocodile, the HIPPOPOTAMUS was worshipped by the primitive Egyptians, and the hippopotamus goddess was called RERT, or RERTU, , and Ta-urt, , Ȧpet, , Sheput, , etc., and was, practically, identified as a form of every great goddess of Egypt, irrespective of the probability of her being so. In predynastic times the hippopotamus was probably common in the Delta, and the red and yellow breccia statue of the animal which was made in the archaic period, and is now preserved in the British Museum (No. 35,700), proves that its cult is coeval with Egyptian civilization. According to certain theological systems the hippopotamus goddess was the female counterpart of Set, and the mother of the Sun-god, or of Ȧn-ḥer, whom she brought into the world at Ombos; for this reason that city was called the "Meskhenet," , or "birth-house," of Ȧpet. On the whole, the hippopotamus goddess was a beneficent creature, and she appears in the last vignette of the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* as a deity of the Underworld, and a kindly guardian of the dead. She holds in her right forepaw an object which has not yet been satisfactorily explained, and her left rests upon the emblem of "protective, magical power," ; on the other hand, the monster Ām-mit, which appears in the Judgment Scene, has the hindquarters of a hippopotamus, a fact which reminds us that the destructive power of the animal was not forgotten by the Egyptian theologians.

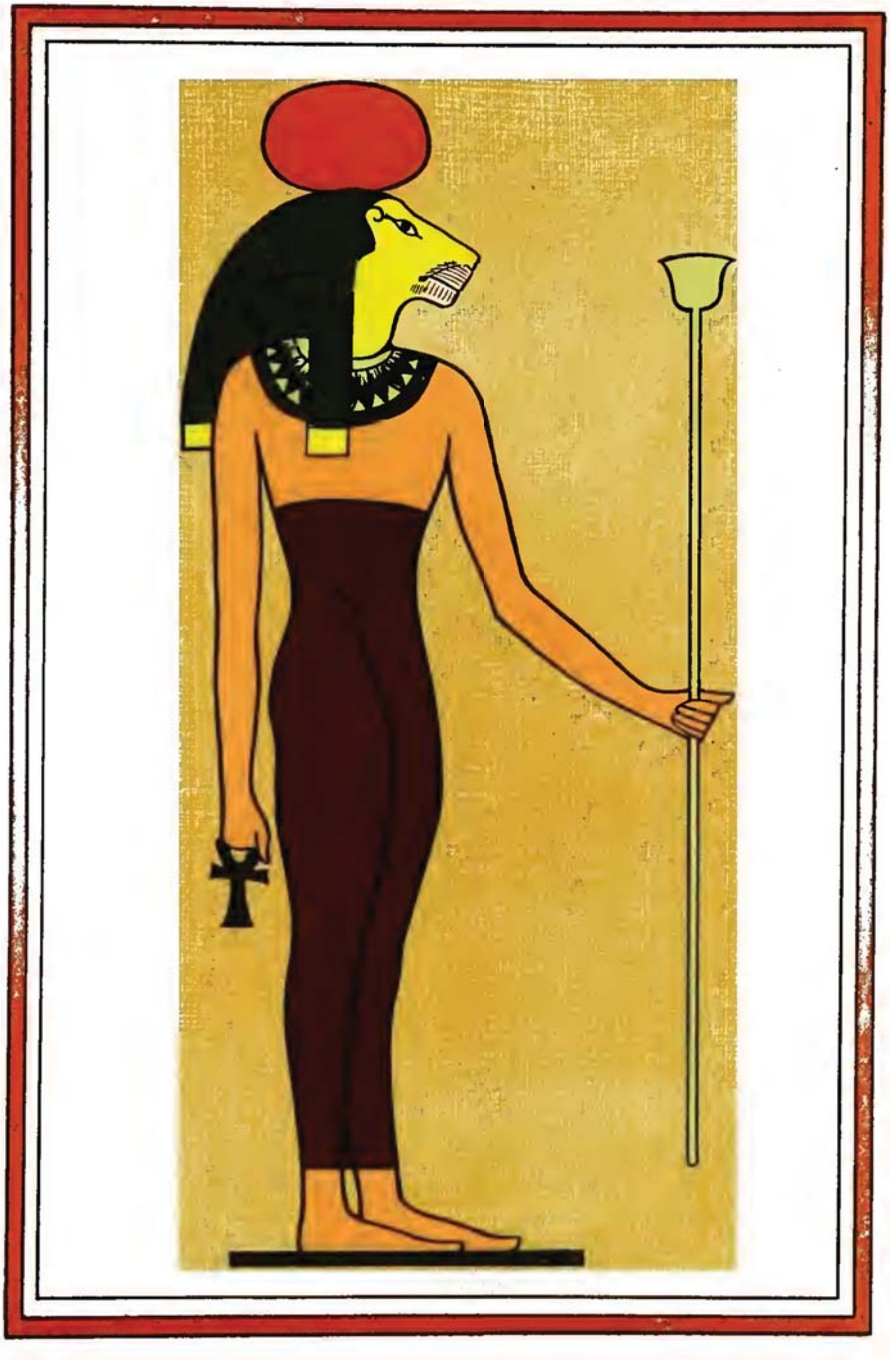
The cult of the LION was also very ancient in Egypt, and it seems to have been tolerably widespread in early dynastic times; the animal was worshipped on account of his great strength and courage, and was usually associated with the Sun-god, Horus or Rā, and with deities of a solar character. Under the New Empire the chief centre of the cult of the lion was the city of Leontopolis in the Northern Delta, but it is quite certain that sacred lions were kept in the temples at many places throughout Egypt. Ælian mentions (xii. 7) that lions were kept in the temple at Heliopolis, and goes on to say that in the Lion City (Leontopolis) the sacred lions were fed upon the bodies of slaughtered animals, and that from time to time a calf was introduced into the lion's den so that he might enjoy the pleasure of killing prey for himself; whilst he was devouring his food the priests, or men set apart for the purpose, sang songs to him. The original home of the lion in Egypt was the Delta, where he lived under conditions similar to those which existed in Southern Nubia and in the jungles of the rivers Atbara and Blue Nile; the deserts on each side of the Nile between Kharṭûm and the Mediterranean Sea of course also contained lions, but probably not in very large numbers. In Egyptian mythology the lion plays a comparatively prominent part, and one of the oldest known Lion-gods is Aker, , who was supposed to guard the gate of the dawn through which the Sun-god passed each morning; Aker is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts (e.g., Unȧs, lines 498, 614), and from the passages in which his name occurs it is clear that his position and attributes were even under the Early Empire well defined. In later days the Egyptian mythologists believed that during the night the sun passed through a kind of tunnel which existed in the earth, and that his disappearance therein caused the night, and his emerging therefrom caused the day; each end of this tunnel was guarded by a Lion-god, and the two gods were called Akeru (or Akerui) , or . In the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* (Chapter xvii.) we find the Akeru gods represented by two lions which are seated back to back, and support between them the horizon with the sun's disk on it, ; in the later theology they are called Sef and

ṬUAU, i.e., "YESTERDAY" and "TO-DAY" respectively. Because the Egyptians believed that the gates of morning and evening were guarded by Lion-gods, they placed statues of lions at the doors of their palaces and tombs to guard both the living and the dead, and to keep evil spirits and fleshly foes from entering into the gates to do harm to those who were inside them. To such lion guardians they sometimes gave the heads of men and women, and these are familiar to us under the name which was given to them by the Greeks, i.e., "Sphinxes."

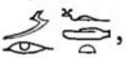
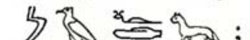
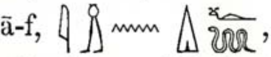
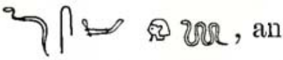
The oldest and finest human-headed lion statue is the famous "Sphinx" at Gîzeh (in Egyptian Ḥu, ), which was regarded as the symbol of the Sun-god Rā-Temu-Kheperȧ-Ḥeru-khuti, and was made to keep away evil spirits from the tombs which were round about it. The age of this marvellous statue is unknown, but it existed in the time of Khephren, the builder of the Second Pyramid, and was, most probably, very old even at that early period. It may be noted in passing that the "Sphinx" at Gîzeh was intended to be a guardian and protector of the dead and of their tombs, and nothing else, and the idea of Plutarch and others that it typified the enigmatical wisdom of the Egyptians and strength and wisdom is purely fanciful. The men who made the Sphinx believed they were providing a colossal abode for the spirit of the Sun-god which they expected to dwell therein and to protect their dead; it faced the rising sun, of which it was a mighty symbol. The original idea of the man-headed lion statue has no connexion with the views which the Greeks held about their monstrous being the Sphinx, who is declared to have been a daughter of Orthus, or Typhon, and Chimaera, or of Typhon and Echidna; moreover, Greek sphinxes are winged, and their heads and breasts are always those of a woman, whilst Egyptian lion statues have sometimes the heads of men, and sometimes the heads of sheep or rams. The "Sphinx" at Gîzeh is probably the product of the beliefs of a school of theologians which existed when the cult of the lion was common in the Delta or Northern Egypt, but tradition perpetuated the idea of "protection" which was connected with it, and the architectural conservatism of the Egyptians caused reproductions of it to be made for all the great temples in the country in all periods of its history.

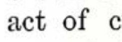
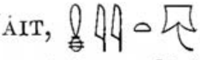
It is a moot point whether the lion was generally hunted in Egypt or not, but it is improbable; on the other hand we find that Ȧmen-ḥetep III. boasts of having shot with his own bow one hundred and two lions during the first ten years of his reign, but these were undoubtedly lions of Mitanni and not of Egypt. The bas-reliefs and texts prove that Rameses II. and Rameses III. each possessed a tame lion which not only accompanied them into battle, but also attacked the enemy; it is probable, however, that these kings valued their pet lions more as symbols of the Sun-god and of his protective power, than as effective combatants. In the Theban *Book of the Dead* the double lion-god who is so often mentioned under the name  is, of course, Shu and Tefnut, or two gods who were identified with them. Other lion-gods bore the names Āri-ḥes-nefer, , Nefer-Tem, , Hebi, , Ḥeru-neb-Mesen, , Ma-ḥes, , etc.; lioness-goddesses were Pakheth, , Sekhet, , Menāt, , Renenet, , Sebqet, , Urt-ḥekau, , Āsthertet, , and a form of Hathor, and another of Nekhebet. The destroying power of the Lion-god is alluded to in the figure of the monster Ām-mit, which was part crocodile, part lion, and part hippopotamus. The vignettes to the cxlvith and cxlviith Chapters of the *Book of the Dead* show that lion-headed deities guarded certain of the halls and pylons of the Underworld, and some connexion of the Lion-god with the dead is certainly indicated by the fact that the head of the bier is always made in the form of the head of a lion, and that the foot of it is frequently ornamented with a representation of a lion's tail. For an account of Bast, the great goddess of Bubastis, who was depicted with the head either of a lioness, or of a cat, the reader is referred to the section on the subject.

In connexion with the lion must be mentioned the Lynx



THE GODDESS URT-ḤEKAU.

and Cat, for each of these animals played an interesting part in Egyptian mythology. The lynx was called in Egyptian Mafṭet, , or ; the former spelling being that of the Pyramid Texts, and the latter that in use in the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*. The animal is like a large cat and has a small patch of hair on the tip of each ear, and its disposition is, on the whole, benevolent. In the text of Unȧs (line 548) allusion is made to its attack upon the serpents Ȧn-ṭā-f, , and Tcheser-ṭep, , and it is evident from this that the Lynx-god was a friend of the dead. In the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, Mafṭet takes part with the gods, including Serqet and Maāt, in overthrowing the fiend Āpep (Chaps. xxxiv., xxxix., cxlix. § 7), and we must therefore assume that the lynx was a destroyer of serpents, and that the Lynx-god was supposed to ward off the attacks of serpents from the dead.

The Cat was sacred to Bast, the goddess of Bubastis, and was regarded as her incarnation; its cult is very ancient, and as a personification of the Sun-god the animal played a prominent part in Egyptian mythology. Thus in the xviith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* mention is made of a Cat which took up its position by the Persea tree in Heliopolis on the night when the foes of Osiris were destroyed, and in the commentary which follows it is stated that this "male Cat" was Rā himself, and that he was called "Mȧu," , by the god Sa, and the vignette depicts the Cat in the act of cutting off the head of the serpent of darkness. In the cxxvth Chapter the deceased says (line 11) in the usually received text, "I have heard the mighty word which the Ass spake unto "the Cat in the House of Ḥapṭ-re," but what that word was is not stated. The Ass and the Cat are forms of the Sun-god, and it is probable that the deceased learned from them the words which would enable him, like them, to vanquish the powers of darkness. From a stele reproduced by Signor Lanzone,[1] we find that prayers were offered to *two* cats by the two women who dedicated it, but whether these represented two forms of the Cat-god, or two pet animals only is not clear. The cat is here called Mȧit, , instead of "Mȧu," as is usual. Another stele[1] contains reliefs in which worship is offered to a swallow and a cat, and the monuments and inscriptions contain abundant evidence that the greatest reverence was paid to the cat throughout Egypt, even as classical writers say. According to Diodorus (i. 83) the Egyptians fed their cats on bread and milk and slices of Nile fish, and they called the animals to their meals by special sounds. When a cat died its master had it placed in a linen sheet and taken to the embalmers, who treated the body with spices and drugs, and then laid it in a specially prepared case. Whosoever killed a cat, wittingly or unwittingly, was condemned to die, and an instance is cited by Diodorus in which a certain Roman who had killed a cat was attacked in his house by the infuriated populace and was slain.

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[1] *Dizionario*, pl. 107.

Herodotus narrates (ii. 68) that "When a conflagration "takes place a supernatural impulse seizes on the cats. For the "Egyptians, standing at a distance, take care of the cats, and "neglect to put out the fire; but the cats making their escape, "and leaping over the men, throw themselves into the fire; and "when this happens great lamentations are made among the "Egyptians. In whatsoever house a cat dies of a natural death, "all the family shave their eyebrows only; but if a dog die, they "shave the whole body and the head. All cats that die are "carried to certain sacred houses, where being first embalmed, "they are buried in the city of Bubastis."

Among the Egyptians several kinds of Apes were regarded as sacred animals, but the most revered of all was that which was the companion of Thoth, and which is commonly known as the Dog-headed Ape. This animal seems to have been brought in old, as in modern, times from the country far to the south of Nubia, but whether this be so or not it is certain that the Cynocephalus ape found its way into Egyptian mythology at a very early period. In the Judgment Scene he sits upon the standard of the Great Scales, and his duty was to report to his associate Thoth when the pointer marked the middle of the beam. Classical writers rightly discuss this ape in connexion with the moon, and we know that sacred cynocephali were kept in many temples which were dedicated to lunar gods, e.g., of Khensu at Thebes; certain classes of apes were regarded as the spirits of the dawn which, having sung hymns of praise whilst the sun was rising, turned into apes as soon as he had risen. The cult of the ape is very ancient, and is probably pre-dynastic, in which period dead apes were embalmed with great care and buried.

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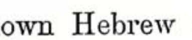
[1] *Dizionario*, pl. 118.

In dynastic times the Elephant could not have been a sacred animal in Egypt because he had long before withdrawn himself to the swamps and lands of the reaches of the White and Blue Niles. The Island opposite Syene was not called "Elephantine" because the elephant was worshipped there, but probably because it resembled the animal in shape, just as the city on the tongue of land at the junction of the White and Blue Niles was called "Kharṭûm," i.e., "elephant's trunk" on account of its resemblance in shape to that portion of an elephant's body. It is, however, quite certain that great reverence must have been paid to the elephant in predynastic times, because on the top of one of the standards painted on predynastic pottery[1] we find the figure of an elephant, a fact which indicates that it was the god either of some great family or district.

The existence of the Bear in Egypt has not been satisfactorily proved, and it is unlikely that this animal was indigenous. In a passage in the Fourth Sallier Papyrus,[2] which was translated by Chabas, it is said that when Horus and Set fought together they did so first in the form of two men, and that they then changed themselves into two bears (ils se frappèrent l'un l'autre étant sur la plante de leurs pieds, sous la forme de deux hommes; ils se changèrent en deux ours, etc.). Now the word rendered "bears" by Chabas is *ṭebi*, , which he compared with the well-known Hebrew word, דוֹב, "bear"; but he appears to have forgotten the Hebrew word זְאֵב, "wolf," with which *ṭebi* is most probably connected, and which provides a more reasonable suggestion for translating the Egyptian text correctly. That bears did exist in Egypt in the Predynastic and Archaic Periods is proved by the green slate or schist model of a bear which is preserved in the British Museum (3rd Eg. Room, Table-case L, No. 29,416). According to Herodotus (ii. 67) there were bears in Egypt, though he says they were few, *τὰς δὲ ἄρκτους, ἐούσας, σπανίας*, and as he mentions them with wolves it is probable that the animals to which he refers were not bears but a species of wolf.

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[1] See J. de Morgan, *Recherches sur les Origines*, Paris, 1897, p. 93. A carnelian elephant amulet is preserved in the British Museum (4th Eg. Room, Table Case F, No. 626 [14,608]).

[2] Chabas, *Le Calendrier*, p. 28.

The Dog, though a very favourite animal of the Egyptians, appears never to have been regarded as a god, although great respect was paid to the animal in the city of Cynopolis; on the other hand Herodotus tells us (ii. 66) that in "whatsoever house a "cat dies of a natural death, all the family shave their eyebrows "only; but if a dog die, they shave the whole body and head.... "All persons bury their dogs in sacred vaults within their own "city." If any wine, or corn, or any other necessary of life happened to be in a house when a dog died its use was prohibited; and when the body had been embalmed it was buried in a tomb amid the greatest manifestations of grief by those to whom it belonged. If we accept the statement of Diodorus (i. 85) that a dog was the guardian of the bodies of Osiris and Isis, and that dogs guided Isis in her search for the body of Osiris, and protected her from savage beasts, we should be obliged to admit that the dog played a part in Egyptian mythology; but there is no reason for doing so, because it is clear that Diodorus, like many modern writers, confounded the dog with the jackal. The dog, like the jackal, may have been sacred to Anubis, but the mythological and religious texts of all periods prove that it was the jackal-god who ministered to Osiris, and who acted as guide not only to him but to every other Osiris in the Underworld.

Like the dog, the Wolf enjoyed considerable respect in certain parts of Egypt, e.g., the Wolf-city, Lycopolis, but there is reason for thinking that ancient writers confounded the wolf with the jackal. Thus Herodotus tells us (ii. 122) of a festival which was celebrated in connexion with the descent of Rhampsinitus into the Underworld, and says that on a certain day "the priests "having woven a cloak, blind the eyes of one of their number "with a scarf and having conducted him with the cloak on him to "the way that leads to the temple of Ceres, they then return; "upon which, they say, this priest with his eyes bound is led by "two wolves to the temple of Ceres, twenty stades distant from "the city, and afterwards the wolves lead him back to the same "place." The two wolves here referred to can be nothing but representatives of the jackal-gods Ȧnpu and Ȧp-uat, who played very prominent parts in connexion with the dead. Another legend recorded by Diodorus (i. 88) declares that when Horus was making ready to do battle with Set, his father's murderer, Osiris returned from the Underworld in the form of a wolf to assist him in the fight. It is important to note here the statement of Macrobius, who says (*Saturn*, i. 19) that Apollo, i.e., Horus, and the wolf were worshipped at Lycopolis with equal reverence, for it connects the wolf with Horus and Set, and indicates that these gods fought each other in the forms of wolves and not of bears. Legends of this kind prove that the Egyptians did not carefully distinguish between the wolf, jackal, and dog.

At a very early period the JACKAL was associated with the dead and their tombs, because he lived in the mountains and deserts wherein the Egyptians loved to be buried. The principal jackal-gods were Ȧnpu (Anubis) and Ȧp-uat; for accounts of these the reader is referred to the sections which describe their history and attributes.

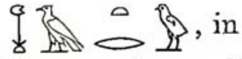
The Ass, like many animals, was regarded by the Egyptians both as a god and a devil. In a hymn to Rā as found in the Papyrus of Ani (sheet 1, line 14), the deceased says, "May I "journey forth upon earth, may I smite the Ass, may I crush the "serpent-fiend Sebȧu; may I destroy Āpep in his hour," a passage which proves that the animal was associated with Āpep, and Set, and the other gods of darkness and evil. On the other hand, the xlth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* is entitled the "Chapter of driving back the Eater of the Ass," and its vignette shows us the deceased in the act of spearing a monster serpent which has fastened its jaws in the back of an ass. Here the ass is certainly a form of the Sun-god, and the serpent is Hai, a form of Āpep, and it is clear from this that the ass was at one period held to be a god. In the cxxvth Chapter we are told that the Ass held a conversation with the Cat, and the passage in which the statement occurs affords additional proof that the ass was a symbol of the Sun-god. The probable explanation of the existence of these two opposite views about the ass is that Egyptian opinion changed about the animal, and that the later form of it held the ass to be a devil and not a god as in the oldest times. Plutarch records a legend (*De Iside*, § 31) to the effect that Typhon, i.e., Set, escaped from out of the battle with Horus on the back of an ass, and that after he had got into a place of safety he begat two sons, Hierosolymus and Judaeus; but no reliance can be placed on a statement which is so absurd on the face of it.

The Pig possessed a reputation for evil in Egypt, as in many other countries of the East, and the Egyptians always associated the animal with Set or Typhon. The cxiith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* supplies us with the reason why it was held in such abomination, and tells us that Rā said to Horus one day, "Let me "see what is coming to pass in thine eye," and having looked, he said to Horus, "Look at that black pig." Thereupon Horus looked, and he immediately felt that a great injury was done to his eye, and he said to Rā, "Verily, my eye seemeth as if it were "an eye upon which Suti had inflicted a blow." The text goes on to say that the black pig was no other than Suti, who had transformed himself into a black pig, and had aimed the blow which had damaged the eye of Horus. As the result of this the god Rā ordered his companion gods to regard the pig as an abominable animal in future. According to Herodotus (ii. 47), if an Egyptian had only his garment touched by a pig he would go straightway to the Nile and plunge into it to cleanse himself from pollution. The same writer tells us that swineherds were the only men who were not allowed to enter any of the temples, and that the Egyptians sacrificed the pig to the moon and Bacchus only. The poor, through want of means, used to make pigs of dough, and having baked them, they would offer them up as sacrifices, but the wealthy, having seen the tip of the tail of the animal and its spleen, and caul, and fat from the belly burnt in the fire, would eat the flesh at the period of full moon, but at no other time, Horapollo (ii. 37) says that the hog was the symbol of a filthy man, and Ælian, in his account of the pig (*De Natura Animalium*, x. 16), after stating that it eats human flesh, goes on to say that the Egyptians abominated it more than any other animal. On the other hand, they kept pigs and did not sacrifice them too abundantly, because they employed them to tread the grain into the ground with their feet. According to the Rubric to the cxxvth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, the vignette was to be drawn in colour upon "a new tile moulded from earth upon which "neither a pig nor any other animal hath trodden." Why, however, the pig should be especially mentioned is hard to say. From one point of view the pig was a sacrosanct animal, and it is clear that the idea of its being holy arose from its connexion with Osiris; the texts, unfortunately, do not explain its exact connexion with this god, and it is doubtful if the Egyptians of the dynastic period themselves possessed any definite information on the subject.

Though representations of the BAT, called in the texts *setcha-khemu*, 𓋴𓍘𓄿𓐍𓅓𓅱, and *ṭaḳi* 𓂧𓄿𓈎𓇌, have been found in Egyptian tombs, proof is wanting that it was worshipped by the Egyptians of the dynastic period; a green slate model of a bat was, however, found with other predynastic remains in Upper Egypt, and it seems that it must have been regarded at least as a sacred creature.

Among small animals the SHREW-MOUSE and the HEDGEHOG were considered to be sacred, but the texts afford no information about the parts which they played in Egyptian mythology; figures of both animals in porcelain and bronze have been found in the tombs. According to Herodotus (ii. 67) the shrew-mouse was sacred to the goddess Buto, i.e., Uatchit, and all mummies of the animal were buried in her city; one legend about it declared that Uatchit took the form of the shrew-mouse that she might be the better able to escape from Typhon, who was seeking to destroy Horus, the son of Osiris, after he had been committed to her charge. Curiously enough, the shrew-mouse was thought by the Egyptians to be a blind animal, and Plutarch declares

(*Symp.* iv. 5) that it was held to be the proper symbol of darkness; in connexion with this it is interesting to note that the inscriptions on the bronze figures of the animal identify it with Ḥeru-khent-ȧn-maa, i.e., the "Blind Horus," or, "Horus who dwelleth in darkness."

The Ichneumon, in Egyptian *khatru*, , in Coptic ϣⲁⲑⲟ̀ⲩⲗ, as a destroyer of snakes and the eggs of crocodiles, has formed the subject of many curious legends which have been preserved by classical writers.[1] Pliny says that "it plunges itself "repeatedly into the mud, and then dries itself in the sun: as soon "as, by these means, it has armed itself with a sufficient number "of coatings, it proceeds to the combat. Raising its tail, and "turning its back to the serpent, it receives its stings, which are "inflicted to no purpose, until at last, turning its head sideways, "and viewing its enemy, it seizes it by the throat." The ichneumon was said to destroy not only the eggs of the crocodile, but also the animal itself. According to Strabo, their habit was to lie in wait for the crocodiles, when the latter were basking in the sun with their mouths wide open; they then dropped into their jaws, and eating through their intestines and belly issued forth from the dead body. Diodorus declares that the ichneumon only breaks the eggs with the idea of rendering a service to man, and thinks that the creature derives no benefit itself from its act, and he goes on to say that but for the ichneumon the number of crocodiles would be so great that no one would be able to approach the Nile. Several figures of the ichneumon in bronze have been found in the tombs, but the texts supply no information about the beliefs which the Egyptians entertained about this remarkable animal. Modern naturalists have shown that there is no truth in the statement that it is immune from the effects of snake-bite, or that having been bitten it has recourse to the root of a certain plant as an antidote; the fact is that its great agility and quickness of eye enable it to avoid the fangs of the serpent, and to take the first opportunity of fixing its own teeth in the back of the reptile's neck. It is very fond of eggs, and for this reason seeks out those of the crocodile with great avidity, but it loves equally well the eggs of poultry, and in consequence it sometimes bears an evil reputation among the keepers of hens, turkeys, etc.

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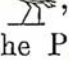
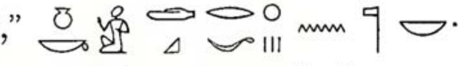
[1] Herodotus, ii. 67; Diodorus, i. 87; Strabo, xvii., i. 39; Plutarch, *De Iside*, § 74; Ælian, vi. 38; Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.*, ix. 6; Pliny, viii. 36.

The Hare was worshipped as a deity, and in the vignette of the Elysian Fields we see a hare-headed god, and a snake-headed god, and a bull-headed god sitting side by side; a hare-headed god also guards one of the Seven Halls in the Underworld. The Hare-god was probably called Unnu.[1]

Among the birds which were worshipped by the Egyptians, or held to be sacred, the following were the most important:—1. The Bennu, , a bird of the heron species which was identified with the Phoenix. This bird is said to have created itself, and to have come into being from out of the fire which burned on the top of the sacred Persea Tree of Heliopolis; it was essentially a Sun-bird, and was a symbol both of the rising sun and of the dead Sun-god Osiris, from whom it sprang, and to whom it was sacred. The Bennu not only typified the new birth of the sun each morning, but in the earliest period of dynastic history it became the symbol of the resurrection of mankind, for a man's spiritual body was believed to spring from the dead physical body, just as the living sun of to-day had its origin in the dead sun of yesterday. The Bennu sprang from the heart of Osiris, and was, in consequence, a most holy bird; in a picture reproduced by Signor Lanzone,[2] it is represented sitting on the branches of a tree which grows by the side of a sepulchral chamber. In the lxxxiiird Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, which provides the formula for enabling the deceased to take the form of the Bennu, this bird says, "I came into being from unformed "matter. I came into existence like the god Kheperà. I am the "germs of every god," . According to Herodotus (ii. 77), the phoenix only made its appearance once in

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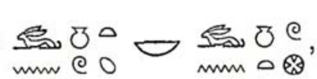
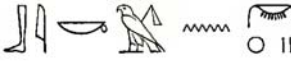
[1] "Unnut, lady of Unnut," , is the female form. See Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pl. 52.

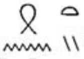
[2] *Dizionario*, pl. 70.

five hundred years; his plumage was partly golden-coloured and partly red, and in size and form he resembled an eagle. He came from Arabia, and brought with him the body of his father, which he had enclosed in an egg of myrrh, to the temple of the sun, and buried him there. Pliny says (x. 3) that when the phoenix became old he built a nest of cassia and sprigs of incense, and that having filled it with perfumes he lay down and died. From his bones and marrow there sprang a small worm which in process of time changed into a little bird, which, having buried the remains of its predecessor, carried off the nest to the City of the Sun.

2. The Vulture was the symbol of the goddesses Nekhebet, Mut, Neith, and others who were identified with Nekhebet; the cult of the vulture is extremely ancient in Egypt, and dates probably from predynastic times, for one of the oldest titles of the Pharaohs of Egypt is "Lord of the city of the Vulture (Nekhebet, or Eileithyiapolis), lord of the city of the Uraeus" (Uatchet, or Buto), and it is found engraved on monuments of the late predynastic and early archaic periods. Ælian, in describing the vultures (ii. 46), says that they hover about the dead and dying, and eat human flesh, and that they follow men to battle as if knowing that they would be slain. According to this writer, all vultures are females, and no male vulture was ever known; to obtain young they turn their backs to the south, or south-east wind, which fecundates them, and they bring forth young after three years.

3. The Hawk was sacred to Horus, Rā, Osiris, Seker, and to other cognate gods, and its worship was universal throughout Egypt in predynastic times; the centre of the cult of the Hawk-god was Hieraconpolis, or the "Hawk City." The hawk was not only a Sun-bird but, when represented with a human head, was symbolic of the human soul. According to Herodotus (ii. 65), death was the punishment of the man who killed a hawk or an ibis, and Diodorus records (i. 83) that the sacred hawks were maintained at the public expense, and that they would come to their keepers when called, and would catch the pieces of raw meat which they threw to them in full flight. The Egyptians venerated two species, i.e., the golden hawk, , and the

sacred hawk, ; from the lxxviith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* it may be gathered that the former was supposed to be four cubits wide, and that it was identified with the Bennu, or Phoenix, is proved by the words in the texts which are put into the mouth of the deceased, "I have risen, and I have "gathered myself together like the beautiful hawk of gold, which "hath the head of a Bennu, and Rā entereth in day by day to "hearken unto my words." The divine hawk was, as we learn from the lxxviiith Chapter, the offspring of Tem, and the symbol of the One God, and of Horus as the successor of his father Osiris, to whom "millions of years minister, and whom millions of years "hold in fear; for him the gods labour, and for him the gods toil "millions of years."

4. The Heron, , was certainly a sacred bird, and that its body was regarded as a possible home for a human soul is proved by the lxxxivth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, which was composed with the view of helping a man to effect a transformation into a heron.

5. The Swallow also was a bird wherein the human soul might reincarnate itself, and the object of the lxxxvith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* was to enable it to do so; the Rubric of the Chapter declares that if it be known by the deceased, "he shall "come forth by day, and he shall not be turned back at any gate "in the Underworld, and that he shall make his transformations "into a swallow regularly and continually." In the opening words the deceased is made to say, "I am a swallow, I am a "swallow, I am the Scorpion, the daughter of Rā," a fact which seems to show that the swallow was connected with the Scorpion-goddess Serqet. From a tablet at Turin, which is published by Signor Lanzone,[1] we see that offerings were made to the swallow; the bird is seen perched upon a pylon-shaped building, before which stands a table loaded with offerings, and above are a few short lines of text in which it is called the "beautiful swallow," . According to Plutarch, the goddess Isis

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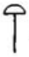
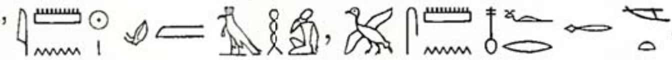
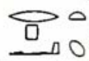
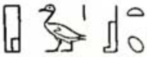
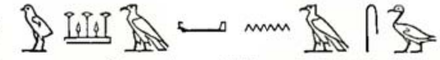
[1] *Dizionario*, pl. 118.

took upon herself the form of a swallow when she was lamenting the death of Osiris.

6. The GOOSE, or at least one species of it, was sacred to Ȧmen-Rā, a fact which is hard to explain. In a drawing given by Signor Lanzone[1] we have a vase of flowers resting upon the ends of two pylon-shaped buildings, and on each of these stands a goose with its shadow, , behind it, or by its side; the five lines of the text above read, "Ȧmen-Rā, the beautiful Goose," and "the beautiful Goose of Ȧmen-Rā." In another scene which is likewise reproduced[2] by Lanzone, is depicted a goose with its shadow standing on a building as before, and opposite to it is seated Ȧmen-Rā; before the god and the goose is a table of offerings. The words above the god read, "Ȧmen-Rā, the hearer of entreaty," and those over the goose are "the beautiful Goose, greatly beloved," . In the earliest time the goose, or rather gander, was associated with Seb the *erpāt*, , of the gods, who is called in the *Book of the Dead* "the Great Cackler" (Chapters liv., lv.). The goose was a favourite article of food in Egypt, and was greatly in request for offerings in the temples; according to Herodotus (ii. 37) a portion of the daily food of the priests consisted of goose flesh. The goose is said to have been sacred to Isis, and the centre of the great trade in the bird was *Χηνοβοσκίον*, or *Χηνοβοσκια* (Chenoboscium or Chenoboscia), i.e., the "Goose pen," a town in Upper Egypt, which was situated in the nome Diospolites, and was quite near to the marshes wherein large numbers of geese were fattened systematically. The Copts gave the name of "Shenesêt" to the town, and this has been identified with the Egyptian , "Ḥet-sa-Ȧst," by Brugsch;[3] on the other hand M. Amélineau thinks that the Greek name Chenoboskion is derived from the words , which, he says, are equivalent in meaning to "the place where the geese are fattened." The meaning of the goose as a hieroglyphic is "child"

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[1] *Dizionario*, pl. 22. [2] *Ibid.*, pl. 361. [3] *Dict. Géog.*, p. 659.

or "son," and Horapollo goes so far as to say (i. 53) that it was chosen to denote a son from its love to its young, being always ready to give itself up to the hunter if only they might be preserved, and that owing to this trait in its character the Egyptians revered it.

7. The IBIS was universally venerated throughout Egypt, and the centre of its cult in very early times was the city of Ḳhemennu, or Hermopolis, where the bird was associated with the Moon and with Thoth, the scribe of the gods.[1] It seems to have been worshipped in the first instance because it killed snakes and reptiles in general in large numbers, and it was thought to destroy the winged serpents, which, it was declared, were brought over into Egypt from the deserts of Libya by the west wind. Herodotus tells us that he once went to a certain place in Arabia, almost exactly opposite the city of Buto, to make inquiries concerning the winged serpents. On his arrival he "saw the back-bones and "ribs of serpents in such numbers as it is impossible to describe; "of the ribs there were a multitude of heaps, some great, some "small, some middle-sized. The place where the bones lie is at "the entrance of a narrow gorge between steep mountains, which "there open upon a spacious plain communicating with the great "plain of Egypt. The story goes, that with the spring, the "winged snakes come flying from Arabia towards Egypt, but "are met in this gorge by the birds called ibises, who forbid their "entrance and destroy them all. The Arabians assert, and the "Egyptians also admit, that it is on account of the service thus "rendered that the Egyptians hold the ibis in so much reverence. "The ibis is a bird of a deep black colour, with legs like a crane; "its beak is strongly hooked, and its size is about that of the "landrail. This is a description of the black ibis which contends "with the serpents. The commoner sort, for there are two quite "distinct species, has the head and the whole throat bare of "feathers; its general plumage is white, but the head and neck "are jet black, as also are the tips of the wings and the extremity "of the tail; in its beak and legs it resembles the other species.

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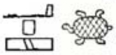
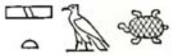
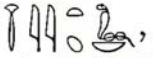
[1] See Ælian, *De Nat. Animal.*, x. 29; Horapollo, i. 10, 36; Herodotus ii., p. 75; Diodorus, i. 83; Plutarch, *De Iside*, § 75; etc.

"The winged serpent is shaped like the water-snake. Its wings "are not feathered, but resemble very closely those of the bat."[1]

Among the reptiles which were deified by the Egyptians, or were regarded as sacred creatures, may be mentioned the following:—1. The TORTOISE or TURTLE, which probably came from Nubia, and was worshipped or revered through fear. The Tortoise-god Āpesh, , was associated with the powers of darkness, and night, and evil, and a place was assigned to him in the heavens with their representatives. In the clxist Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* mention is made of the Tortoise, or Turtle, in such a way as to suggest that he was an enemy of Rā, and the formula "Rā liveth, the Tortoise dieth," is given four times, once in connexion with each of the four winds of heaven. The tortoise SHETA, , is also mentioned in the lxxxiiird Chapter, wherein the deceased is made to declare that he has germinated like the things which germinate, and has clothed himself like the tortoise.

2. Of the SERPENT and SNAKE many varieties were worshipped by the Egyptians for the sake of the good qualities which they possessed, and many were revered through fear only. In predynastic times Egypt was overrun with serpents and snakes of all kinds, and the Pyramid Texts prove that her inhabitants were terribly afraid of them; the formulae which are found in the pyramid of Unȧs against snakes are probably older than dynastic times, and their large numbers suggest that the serpent tribes were man's chief enemies. The cult of the uraeus, or asp, is extremely ancient, and its centre was the city of Per-Uatchet, or Buto, where a temple was built in honour of the Uraeus-goddess Uatchet, , in early dynastic times. This city enjoyed with that of Nekhebet a position of peculiar importance among the Egyptians, and one of the oldest royal titles is "Lord of Nekhebet, lord of Uatchet," i.e., lord of the Vulture-city, lord of the Uraeus-city. The cities of Nekhebet and Uatchet were in fact the ecclesiastical centres of the Southern and Northern kingdoms of

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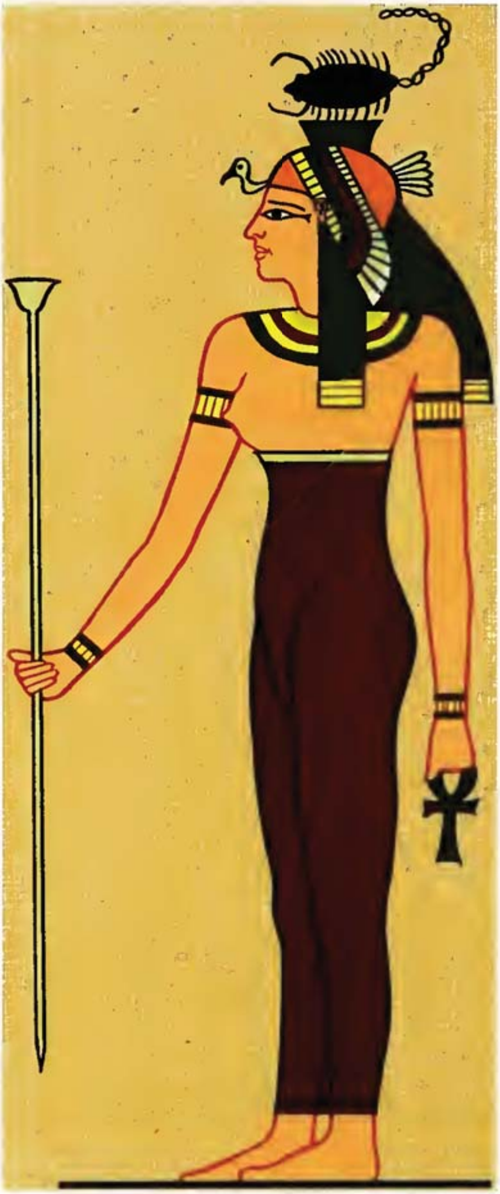
[1] Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii., pp. 124, 125.



THE GODDESS SERQET.

Egypt, and they were first founded in primitive times when the vulture and the uraeus were especially worshipped. The great enemy of Horus, and Rā, and Osiris, and also of the deceased in the Underworld was the monster serpent Āpep, or Apophis, which directed the attacks on gods and men of numbers of serpent broods, and which was held to be the personification of all evil; on the other hand the uraeus was the symbol of divinity and royalty, for the walls of the abode of Osiris were surmounted by "living uraei," and the god Rā wore two uraei upon his forehead, and every king is represented with a uraeus upon his forehead. In primitive times, when man coveted the powers of various birds and reptiles, and when he appears to have wished to be able to assume their forms after death, the priests provided a number of formulae which would enable him to do this, and among them was one which gave the deceased the power of becoming the serpent SATA, , and which read, "I am the serpent Sata whose years are many. I die "and I am born again each day. I am the serpent Sata which "dwelleth in the uttermost parts of the earth. I die and I am "born again, and I renew myself, and I grow young each day."[1] In religious texts the uraeus is associated with Isis and Nephthys, but this is due to the fact that in comparatively late times these goddesses were identified with Uatchet, the uraeus-goddess, who was at one time or another absorbed into all the great goddesses, many of whom were regarded as benevolent and beneficent deities and the protectors of a man's house, and land and crops, and children.

3. The SCORPION was venerated in Egypt at a very early period, and the scorpion-goddess SERQET or SELQET was in some of her aspects associated with the powers of evil, and in others with the goddess Isis. In the xxxiind Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* she appears as a friend of the deceased, and in the xliind Chapter his teeth are identified with those of the goddess. From the legend of Isis which is told on the Metternich Stele we learn that this goddess was accompanied on her journey by Seven Scorpions, and that the child Horus was stung by a scorpion which

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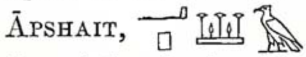
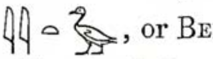
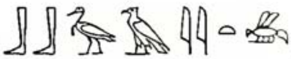
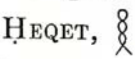
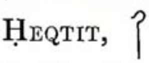
[1] *Book of the Dead*, Chapter lxxxvii.

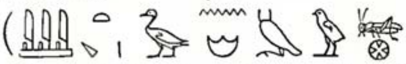
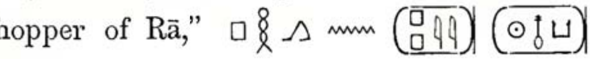
made its way to him in spite of all the precautions which the goddess had taken. According to Ælian (x. 19), the scorpions of Coptos were of a most formidable character, and whosoever was bitten by one of them died of a certainty; in spite of this, however, they respected Isis so much that they never stung the women who went to the temple of the goddess to pray, even though they walked with their feet bare or prostrated themselves on the ground. This statement is useful as showing that the scorpion was sacred to Isis.

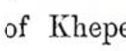
4. The xxxvith Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* mentions a kind of beetle called Āpshait, , which was supposed to gnaw the bodies of the dead. In one vignette of the Chapter the deceased is seen threatening it with a knife, and in the other the creature is represented in the form of an ordinary scarabaeus which is being speared by him. The Āpshait is probably the beetle which is often found crushed between the bandages of poorly made mummies, or even inside the body itself, where it has forced its way in search of food.

5. In the lxxvith and civth Chapters of the *Book of the Dead* an insect called Ābit, , or Bebait, , is mentioned which is said to lead the deceased into the "House of the King," and to bring him "to see the great gods who are in the Underworld"; this creature is probably to be identified with the praying Mantis (*mantis religiosa*) about which so many legends are current.

6. The Frog appears to have been worshipped in primitive times as the symbol of generation, birth, and fertility in general; the Frog-goddess Ḥeqet, , or Ḥeqtit, , was identified with Hathor, and was originally the female counterpart of Khnemu, by whom she became the mother of Ḥeru-ur. The great antiquity of the cult of the frog is proved by the fact that each of the four primeval gods Ḥeḥ, Kek, Nāu, and Ȧmen is depicted with the head of a frog, while his female counterpart has the head of a serpent. The cult of the frog is one of the oldest in Egypt, and the Frog-god and the Frog-goddess were believed to have played very prominent parts in the creation of the world.

According to Horapollo (i. 25), the frog typified an imperfectly formed man, Ἄπλαστον δὲ ἄνθρωπον γράφοντες βάτραχον ζωγραφοῦσιν, because it was generated from the slime of the river, whence it occasionally happens that it is seen with one part of a frog, and the remainder formed of slime, so that should the river fall, the animal would be left imperfect; the half-formed creatures referred to by Diodorus (i. 10) seem to have been frogs. Ælian also declares (ii. 56) that in a shower which once fell upon him there were half-formed frogs, and that whilst their fore parts were provided with two feet their hind parts were shapeless!

7. With the GRASSHOPPER ideas of religious enjoyment seem to have been associated, for in the *Book of the Dead* (Chap. cxxv.) the deceased says, "I have rested in the Field of the Grasshoppers" (, SEKHET-SANEḤEMU), wherein was situated the "northern city;" it lay to the south of Sekhet-ḥetep. The grasshopper is mentioned as early as the VIth Dynasty, and in the text of Pepi II. (line 860) the king is said to "arrive in heaven like the grasshopper of Rā,"  .

8. Chief among insects in importance was the BEETLE, or SCARABAEUS, which was called by the Egyptians *kheprerȧ*, , and was the symbol of Kheperȧ, , the great god of creation and resurrection. The Beetle-god is represented at times with a beetle upon his head, and at others with a beetle for a head; as Kheperȧ's attributes have already been fully described we need only repeat here that he was the "father of the gods," and the creator of all things in heaven and earth, that he was self-begotten and self-born, and that he was identified with the rising sun, and new birth generally. The beetle or scarabaeus which was modelled by the Egyptians in such large numbers belongs to the family called *Scarabaeidae* (Coprophagi), of which the *Scarabaeus sacer* is the type. These insects compose a very numerous group of dung-feeding Lamellicorns, of which, however, the majority are inhabitants of tropical countries. A remarkable peculiarity exists in the structure and situation of the hind legs,

which are placed so near the extremity of the body, and so far from each other as to give the insect a most extraordinary appearance when walking.

This peculiar formation is, nevertheless, particularly serviceable to its possessors in rolling the balls of excrementitious matter in which they enclose their eggs; wherefore these insects were named by the first naturalists *Pilulariae*. These balls are at first irregular and soft, but, by degrees, and during the process of rolling along, become rounded and harder; they are propelled by means of the hind legs. Sometimes these balls are an inch and a half, or two inches in diameter, and in rolling them along the beetles stand almost upon their heads, with the heads turned from the balls. These manoeuvres have for their object the burying of the balls in holes, which the insects have previously dug for their reception; and it is upon the dung thus deposited that the larvae feed. It does not appear that these beetles have the instinct to distinguish their own balls, as they will seize upon those belonging to another, in case they have lost their own; and, indeed, it is said that several of them occasionally assist in rolling the same ball. The males as well as the females assist in rolling the pellets. They fly during the hottest part of the day.[1] From the above extract it is clear that the scarabaeus is in the habit of laying its eggs in dung, which is to serve as food for its larvae, and that the larvae are hatched by the heat of the sun's rays. The ball of matter containing potential life was compared to the sun's globe, which contained the germs of all life, and the beetle, with its ball of matter and eggs, was regarded as the symbol of the great god Kheperå who rolled the globe of the sun across the sky. Now, the god Kheperå also represented inert but living matter, which was about to begin a course of existence for the first time, or to enjoy a renewal of life, and he was thus not only the creator of life but also the restorer or renewer of life, and so at a very early period became associated by the Egyptians, first with the idea of the new birth of the sun daily, and secondly, with the resurrection of man. And since the scarabaeus was identified with him that insect became at once the symbol of the god and of the Resurrection. Now the dead human body, from one aspect, contained the germ of life, that is to say, the germ of the spiritual body, which was called into being by means of the prayers that were recited and the ceremonies that were performed on the day of the funeral; from this point of view the egg-ball of the scarabaeus and the dead body were identical. Moreover, as the scarabaeus had given potential life to its eggs in the ball, so, it was thought, would a model of the scarab, itself the symbol of the god of new life and resurrection, also give potential life to the dead body upon which it was placed, and keep life in the living body, always provided that the proper words of power were first said over it or written upon it. The idea of "life" appears to have been associated with the scarab from time immemorial in Egypt and the Eastern Sûdân, for to this day the insect is dried, pounded, and mixed with water, and then drunk by women, who believe it to be an unfailing specific for the production of large families.

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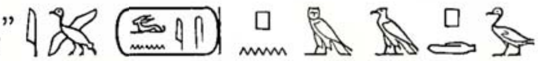
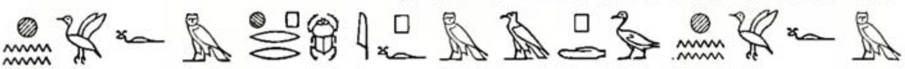
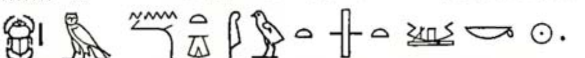
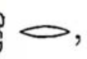
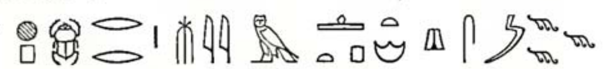
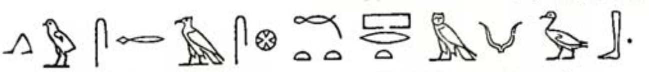
[1] J. O. Westwood, *An Introduction to the Modern Classification of Insects*, London, 1839, vol. i., p. 204 ff.

That the scarab was associated with the sun is clear from a passage in the text of Unȧs (line 477), where it is said, "This "Unȧs flieth like a bird, and alighteth like a beetle; he flieth like "a bird and he alighteth like a beetle upon the throne which is "empty in thy boat, O Rā,"   . In the text of Tetȧ (line 89) the king is said "to live [like] the scarab," , and Pepi I. is declared to be "the son of the scarab which is born "in Ḥetepet under the hair of Iusāas the Northern, and the issue "of the brow of Seb,"  . Among classical writers[1] the opinion prevailed that female scarabs did not exist, and Latreille thinks that this belief arose from the fact that the females are exceedingly like the males, and that both sexes appear to divide the care of their offspring equally between them. According to Horapollo, a scarabaeus denotes an "*only*-begotten, generation, father, world, and man." It represents an "only-begotten" because the scarabaeus is a creature self-produced, being unconceived by a female. The male, when desirous of procreating, takes some ox-dung, and shapes it into a spherical form like the world. He next rolls it from east to west, looking himself towards the east. Having dug a hole, he buries it in it for twenty-eight days; on the twenty-ninth day he opens the ball, and throws it into the water, and from it the scarabaei come forth. The idea of "generation" arises from its supposed acts. The scarabaeus denotes a "father" because it is engendered by a father only, and "world" because in its generation it is fashioned in the form of the world, and "man" because there is no female race among them. Every scarabaeus was also supposed to have thirty toes, corresponding with the thirty days' duration of the month. For accounts of the use of scarabs as amulets the reader is referred to other works.[1]

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[1] Ælian, x. 15; Horapollo, i. x.; Porphyry, *De Abstinentia*, iv. 9.

Concerning the cult of FISH among the Egyptians but little can be said, because the hieroglyphic texts afford us little information on the subject. According to Strabo (xvii. 2, 4), there were "in the Nile fish in great quantity and of different kinds, having "a peculiar and indigenous character. The best known are the "Oxyrhynchus, and the Lepidotus, the Latus, the Alabes, the "Coracinus, the Choerus, and the Phagrorius, called also the "Phagrus. Besides these are the Silurus, the Citharus, the "Thrissa, the Cestreus, the Lychnus, the Physa, the Bous, or ox, "and large shell-fish which emit a sound like that of wailing." Among these were chiefly worshipped the Oxyrhynchus, the Phagrus, the Latus, and the Lepidotus. The chief seat of the cult of the Oxyrhynchus Fish was the city of Oxyrhynchus, where it was held in the greatest reverence; this fish was supposed to have swallowed the phallus of Osiris[2] when Set was hacking the body of this god in pieces, and for this reason was sacred not only in the nome of the Oxyrhynchites and its metropolis, but all over Egypt.

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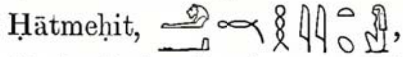
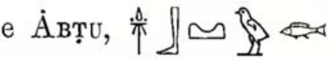
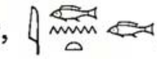
[1] See my *Mummy*, p. 233 ff.; *Magic*, p. 35 ff.

[2] Plutarch, *De Iside*, § 18.

In certain places the Egyptians would not eat it. The Phagrus, or eel, was worshipped in Upper Egypt, and mummied eels have been found in small sepulchral boxes. Of the Lepidotus Fish no legends have been preserved; the Latus was worshipped at Esneh. The fish with the very wide and large mouth which is seen on the head of the goddess Ḥātmeḥit, , has not yet been identified. In the *Book of the Dead* two mythological fish are mentioned, the Ȧbṭu, , and the Ȧnt, ; these fish were supposed to swim, one on each side of the bows of the boat of the Sun-god, and to drive away from it every evil being or thing in the waters which had a mind to attack it. The identification of Nile fish is at present a difficult matter, but it is to be hoped that when the Egyptian Government issues the monograph on the fish of Egypt and the Delta, and of Nubia and the Sûdân it may be possible to name correctly the various bronze and wooden fish which exist in the many collections of Egyptian antiquities in Egypt and Europe.

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